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Catholic University Bulletin.

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THE PUBLIC AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

It is worthy of note that, while the Labor Question is one of the most complex and pressing problems of modern society, the public as such seems to take little active interest in it. Employer and laborer are looked upon much as an audience in the theater looks upon actors on the stage. If there are strikes, lockouts and injunctions, if trade unions sustain a lively agitation in favor of working men, the public is concerned passively. Building operations may be suspended, trains may be hindered from carrying freight, factories may be closed down and the public may suffer some inconvenience. But the thought is forcing itself into consciousness that there is a deeper relation resulting from ethical and economic laws; that the relation may not be ignored in the present order of things without fatal consequences. A well-defined movement in economic thinking and another in practical social effort reveal the presence of this thought.

The most concrete and conspicuous facts in economic life are production, distribution and exchange of commodities. They are tangible processes, producing effects that can be measured. Essentially social, they cause concentration of capital, the construction of buildings and machinery, and the concentration of great numbers of working men. Economic science has confined itself chiefly to this field of investigation. Specialists have created a body of knowledge concerning the production, distribution and exchange of commodities which is at once a tribute to their genius, a revelation of many far-reaching laws and a real contribution to human history. The other great fact of the economic process—consumption—has not heretofore been accorded the attention that it deserves. Though it and it alone can explain all economic activity, it has not received more than passing notice. Long since, Bastiat recognized its importance as the key to all industrial activity, and recently Schönberg's great Handbuch admits that consumption might be taken as the underlying force in economic science since the attraction of consumption is the strongest psychological factor known to economics. However, up to recent years, little had been done. Lately there is a decided recognition of this neglect and we have promise of valuable thinking in the near future.

The public is the consumer. The millions who use goods manufactured and sold, who create demand for useful things, who purchase them and use them, are the consumers. When consumption does not enjoy proper recognition, the consuming public does not appear to be a party to the problems of industry. But the moment that one considers the whole economic process—production, distribution, exchange and consumption--consumers are seen to be organically related to producers; the public is organically related to employer and laborer; is a party in every situation, and hence is concerned vitally in the labor question. The relation is ethical as well as economic. While economics practically excluded consumption—except as related to the definition of value—the chief ethical questions raised were those of the relation of employer and employed. The moment that the process of consumption is admitted, new ethical relations, new conceptions of obligation and right enter and they may not be ignored.

The wants which the consumer manifests, the demands which he creates, must be sanctioned by the moral law. In satisfying the wants which are thus sanctioned, he must observe the moral law in manner, time and place. Again, in satisfying wants, the consumer is determined, to an extent, by his social relations. The parent, the child or the official has social relations which are ethically sanctioned, and they control him to a certain degree. This suggests a multitude of questions on which we may not now touch. One, however, merits notice. Has the consumer as such any moral obligations toward society at large, toward employers, toward laborers? Is his economic relation the basis of moral obligation? Many are seeking the answer in renewed study; others answer in the affirmative without reflection; others, inspired by the possibilities that lie in the mere suggestion, are attempting to organize social effort which supposes the affirmative.[1] It is my purpose to describe the situation to the readers of the BULLETIN. Believing firmly in the moral power of the consumer for social betterment, I hope that it may be of service to acquaint our readers with the thought and the effort referred to. This may be done without technical economic terms or subtle analysis of social relations. Currently throughout the article references are given where readers who may be interested will find fuller development and possibly more enthusiasm if not more sympathy. Until our economists give us further instruction on the problems involved we must content ourselves with the more or less superficial consideration of the larger thought alone.

A fact of elementary importance in industrial life, as simple as it is elementary, is that everything is made to be used. Whatever is produced, is produced because of an actual or anticipated demand. No owner of a hat factory, shoe factory or stove foundry will continue to make a style of hat, shoe or stove after the demand has ceased. No retailer offers to his customers buttons or laces or cloth which they do not like and will not purchase. The millions enter our stores and they purchase what they want. If they do not like the style or price of what is offered they will not buy unless forced by necessity. Inasmuch as the freedom of choice of the buyer is sometimes limited by his need or by the accident of monopoly, the seller may for the time control the situation. But this is accidental. The retailer, the jobber, the wholesaler and manufacturer study popular taste with astonishing keenness and accuracy. They may try to control or direct popular demand, they may awaken desire which the purchaser had not felt, they may advertise, misrepresent, entice, but all this declares the more loudly the supremacy of the consumer or purchaser, and the eager desire of the producer and the seller to please him. Some great stores discharge a clerk who fails to report when an article, not in stock, has been asked for three times. Manufacturers send out skilled men to discover tendencies in popular taste before manufacturing a season's goods. No great business can be conducted without foreknowledge of demand. Naturally, many wants are stable. There are no styles in tea, coffee, sugar, flour or spices. However when we consider wants which are not determined as these are we find the range for choice and taste much wider. Here the power of the consumer appears most clearly. Bargain counters, reductions in prices, clearance sales, reveal to us that commodities have "grown old" in a business sense. Other attractions having ceased, they are sold through the charm of cheapness which nearly always pleases the public.

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[1] An interesting article on the moral aspect of consumption may be found in the International Journal of Ethics, Vol. X. General works in Economics, Bastiat's Harmonies of Political Economy and the writings of Professor Patten will be found useful.

Consumers then give concrete direction to industry. With Ruskin, we may say that the manner and issue of consumption are the real tests of production. "Demand or consumption says to the producer, 'Make that for me.' The producer obeys[1]." Nevertheless, circumstances have taken away much of the consumer's power and he has surrendered it only too willingly. Merchants practically direct industry. They are in touch with demand. When customers express a wish it is of course complied with carefully. But wishes are generally anticipated, and the merchant selects his stock, guided beforehand by this anticipation. Then again, the attractions which are displayed to such advantage in our stores, suggest wants to the customer. Workingmen in Europe have complained of the extravagance forced on them in great stores by the attractiveness of display and facility of payment by installment. Thus the consumer is not only educated away from the knowledge of his power as consumer, but his wants seem often to appear and disappear at the behest of the merchant. The power of the gentleman or lady who has clothing made to order by a tailor is not more real than might be the power of any consumer if all consumers so willed. There was a time in the old gilds when industry was practically directed by consumers. The act of consumption is only in a limited way social; it is and must remain individual. It has not impressed itself on society in its true significance, and thus consumers are not aware of the commanding influence which they might exert in industrial life. The remarkable eagerness of producers to follow demand is further seen in the risks which they will incur in attempting to produce anything for which demand exists; thus, illicit distilling or the manufacture of explosives.

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[1] Bastiat, Harmonies, p. 335.

Within the limitations suggested, the consuming public controls what is produced. This is an economic relation. The further question now forces itself upon us, *can* the public control as well the conditions in which production takes place? The question is one for economic science. *Ought* the public to control the conditions of production? This question is one for ethics. If the public should control these conditions and does not, is it not morally responsible for the existence of the labor question? Are we not wrong and unscientific in blaming employers indiscriminately? The labor question, as a practical problem, reduces itself to the matter of wages, of hours and conditions of work. The conditions concern chiefly, life, health and morals. In the present order of society, employers regard themselves, not as servants of the public but as individuals seeking profit and individual power. When employers compete, there results a downward tendency in wages, a desire to lengthen the hours of labor and a reluctance to expend money for any purposes which are not immediately productive, hence the neglect of the demands of decency, justice, humanity and health. There are, of course, forces at work in the contrary direction. Factory laws and trade unions have that effect. The extremes to which the tendency may develop are seen in the great evils of our sweating system, which escapes factory inspection and labor organization.[1]

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[1] It must be admitted that laborers often prefer degradation and filth to cleanliness. A striking illustration may be found in Vol. VII of the Report of the Industrial Commission, p. 34.

It seems evident that consumers might control the conditions of production as well as its object if they willed. Were all consumers to agree to patronize only such factories and stores as presented conditions which met public approval it is certain that all demands, consistent with business survival, would be complied with. Were we to demand that all goods made in prisons by convicts be marked and then to agree not to purchase them, they would vanish from the market. Were we to patronize no stores where girls under 14 years of age worked 12 hours a day, none such would be found. Employers know that it is good business policy to please the public and they are eager to do so.

It is difficult to define the moral responsibility that results from social and economic relations. We may see clearly a great moral social truth without seeing how it is to be worked out in actual life. Instances abound. It is undoubtedly a hardship on many poor girls that their more fortunate sisters compete with them and reduce wages. Thus, well-to-do women up through the country in New York and New England do an immense amount of sewing on clothing and underwear for large city stores at rates on which no one could live. For them this is an accessory, and consequently they are not particular about compensation. Such a course, however, affects the wages of poor girls in cities who have no means of support other than these. Similarly, the manager of a department store in Chicago stated recently that his store does not hire girls who have to support themselves entirely.[1] They can thus force them to accept low wages. The department store is rapidly exterminating retail stores by the force of concentration, and superior methods. We have here typical social questions—problems of our social relations—in which it is extremely difficult to locate moral right, responsibility or guilt. Infinite study is necessary, painstaking analysis and careful collective efforts are needed before we will be able to answer in detail such pressing ethical questions of our social life, though the general truth be beyond dispute.

When we approach the problem of the relation of the public to the labor question we must therefore be cautious and moderate. We talk and write about the immorality of competition, the trickery and vileness of commercialism; the deception in business, known, tolerated and watched for. There is some great cause for this. It seems not excessive to say that the public is largely to blame for the condition. When consumers do not appear actively in the economic process, economic solidarity is broken up, the practical influence of ethics on economics is destroyed, and the industrial struggle is forced down to a low plane. The public has failed to know, to seek out and encourage the honest and noble spirits in industry, it has failed to ally itself with those employers who wished to honor the claims of their laborers as regards sanitation, life, humanity, justice and morals, and in so failing has, to a great extent, allied itself with the baser spirits and made our present conditions possible. Many an honest merchant has gone down to ruin while customers were allured to places where cheaper or more flashy goods were sold; cheap because labor was robbed in production. When people buy sweat-shop clothing they ally themselves with the sweat-shop system, with its cruelty, indecency, robbery and disease, and they fail to encourage the factory manufacture of clothing where law protects the laborer and conditions are infinitely better. It is in this sense that Sydney Webb could say of England that the whole nation is the sweater. "The mass of struggling men and women, whose sufferings have lately been laid bare, are oppressed and defrauded in every relation of life; by the man who sells or gives out the material on which they labor; by the shopkeeper who sells them provisions on credit or forces them under the truck system; by the landlord who exacts for the four walls of a bedroom or for the unpaved and undrained back yard, the double rent of workshop and dwelling; and, lastly, *by every man, woman and child who consumes the product of their labor*."[1] The sweating system became possible when people ceased to care where and how clothing was made.

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[1] Before the Industrial Commission. Report vii–701.

This indifference is found generally in the whole industrial hierarchy. The purchaser deals with the merchant; he with the jobbers, possibly; these in turn with wholesaler and manufacturer, and probably no one in the series has cared. A prominent proprietor of a store in New York once told a committee in all sincerity that he handled no sweatshop clothing. Later the same committee found bales of it marked with the gentleman's store address, ready for delivery. All of the abuses of long hours, unsanitary factories, excessive and unreasonable fines, company stores, danger to life from machinery, danger to morals, which have characterized the modern history of the laborer, have been possible because the public has not cared, did not know how to care, about the condition in which the work was done. In the course of extensive questioning among men and women of high intelligence, good education and much travel, I have not found more than two in ten who had the faintest realization of their relation as consumers to laborers, or of their power to aid even remotely in the solution of the labor question. When the reasons of my questions were explained, they awakened no ethical response, and while they brought some information that proved to be interesting, they gave those to whom the questions were addressed no momentum in the direction of social effort or study. There is no psychological bond between consumer and producer; no sense of solidarity, though the solidarity is as real as human society itself. We have slipped into the state of mind wherein no sense of specific responsibility as consumer exists. And yet "Responsibility rests with the initiative. Now, where is the initiative? In demand." "If the human race is to be improved it must be improved by the morality of the consumer." "It is incumbent on the man who manifests the desire or makes the demand for the commodity to weigh the consequences, whether useful or hurtful, and to answer before God and man for the good or bad direction which he imposes upon industry."[1]

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[1] Problems of Modern Industry, p. 142.

We may say that consumers determine what is produced, that they can fix the conditions of production; that their enlightened ethical sense should control every act of purchase with a view to the protection of laborers. But there are facts to be considered. The organization of industry is so intricate, means of transportation are so perfect, and localization of industry is so common that the consumer is, as a rule, hopelessly separated from the entire work of production. The shoes worn in Wisconsin are made in Massachusetts, carried by rail through many States before reaching the purchaser. The laborers who made the machinery and others who tanned the leather, and others who operated trains were coproducers in making the shoe. It is self-evident that this series of workers escapes the ken of the single purchaser in a Western town. Then again business has become largely impersonal. The moral effect of personal relations between producer, seller and consumer is destroyed. Retailers allege as a reason that department stores destroy retail business, that the retailer knows his customers personally and is honest with them, while the department store does not know its customers and it may and will deceive them readily. As a rule we expect adulteration, misrepresentation, deception whenever and wherever we buy. With this general elimination of personality in business and the consequent loss of the ethical sense, the separation of consumer is complete and he lives and dies without any thought of making industry personal. The psychological effect is to suppress every sentiment of responsibility. This is the case often, even among laborers, who, of all men, should best understand and fulfill the ethical responsibility of the consumer.

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[1] Bastiat, Harmonies, p. 338.

Another circumstance is this: Our industrial organization has forced upon us the principle of cheapness. We seek bargains—the most in goods for the least in money. Considerations of moral obligation, of the conditions of labor are forced aside and our thinking is reduced to the study of quality, quantity and price.[1] There are many exceptions, for some do not seek cheapness. Even when high prices are paid one is not sure of the conditions of labor. An inspector in Chicago once found $75.00 suits of clothes being made in a sweat shop for a merchant in Montana. Cheapness is in itself a good thing when produced without sacrifice. But the public seeks cheapness without regard to its history, and thus makes possible all of the industrial evils to which this desire of cheapness gives rise.

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[1] A defence of this condition may be found in the North American Review, Vol. 165, in the article, Another View of the Union Label.

In our brief survey we have seen that consumers control the entire direction of production, and that they might control as well, if they so willed, the conditions of production and thus materially assist in the reform work for which there is such pressing need. Some of the circumstances which may help us to understand why the public fails to realize its power were hinted at. Many more of a deeper nature might be suggested, but the scope of this paper does not require it. Some of the writers who are giving attention to the thought of consumers' responsibility seem to be reckless in asserting that this is a definite moral obligation. Much care and some preparation are required before society will learn any lesson in ethics. It does not like responsibility. In this case the social conscience as yet admits no moral social responsibility in the consumer. Many individual consumers do feel such an obligation and they guide their conduct by it, but it is not yet a social force. I think that the day will come when society will admit this responsibility, and I hope it may come soon. But it is not yet here. Teaching is necessary, as are patience and practical organization. The most hopeful aspect of the situation is that the thought is building up its own institutions. In them it has promise of life and vigor. Laying aside the question of the moral *responsibility* of the consumer, we may at least place suggestions on the plane of *opportunity*. The consumer has an exceptional opportunity to aid in social betterment. Should he not do so, eagerly, hopefully?

When we have brought the question down to the level of opportunity we are met, possibly, by the observation that the consumer has not even the opportunity of helping laborers. It seems impossible for us to know when, where and how goods are made. Personal examination is impossible, detailed investigation impracticable; hence the opportunity is lacking. Could we but distinguish between goods, made where the demands of health, decency, humanity and justice are complied with and those made in conditions which outrage humanity and seem to ignore justice, we might as consumers take an effective rôle in social reform.

One very important practical solution of this difficulty is offered by labor unions. They have devised union labels, which are usually attached, after the manner of a trade-mark, to union-made goods. The unions assure consumers that where the label is found the articles have been made in conditions which satisfy the laborers and are presumably worthy of approval. When mention is made of the labor union, possibly the prejudices of many are aroused. Strike, lockout and bloodshed, walking delegate and tyranny present themselves and put an end to all sympathy with our discussion. The ethical responsibility and social opportunity of the consumer is one thing and the labor union is another. Nevertheless it is worth while to look into the relations of the two.

Labor unions are a fact. They stand for the concrete, organized, effective effort that has been made to protect decency, humanity and justice in the industrial war. The principles on which they rest and the basic facts from which they reason are unassailable. If we but look into the degradation and oppression from which they have to an extent redeemed laborers ; if we but look into the history of factory and labor laws whose enactment, due to labor unions, is the noblest achievement of the modern nations ; if we but look into the widespread system of sweatshops, where humanity is forgotten, justice ignored and force enthroned, where the laborers are not organized and labor laws do not reach ; if we look at the many-sided improvements that unions have brought into the laborer's life and then remember that employers themselves in considerable numbers favor unions, admire their work and desire laborers to join them ;[1] if we do all this, we may possibly arrive at a point where the whole meaning and power of the unions will become apparent. Neither they themselves nor their best friends deny that mistakes are made often, but that is now beside the question. That they err by excess at times in formulating their principles is natural when we remember that they are making a philosophy, actually exploring a field that is still new.[2]

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[1] See Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. VII, pp. 16, 661, 843.

[2] The plausible manner in which the case against the unions may be presented is seen in the following from the North American Review, Vol. 165, p. 438 : " What the public, then, is called upon to do is to support the unions against the scabs—

The labor unions represent the cause of labor in the industrial war. They have created a standard on which they base demands concerning wages, hours and conditions of labor. Where the unions are established, in factory, mine or foundry, so-called "union conditions" obtain, conditions with which laborers are satisfied. Employers, in granting these demands, make concessions. Laborers, in turn, aim to compensate them by placing the union label on the factory product, by advertising and commending it in labor journals and by asking the friends of organized labor to purchase only such goods as bear the union label. The consumer or purchaser who asks for union-made goods exercises his moral power and acquits himself of his duty in as far as union conditions represent the demands of decency, honesty, justice and health. "The union label on the garment is a guarantee that that garment was made in a factory—was not made in the homes of the worker; that it was not made by children; that it was the product of adult labor; that it was not made under the sweatshop system; that the wages paid were comparatively fair to those prevailing in the trade, and the hours of labor were comparatively fair and reasonable." The advantages of the label are "better sanitary conditions in the establishment than are usual in the trade. . . . The label is not granted to employers unless such an improved sanitary condition obtains. The employés are all members of the union; the wages are usually higher, the hours of labor are usually lower than obtains in the trade where workingmen are unorganized."[1]

When the public purchases union-made goods it leagues itself with employers and laborers, and thus in a manner rec-

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that is, free, independent workmen; to back the authors of strikes and boycotts representing less than one-tenth of all workmen, against the other nine-tenths of those who are willing to work as honestly and as faithfully as the best, for wages which employers are able and willing to pay."

[1] Report of Industrial Commission. Testimony of Mr. Gompers, Vol. VII pp. 630, 628. The classical illustration of the use of the label is found in the clothing trade. Sweatshops reveal the worst possibilities of our industrial system, in danger to health, morals and humanity. As a rule they escape inspection by law since they are not factories. The chief factory inspector of New York stated before the Industrial Commission that he knew of but one house in 500 in New York that did not deal in sweatshop goods. (Report, Vol. VII, p. 32.) Sometimes customers ask if sweatshop goods are sold. The answer is invariably, No. But proprietors refuse to state that in writing. Instances are known where goods were purchased on the condition that a signed statement be sent. They were never delivered. (American Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, p. 291.)

ognizes the economic and ethical solidarity which exists but is ignored in modern life.[1]

We have brought the discussion down from the general thought of the consumer's moral power to the particular institution known as the Trade Union Label. The label is an expression of the general thought. But it is not the only one nor is it itself perfect. There are employers who do not deal with union labor nor use a union label, who, however, treat their laborers with great consideration. When this is the case and it is known, consumers who deal with them surely use their moral power to good advantage. Factories sometimes employ no union label—for instance, in making clothes—but use instead a factory label, which, properly protected, gives assurance that garments were made, not in sweatshops, but in factories, and thus in conditions required by factory laws. Consumers do no wrong in relying on that assurance, assuming that the laws are adequate and inspection is efficient. Unions naturally prefer that their labels be employed. We cannot blame them for so wishing, for they can see no adequate means of reform other than their own organization.

The label is not perfect. It is the epitome of trade-union philosophy. As such it has the weakness as well as the strength of that philosophy. It may not always guarantee sanitary conditions in the factory ; it may not always be proof of skilled workmanship and superior quality. Labor unions or their representatives may at times have sold for money the right to use the label, when such use implied treason to the union and the workers. Labels, even when copyrighted, may have been counterfeited, and in this way the value of their guarantee may have been materially affected. Making allowance for these limitations, the label remains a practical, powerful institution which enables the consumer to moralize his decisions as consumer and thus use his power for social betterment.

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[1] Cigarmakers introduced the label in 1880 ; 37 national and international unions have adopted labels The Garment Makers' Label is used in 45 establishments in the United States. There are probably 150 union label leagues in the United States whose aim is to encourage the use of the label. Possibly 100 associations of ladies exist in the country for the same purpose. Many cities require the union label on city printing. Aside from trade labels the American Federation of Labor has a general label which is used in the absence of any other. Unions copyright the label and thus protect themselves against imitations. It is an unwritten law that all members of unions shall purchase only union goods when possible to get them. The Knights of Labor watch the members very carefully in order to encourage purchases of "fair goods." Further information may be found in Bulletin of the Department of Labor, No. 15 ; North American Review, Vol. 165; leaflets of the Social Reform Club of New York ; in labor papers generally.

It is interesting to note that in some cases where union labor is employed the label is not used. Some in the so-called higher classes dislike labor unions. In the absence of a label their prejudice is not aroused. The chief unions which have adopted the label are those of printers, bakers, woodworkers, harnessmakers, iron molders, broom-makers, coopers, photographers, shoemakers, custom tailors, mattress makers, brewers, horseshoers, cigarmakers, hatters, garment makers.

Going back farther, from the defects of the label to the excesses of the unions, there is need of thought. Most of the mistakes of the unions are due to their weakness, not to their strength. As they grow strong they become conservative. The workers have been in a difficult position. They are the weakest element in the process of production. Employers seek profit and they must seek it selfishly. A set of intricate relations developed between laborer and employer, for which society has no understanding and the State has no specific principles. Two individuals who disagree about the ownership of a piece of land have law and procedure by which to reach a peaceful agreement, while ten thousand laborers who may disagree with employers about hours of labor or conditions of labor or wages, have no specific law and no procedure by which to reach a settlement. We have blame for laborers, then, when they strike, but none for employers when they resort to injunctions. We have national anxiety as to whether the Constitution follows the flag or soldiers coming from the Philippines shall pay duty on diamond rings, but we are not concerned about the safety of the miners who dig our coal, or the welfare of the children of workingmen, or the standard of life of half the nation. We are eager for a great canal to connect two mighty oceans and forgetful of the chasm between our social classes; zealous in civilizing Filipinos and slothful in humanizing industry. We condemn the labor union for violence toward the non-union man or "scab," while we hang a deserter from our army and force free men to enter it. We condemn the walking delegate while we send representatives in all directions; we frown down the boycott and by a protective tariff boycott whole nations; we condemn sympathetic strikes and proceed to war with Spain out of sympathy with Cuba.[1] We have no sympathy with laborers who quarrel with employers over wages, and we forget the flood of immigration, which threatens to reduce wages and the standard of life among them. We have little sympathy with unions and forget that they have undertaken, unaided, work which the nation, its scholars, its churches and legislatures should perform. When we take all these things into consideration we may be less severe in condemning unions, less fearful of sanctioning what we call their tyranny, their selfishness and their excesses. Then, possibly, the union label may speak to us its message.

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[1] Points developed in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 4, p. 448. Trade Unions and Public Duty, by Jane Adams.

We return to the general thought, that consumers have power over the conditions of labor; that there is moral responsibility or opportunity among consumers to improve those conditions. This sense of responsibility has created another institution known as the Consumers' League. The condition of saleswomen and young girls in our great retail stores as regards wages, hours of work, fines for being late, regulations about standing, even when not busy, and similar details of work, had become such that it appealed to customers with great force. Health and morals were cruelly sacrificed, and wages, low at best, were materially reduced by fines which employers appropriated. The extent and degree to which the savagery of business condemned these unfortunates to physical and moral ruin, the extent to which the process still goes on is not known to the public generally; and often, when known, it awakens the sentiment of pity rather than of responsibility. The Consumers' League rests on the sense of responsibility of the purchaser for the condition of those who serve him. The movement originated in England, but established itself in New York in 1890. The method of work is simple. The Leagues have agreed on the following standard of a fair house:

Wages.—A fair house is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex. In the departments where women only are employed, in which the minimum wages are $6 per week for experienced adult workers and fall in few instances below $8.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which fines, if imposed, are paid into a fund for the benefit of the employees.

In which the minimum wages of cash girls are $2 per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments and fines.

Hours.—A fair house is one in which the hours from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. (with three-quarters of an hour for lunch) constitute the working day, and a general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

In which a vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

In which all overtime is compensated for.

Physical Conditions.—A fair house is one in which work, lunch, and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present sanitary laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

Other Conditions.—A fair house is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

Whenever proprietors of our great stores agree to these conditions their names are placed on what is known as the White List and the members of the League use all available means to influence friends and the public to patronize such houses. By shopping early in the day customers enable proprietors to give shorter hours to salesgirls; by making purchases early in the season the rush of the later season is avoided and overwork is not necessary. Leagues have been formed in cities in New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania. They are now federated into a National League. They carry on simultaneously the work of education and of investigation. In both kinds of work much has been accomplished.[1]

The leagues are broader in their conception of their mission than are the labor unions. The former are not like the unions in scope and origin. The league seeks fair conditions, while the union seeks union conditions. Nevertheless both express the same vital thought concerning the moral and economic power of the consumer, and both promise to be factors of much importance in the development of that thought.

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[1] Information as to the details of their work, results, methods and principles may be found in reports, leaflets, etc., issued by the leagues; in the Consumers' League by John Graham Brooks; North American Review, Vol. 166, article on The Consumers' Label; publications of the Christian Social Union, No. 46; in the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, Aim and Principles of the Consumers' League, by Florence Kelley, Vol. VI; The Work and Problems of the Consumers' League, by F. L. McVey.

There is sometimes misunderstanding between the two forces, but there can be no antagonism if both are faithful to their single final purpose. Both meet the same objection: namely, that the public has no right to dictate to a man how he shall conduct his business. It is impertinent in a labor union or a consumers' league to do so. The day is past when that objection had force. We have come to believe that a "private business is a public trust." Health inspection and sanitary laws, factory inspection and factory laws, Interstate Commerce Commission and railroad laws all reveal to us that society regards neither personal habits nor factories nor railroads as matters of mere private concern. It is not unreasonable to hope, then, that the society may soon realize that the health, morals and welfare of its working millions merit more care than labor laws promise and inspection laws guarantee. The power to grant the protection needed seems to lie with the consumer. Through him religion might do its noblest social work; in him education may find its highest possibilities. Economic forces may bid defiance to religion and its restraint; they may banish it and its gospel beyond the economic world and refuse to give it honor; they may proudly convert intellectual forces into willing defenders of their tyranny, but they cringe before the consumer like a whipped lion before its tamer. His power is entire, his wish is law, his nod a command. With economics commencing to realize this, with ethics awakening to its importance, with practical effort turning toward it, may we not hope that all the social forces which make for better things—religion, strongest, truest, safest among them—may soon find the fullest opportunity of effective reform through the power of the consumer. Bastiat spoke well when he said, "If the human race is to be improved it must be improved by the morality of the consumer."

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THE ÆNEID.

Although the great Latin Epic, the Æneid of Vergil, like the work of Vergil's predecessor, Lucretius, remained unfinished at its author's death; still, the poem itself, immediately upon its publication by Varius and Tucca, was received by all classes at Rome with an enthusiasm which marked it not merely for success, but which at once sounded the note of its enduring supremacy in the world of Latin letters. We are told that within a decade of the author's death—that is, within eight years after its first appearance, the Æneid had already become a text-book in the Roman schools. Nor was its fame a passing one. The impression which the poem created was as lasting as it had been immediate. No poet of antiquity, no uninspired writer of any age, if we except Aristotle, has had a larger influence in the world of thought and letters than Vergil; and this influence, though less direct than that exercised by Aristotle, is all the more wonderful in that it comes not from a teacher but from a poet.

Horace said of Vergil that nature never produced a fairer soul. Propertius too, even before the appearance of the poem, uttered his bold prophecy, that the coming Æneid would surpass even the Iliad. Ovid, a greater poet, and a critic of clearer insight, speaks of the "Exiled Æneas" as the most illustrious production of Latin letters. The Æneid was the text-book which taught Seneca, Petronius and Juvenal what perfection had lain latent in their native tongue. No poet of Rome, after the publication of the great Roman masterpiece, ever dared to neglect its rhythm, its syntax or its vocabulary. Ovid, and after him Lucan, Silius, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, found their highest praise in reproducing fitfully the perfection of the master's faultless lines. Nor was his excellence acknowledged only by the poets. Tacitus conned the verses of the Æneid until his own style was so colored with the Vergilian diction that a reminiscence of Vergil, lurking in a damaged passage of the "Annals" or the "Histories," will often suggest the proper emendation of the text; and oftener still will solve the question when choice is to be made between rival readings. The very stones of antiquity cry out and tell us in what estimation Vergil and his poems were held. Scratched on the baths of Titus have been found the words "tantae molis erat," and on a wall in Pompeii is scribbled "conticuere omnes." Thus, for the Roman world, Vergil became what Homer had been to Greece, "the poet." And from his own time until the present century his fame has not grown less with the passing ages. In the decay of art and letters which marked the third century a mystic element was associated with the renown in which his name was held. The Christians of these earlier centuries regarded him as a poet apart, if not sacred. In the exquisite purity of his sentiment, his deeply religious feeling, his tenderness and almost Christian "yearning after the farther shore," as well as in the supposed prophecy of the fourth Eclogue, they recognized what seemed the themes of inspiration; they heard again the olden tones borne along in the melody of a matchless rhythm. St. Augustine speaks of Vergil as the "fairest bloom of Pagan art," and in the famous passage in the Confessions,[1] when he refers to his early love for Vergil, he shows us what it cost him to make his great renunciation and to undo the haunting charm of the Vergilian art. We catch glimpses of Vergil's presence throughout the literature of the later Middle Ages;[2] and later still we see Dante taking Vergil by the hand, to be led by him from the modern to the ancient world. "Or se'tu quel Virgilio?" These are the words of awe and veneration with which Dante, in the "Divina Commedia," greets his immortal predecessor in Italian poetry.

Nor has the modern world of letters withheld its measure of praise; in the words of Bacon, it hails the Mantuan bard as "the royalest and chastest poet that to the memory of man is known." And so, without multiplying these words of commendation, which no age has denied to Rome's greatest poet, it may be said in summary, that from the day on which the Æneid issued from the hands of its first editors down to the present century, Vergil has been recognized as the type of perfection in poetry. Before the year 1500, ninety editions of his works had been published, and so many since the revival of letters that there are said to be as many editions as the years that have passed since his death.

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[1] Confess. 1—XII. "Quid miserius misero, non miserante se ipsum, et flente Didonis mortem quae fiebat amando Æneam, non flente autem mortem meam quae fiebat non amando te? Deus lumen cordis mei, non te amabam, et haec non flebam, sed flebam Didonem extinctam, ferroque extrema secutam, sequens ipse extrema condita tua relicto te!"

[2] A well-known legend of the Middle Ages relates how St. Paul, coming to the tomb of Vergil, exclaimed, "What a man I had made of you had I met you in life!"

"Quem te, inquit, reddidissem
Si te vivum invenissem
Poetarum maxime!"

But now, while the praise bestowed upon the poems of Vergil, and especially upon the Æneid, has been lavish and spoken with unanimity by those in every age best qualified to judge of excellence in letters, still there are in modern, as there were in ancient times,[1] some few who questioned the poet's literary merit. The Niebuhrs of the present century have their prototypes in the "Vergilii obtrectatores" of Vergil's own age. Critics there were then whose writings perished with them, whose names hardly survive, and who, like the Bernhardys of our own time, perused the poet's works to find fault, who neglected all the transcending graces of the Æneid, but were alert to note each minutest blemish; critics who gladly spent their labor in pointing out the venial defects of the unfinished masterpiece; who veiled their ancient envy under appeals to Homer, to tradition, to Lucretius and to the older Latin poets as the standards of excellence; critics, in a word, who, as far as we can learn from the fragmentary evidence preserved in Servius and Macrobius, set up the same norms, made the same ill-judged and fatal contrasts, used the same methods and formulated the same censures, which, for a brief time, and in a limited circle, have found repetition during the present century.

In our own day however, apart from the sweeping condemnation already mentioned,[2] the scientific development of philological criticism, legitimately applied, has passed Vergil and his works through all its searching processes, and he emerges from the trial, having gained rather than lost; for in the ordeal, the vagueness of indiscriminate praise and the injustice of inconsiderate censure, have both been taken away and his fame remains in fair and final judgment.[1]

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[1] For a full discussion of Vergil and his ancient critics, see Conington's Introduction, pp. xxix–liii, where names of the critics and the extant fragments of their works have all been collected. See also H. Nettleship's "Vergil," pp. 77 to 87.

[2] The hostile criticism of the Æneid which the present century has witnessed may be said to date from the time of the appearance of Niebuhr's "Röm. Geschichte." 2 vols. (1811–1832). See also Teuffel's "Geschichte d. Röm Literatur," 228, 5, where the Æneid is pronounced "flat, lifeless, and oppressively dull." Bernhardy denied Vergil any creative power, and Mommsen, in his Roman History, classed the

Now that just criticism has enhanced rather than diminished our appreciation of the Æneid, it may be interesting to institute a short inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the publication of the great Latin Epic. Of course, nothing more than the note of a high probability can attach to some of the conclusions reached by such an investigation, for the reason that the sources which have come down to us, and which it is necessary to cite, are often merely detached phrases from lost works, preserved in quotations at second or third hand; other authorities again, are scanty and fragmentary; and still others, especially the longer accounts, are interpolated and consequently contradictory. Notwithstanding, however, the damaged condition of the ancient testimony it is still possible to eliminate the later interpolations and so to group and interpret the trustworthy accounts, as to derive a fairly complete report of the essential particulars relative to the matter under discussion; that is, the names of the editors to whom Augustus entrusted the work, the methods they employed in preparing the text, and, finally, the probable date of the poem's first appearance.

While the poem was in course of composition, Augustus, Maecenas, Horace, a number of writers, poets and orators, were kept more or less well informed in regard to the progress of

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Æneid with epics like the "Henriad" and the "Messiad." French scholars, on the contrary, have given the Æneid the enthusiastic support of their learning, and rank Vergil, in the words of Saint Beuve, as the "poet of all the Latin races." Scaliger placed him above Homer and Theocritus, and Voltaire said; "If Homer is the creator of Vergil, Vergil is certainly the finest of his works." English scholars have been almost as enthusiastic as the French, and a splendid contribution to the fame of Vergil is to be found in Tennyson's ode to the Bard of Mantua.

[1] See Mackall's "Latin Literature" (New York, 1899), pp. 99 ff. See also Tyrrell, "Latin Poetry" (Boston, 1900), pp. 128 ff., and Nagcotte, "Histoire de la Littérature latine, pp. 321 ff.

the work.[1] According to the Donatus Life of Vergil,[2] the latter had read his Georgics to Augustus at Atella in the year 29 B. C. During the ten succeeding years, that is, from 29 B. C. until his death, the poet was busy at work on the Æneid. Three years after the commencement of the poem (26 B. C.) Propertius was already acquainted with some parts or part of the work.[3] This interest, already widespread in the year 26 B. C., continued to increase during the next eight years of the poet's life. And thus, though no part of the work was thoroughly corrected at the time of his death, yet the poem itself had all the publicity which the select court circle could give it, for such passages as had been heard from time to time had raised public expectation to a very high pitch.

We are indebted to the Suetonian Life of Vergil, as well as to the Vita prefixed to the Servian commentary, for the statement that Augustus committed the actual publication of the poem to Vergil's two most intimate friends, L. Rufus Varius and Tucca. The work produced at once a profound and universal impression. It was acknowledged to be the greatest achievement of the Latin poetic genius.[4]

The "Ars Amatoria" appeared in the year immediately preceding the birth of Christ, and the "Remedia Amoris" in the year following—that is, about a decade and a half after the publication of the Æneid. Seneca's Memoirs, too, are authority for the statement that the poem enjoyed a wide popularity, and that lines from it were current in the first decade after its appearance.[5]

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[1] Comparetti "Vergil in the Middle Ages," Chap. 1. And for the names of Vergil's friends, see Ribbeck's Pref. to his edition of Vergil in the Teubner text, pp. 34 seq.

[2] Reifferscheid's "Suetonius" pp. 61 seq.

[3] Cf. Propertius 3, 34.

"Qui nunc Æneae Troiani suscitat arma
Jactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus
Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade."

[4] Cf. Ovid Ars Amatoria, III, 387.

"Et profugum Aeneam altaque primordia Romae
Quo nullum Latio clarius extat opus."

And the Rem, Amoris, 395.

"Tantum se nobis eligi debere fatentur
Quantum Vergilio nobile dedit Epos."

[5] For similar contemporaneous testimony see Wölfflin, Philol., XXVI, 130. See also Zingerle "Ovidius u. s. Verhalt, zu d., Röm. Dichtern, Vol. II, pp. 48, 113. And Sabidini, "Critical Studies in the Æneid, pp. 134, 173.

The Vita Vergilii, on which we mainly rely for the facts relative to our investigation, and which, until quite recently, was attributed to Aelius Donatus, exists in two forms, interpolated and uninterpolated.[1] In its latter form it has been edited several times[2]; and it is proven almost to a certainty, by evidence internal and external, that this Vita, in its uninterpolated form, is the remnant of a lost Vita Vergilii, which goes back to Suetonius, Rome's most painstaking biographer. The arguments, proving the Suetonian authorship of the Vita in question, are too detailed to be rehearsed here.[3] Otto Ribbeck, perhaps the most meritorious of modern Vergilian scholars,[4] is of the opinion that the first part of this Suetonian Vita was derived by Suetonius, through Asconius Pedianus, from Varius himself, who was the principal editor of the Æneid, and that Varius was the chief authority, if not indeed the only one, used by Suetonius in his Vita Vergilii.[5] Again, Ribbeck has a theory, which, if true, goes far indeed toward showing the still higher value attaching to this Suetonian (Donatus) Vita in general, and its statements in reference to the publication of the Æneid in particular. He is of the opinion[6] that the first editor of the Æneid, Varius, besides his other writings, composed an opusculum, "De Ingenio Moribusque Vergilii." He cites Quintilian X, 3, 8, where it is said that "Varius is the authority for the statement that Vergil composed but a very few verses each day," and he adds that Favorinus[7] probably had this work of Varius in mind when he wrote that "the friends and companions of Vergil have handed down to posterity what was known 'de ingenio moribusque

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[1] See Conington's Introduction to Vergil, pp. XVII, seq., and Teuffel, "Latin Literature," 408, 4. See Nettleship, "Vergil", pp. 20, seq.

[2] Notably by Reifferscheid and Hagen; cf. also Nettleship, "Ancient Lives of Vergil," pp. 15. seq., where the texts of the various Vergilian Vitae have been collected and edited with a commentary and critical apparatus.

[3] See Conington's Introduction, p. XVI, and Nettleship's "Ancient Lives," where the arguments are given in full.

[4] Cf. Ribbeck's Prolegomena to Vergil, pp. 92, seq.

[5] This opinion of Ribbeck does not meet Nettleship's approbation. The latter thinks that Varius was only one of many authorities used by Suetonius. Cf. "Ancient Lives," p. 32.

[6] It is only fair to state that this opinion is found in Weichert, "De Vita et Carminibus Varii, pp. 67, seq.

[7] Cited by Gellius, "Atticae Noctes," XVII, 10. Melissus, a freedman of Horace, also wrote, in all probability, on this subject. See Ribbeck Prolegg. pp.,100, seq.

(Vergilii)' and these friends and companions report the story that Vergil licked his verses into shape after the manner of a bear licking its cub (more et ritu ursino)". Weichert, also, in the work already mentioned, thinks that the often repeated story of Vergil's testamentary wish to have the unfinished Æneid burned (which story is also cited by Gellius and the Suetonian Donatus Vita), probably goes back to the "opusculum" of Varius. Finally, we have in this Suetonian Vita an important item of information regarding Vergil's method of work, told apparently in Varius' own words.[1] Hence, if the inferences of Ribbeck,[2] Spalding[3], Weichert,[4] and Wagner[5] be valid, and little can be said against them, we have in our Suetonian (Donatus) Vita, not only the testimony of Varius touching the three facts already mentioned, but we have the further information that Varius actually composed an opusculum containing personal memoirs of Vergil[6]. Now, such a work, written by Varius himself, an independent author of undoubted literary ability and taste, with all the knowledge and consequent authority which his intimate friendship with Vergil guaranteed, would, of course, prove the most formidable document available against the latter's "obtrectatores." Hence there is little room to doubt that this work of Varius was the one most often cited by Vergil's friends against the "obtrectatores," and hence, too, it is certain that the opusculum of Varius was used by Asconius Pedianus[7], who was one of Vergil's most zealous defenders, and who, as we know positively from independent sources, did write against the "obtrectatores" of Vergil. Further, Asconius Pedianus was born nearly twenty years after Vergil's death,[8] consequently he could not have received from Vergil himself the latter's retort to the charge that he had borrowed many of his lines from Homer, in which answer Asconius reports Vergil as challenging his critics themselves to borrow from Homer if they are able, and adding that "it were easier to steal the club from Hercules than to take a line from Homer."[1] Hence the inference is inevitable, since Asconius never saw Vergil, that he used the writings of his predecessors, Vergil's contemporaries, and principally, perhaps entirely, the authoritative work, the opusculum of Vergil's intimate friend, heir and literary executor, Varius.

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[1] See Reiffersch, p. 59, "Cum Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos mane plurimos versus dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere."

[2] Ribbeck, Prolegg, pp. 89, 90.

[3] Spaulding's Quintilian, pp. 142 and 143.

[4] Weichert, De Vita et Carminibus Varii, pp. 74, ff.

[5] Heyne Wagner. Note to Æneid V, 871.

[6] The date of the opusculum is placed by Weichert, loc. cit., soon after Vergil's death.

[7] See Middleton and Mills "Companion to Latin Authors," p. 77. See also Nettleship, "Vergil," p. 84. The title of Asconius' work was "Liber contra obtrectatores Vergilii." See Teuffel, 295. 2; 225, 3; 228, 6. Cf. especially Kiessling "Coniectanea Specialia," pp. 5, seq.

[8] Ribbeck Prolegg, p. 100.

Now, as we know Suetonius[2] to have been most careful and accurate in the selection of his authorities, it can be said with safety that Asconius himself was Suetonius' principal source[3] for the latter's statement in regard to the publication of the Æneid, found in the Donatus Vita. And therefore the account found in that biography, that Augustus ordered Varius and Tucca to prepare the Æneid for publication, may be assumed as trustworthy.[4] For, as we have seen, that account is universally attributed to Suetonius. From Suetonius it is traced back through Asconius Pedianus to Varius himself, to Melissus perhaps, and to other contemporaries of Vergil, composing that cultured circle of poets, orators and writers, which Augustus had gathered around him, and among whom, after Vergil, Varius was the most prominent figure.[5]

The next point in our inquiry is the question of method. Had the editors, Varius and Tucca, a free hand in preparing the poem for publication? Could they expunge what seemed superfluous lines or fill out unfinished verses? The importance of this question will be evident at once. We know that up to the time of the appearance of the capital MSS., now in our possession, more than one tradition in regard to the Vergilian text was current; traces of which variations are visible in the citations of Vergi, by the earlier grammarians, and especially in the conflicting reports of the capital MSS., and likewise in the early commentary of Servius. Hence, on our solution of this question of method followed by Varius and Tucca, will depend largely the view we take in regard to the spuriousness or genuinity of several disputed passages in our received version of the Æneid.[1]

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[1] Ibid, pp. 89, seq.

[2] Suetonius used original documents, as far as they were available. In his Lives of the Caesars he constantly refers to the "Monumentum Ancyranum," the Acta Populi, the Acta Senatus and autograph documents of the emperors themselves. Cf. Suet. Augustus, 87 and Nero 52.

[3] For Asconius as an authority of Suetonius see Nissen, Rhein, Mus. 41, 496, and Becker ibid. 37, 643. See also, for other literature, Teuffel, 387. 11.

[4] For the statement see Reifferscheid, Suet., p. 63. "Ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit. (Vergilius.) . . . Edidit autem, auctore Augusto, Varius."

[5] Cf. Ribbeck Prolegg. pp. 89 seq., and Mommsen, Philol. I, 180. See also Vahlen, Berlin Lect. 1877 and 1878. Collateral proof in regard to Varius editing the Æneid is to be found in the lines of Sulpicius Carthaginiensis, Reif. p. 63. And in the epigram attributed to Phocas. Add to this the direct statement of Suetonius, cited by St. Jerome, Eusebius' Chronicle; Eusebius to the 190th Olympiad. See also Weichert's "Varius," pp. 75 seq.

No detailed statement of the plan followed by Varius and Tucca has come down to us, and here again we shall have to rely mainly on the fragmentary utterances of the Donatus Life. These are to be found in Reifferscheid's Suetonius, p. 63, and are as follows:[2] "Vergil made Lucius Varius and Plotius Tucca his heirs, and these two, after the poet's death, at the command of Caesar, emended the Æneid." Here we meet with the statement that the editors had at least some discretionary power of emendation. How far it extended it is difficult to say. That it was not absolute, however, is certain; for although the poem came into their hands with no part finished,[3] yet the following restriction had been placed upon their work by Vergil himself, namely, that they were to edit nothing which the poet himself would not publish.[4] And, on the other hand, the fact that the Æneid was in a very unfinished state when delivered over to them; the further fact that two years elapsed, during which period they were busy with the work of emendation and getting the poem into shape for publication;[5] and the final statement of the Suetonian Vita "Edidit autem Varius sed summatim emendata;" all lead us to suppose that the emendatory powers of the editors must have been considerable.

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[1] See Conington's Introduction, pp. CI, seq., and Nettleship's "Vergil," p. 87, seq. The opening lines, Ille ego, &c., as well as the longer Helen passage Aen. II, 567 to 588, are found in no capital MS.

[2] "Heredes fecit (Vergilius.) . . . L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius Aeneida post obitum iussu Caesaris emendarunt."

[3] See the Donatus Vita.

[4] "Scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit (eidem Vario et Tuccae) ne quid ederent quod non a se editum esset."

[5] "Edidit autem Varius, sed summatim emendata." Thilo in his introduction, p. 16, interprets "summatim" as meaning cursorily, slightly, or the like. Cf. Suet, August. Vita 85.

The only limitation placed upon them seems to have regarded lines and passages not emanating directly from Vergil himself. The poem when given to the world was to contain nothing that was not Vergil's. The editors might cancel repetitions, but they were distinctly enjoined to add nothing new, not even to complete the unfinished verses which they found.[1] As to the cancelling powers delegated to the editors, the short Vita, prefixed to the commentary of Servius, tells us that Varius and Tucca were authorized to delete passages or lines deemed superfluous.[2] And thus another item is added to our scanty information. The editors might cancel, but only what they held to be superfluous.

Now it is easy to conceive that the editors, Varius and Tucca, acting with the discretionary power conferred upon them, may have deemed the variant passages (such as the Helen episode) preserved in the early commentaries, as superfluous, and so have excluded them, notwithstanding their Vergilian authorship, from their official exemplar; and as a consequence of that editorial suppression, such passages are not authenticated in our received version of the Vergilian text, which goes back through the capital MSS. to the official edition of Varius and Tucca. Of course, the sources for the text at the disposal of the grammarians and commentators must have been unofficial copies of Vergilian MSS.; that is, texts such as had been left by Vergil, and which were uncorrected by his editors. For, as we know, there are readings in the ancient commentators widely at variance with the Archetype of our best capital MSS.[3] Besides, as a matter of fact, there are faint rumors in the first few centuries after the poet's death of the existence of certain MSS. which apparently had never come under the correcting hand of Varius or his associate, Tucca.[1]

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[1] "Edidit autem . . . ut qui versus etiam imperfectos, sicut erant reliqueret." Add to this the collateral testimony from Suetonius, quoted by St. Jerome," Varius et Tucca . . . Aeneidum postea libros emendarunt sub ea lege; ut nihil adderent."

[2] "Augustus vero ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege iussit emendare ut superflua demerent."

[3] See Conington's Introd., pp. cv. seq.

We come now to the last point in this outline of the publication of the Æneid; namely, the date of its appearance.[2] It is likely that we shall never know exactly how much time Varius and Tucca required for their work of correction and editing. Still, assuming that they began at once after the death of their friend, we can say with considerable probability that the two following years were spent correcting and preparing the poem for its publication, thus fixing the date in the year 17 B. C.

We know on unimpeachable testimony that the fame of the Æneid had gone forth long before its author's death, and we have already cited the verses which Propertius composed, at least seven or eight years before the poem appeared. Now, Horace was Vergil's ancient friend; the latter had introduced him to Maecenas, who in turn obtained the favor of Augustus for him and made him a member of the literary circle which frequented the court.[3] Hence, we are safe in assuming that Horace ought to have enjoyed a larger measure of Vergil's confidence than Propertius, and there is little doubt but that Horace was kept much better informed with regard to the progress of the Æneid than Propertius. He was certainly numbered among those whom Vergil habitually consulted with reference to certain passages, while the work was in course of composition.[4] But now we are met with a remarkable fact. Although Horace certainly enjoyed at least as close a friendship with Vergil as Propertius, or any of the writers who make frequent allusions to the Æneid before its actual publication, still, strange to relate, Horace makes no reference whatever, either directly or indirectly, to the great work of his friend before the latter's death. There is no trace of even a passing allusion to the Æneid in the works of Horace published before the year of Vergil's death, 19 B. C. Even the very subject which had made the Æneid so popular, the Æneas legend, has not the slightest influence on Horace, nor is any reference to it found in any of his works prior to the publication of the third book of the Odes. Indeed, in this very third book of his Odes Horace takes occasion to refer to the supposed Trojan origin of the Romans, and he shows himself actually on the point of repudiating such an origin altogether.[1] Juno, (the implacable enemy of the Trojans according to the Vergilian account) lends her influence to exalt Rome, on the express condition only, that the Romans never again thinking of raising fallen Ilium. The favor of the goddess is assured as long as Troy remains in ruins. This is certainly at variance with the spirit and letter of the Æneid, the burden of which is the expression of tenderest sympathy for fallen Troy and its exiled people. Moreover, though Troy is mentioned in this Ode, the Trojan hero, Æneas, is not, though no more fitting place can be imagined. Nor is the hero of the Æneid referred to anywhere in the first three books of the Odes, or in the Epodes. In his earlier patriotic pieces, Horace often speaks of Rome and its origin; but what is most singular, is the fact that he never goes farther back than Romulus. The latter's birth and death are favorite themes with him, but never once does he allude to the Vergilian account of the parent city Troy, or the Trojan origin of the Romans.[2] To show forcibly the divergent views of the two poets, it will be sufficient to expose their different treatment of the same topic. Both relate the manner in which the gods punished the ancient sins of their people. Horace[3] makes that punishment consist in the death of Remus. Vergil, on the contrary, carries the punishment back to the Trojan war, and makes the destruction of Troy the penalty.[4] And this difference of attitude and treatment is in evidence throughout the first three books of the Odes and in the Epodes. Now, without protracting further this discussion, if it be true that the Odes of the first three books were published about the year 22 B. C.,[1] Vergil had already labored on the Æneid ten years, and the poem must have been almost completed. For it was two years before this time that Augustus had asked to hear some selections from it. Horace, nevertheless, in his first three books of Odes, observes the deepest reticence about the masterpiece of his most intimate friend. He never once makes the least allusion to the subject, character, or any of the contents of the poem; he never speaks of any of the episodes recounted in the Æneid; nor does he even name any of the principal personages whose adventures are told in the poem. Whatever may be the reason for this strange silence, while other less intimate friends were repeating lines from the Æneid and extolling it to the skies, while Propertius could tell of its subject-matter and compare it with the Iliad, Horace is as silent before Vergil's death as though the Æneid had never existed.

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[1] Gellius III, 2 3, mentions a MS. containing the second Æneid, which was believed to have been written by Vergil himself. Still another account of an unofficial MS. of Vergil is to be found in Gellius XIII, 21, 3, where Probus is quoted as saying that he had seen a MS. "corrected by Vergil's own hand."

[2] See Middleton and Mills, p. 159, where a summary, as in the present article, is given of Boissier's theory: See Rev. de Philol, VIII, 2.

[3] In the Satires I, 5, 3, 2, Horace calls Vergil "his dearest friend." Cf. also Odes I. 3.

[4] Cf. Reifferscheid. p. 61, "Recitavit . . . ut ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis judicium hominum experiretur."

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[1] Cf. Odes 3,17 ff.

[2] Cf. Epodes, 7, 19, 16, 12; Odes I, 2, 17: III, 3, 5: III, 3, 9.

[3] C. Epodes III, 17:

"Ut immerentis fluxit in terram
Remi sacer nepotibus cruor."

And Vergil, Georgics, I 502:

"Laomedonteae luimus periurla Troiae."

[4] For the dates of Horace's Odes see Reifferschied "Annales Horatii." Breslau, 1870.

But two years pass, and a marked change is visible in the writings of Horace. In the spring of the year 17 B. C., Rome prepares to celebrate the "Ludi Saeculares," Vergil has been dead two years; during the interval Varius and Tucca have been at work on the Æneid; Horace is the laureate for the celebration, for he has been appointed by Augustus (under whose auspices the Æneid is being prepared for publication) to compose the Festal Chant for the games. And now in this hymn, the Carmen Saeculare, for the first time, in the writings of Horace we find no less than two distinct allusions to events recounted in the Æneid.[2] Two entire strophes of the poem are taken up with the description of the landing of the Trojan vessels on the shores of Italy. Æneas, the "castus Æneas," like the "pius Æneas" of the Vergilian poem, is represented as in the Æneid, escaping the flames of burning Troy. Augustus is no longer the incarnation of Mercury, and the successor of Romulus. He is now a Trojan, the grandson of

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[1] Cf. H. Besser JJ. 133, 692, and M. Messina, "Carmen Saeculare Horatii." See also Büchler's Collectanea. Bonn 1878: and the same author in Rhein. Mus. 37, 226.

[2] Cf. Carmen Saeculare, V. 36 seq.

Anchises and Venus. And the noble sentiments attributed to him in this poem are, without the shadow of a doubt, a description borrowed directly from the Æneid.[1]

From the appearance of the Carmen Saeculare onward, Vergilian reminiscences multiply in the works of Horace. In the fourth book of the Odes, the references to the Æneid are frequent. To select a few out of many: Æneas brings his household gods into Italy and founds the Roman nation.[2] Venus asks and obtains from Jupiter the promise that Æneas will found a city in Latium, destined to far higher glory than ancient Troy. In the fourth book also Horace applies the well known Vergilian epithet to Æneas, and calls him "pius Æneas."[3] Finally in the last Ode of the same book, Horace pictures the Romans with their wives and children as having prayed to the gods and then celebrating Troy and the son of Venus.[4]

Now, from all this two conclusions seem deducible: First, that the year of the "Ludi Saeculares" was the date chosen by Augustus to celebrate not only the glories of his house, the Julian gens, but also as a fitting opportunity for giving to the world the greatest glory of the whole Roman nation; namely, the Æneid. For we cannot but think that these two events, the Ludi Saeculares and the first appearance of the Æneid, both fraught with immense significance and both alike glorious to the Roman people and Rome's Emperor, did not happen upon the same date fortuitously; but on the contrary, the inference is almost inevitable that Augustus, who had inspired the Carmen Saeculare and had saved the Æneid from the flames, deliberately signalized the date of the splendid celebration, by giving to the world at the same time the great Roman Epic, in order to make forever memorable, the first appearance of that poem, which he knew well would for all time to come shed lustre upon his own reign and glory upon Rome. And now if this conclusion be allowed, it will follow that the date of the official appearance of the Æneid was the spring of the year 17 B. C., for that was the year in which the Ludi Saeculares were celebrated, and in which the Carmen Saeculare was chanted. It will follow also that Varius and Tucca were engaged for the greater part of two entire years in their editorial work, for we know that Vergil died at Brundisium in September of the year 19 B. C.

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[1] Cf. Carmen Saec. 52 ff.

"Bellante prior, iacentem
Levis in hostem."

With Vergil, Aen. VI, 853.

"Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

[2] Cf. Odes IV, 52 ff. and Aen. I, 67, and again Odes IV, 6, 21.

[3] Odes IV, 7, 15.

[4] Odes IV, 15, 30.

"Troiamque et Anchisen et Almae
Progeniem Veneris canemus."

JOHN D. MAGUIRE.

THE LANGUAGE OF EVOLUTION—II.

In a previous issue,[1] the general influence of language on thought and the special influence of the language of "Natural Selection" were discussed at length. The present article extends the discussion to the phrases, "race experience" and "heredity." It endeavors to show that the facts of man's mental and moral life cannot reasonably be explained on any theory of "mental inheritance" which would reduce them to a set of ancestral habits accidentally acquired at first, and afterward solidified by repetition into persistent uniformities of thought, belief, and action. No real explanation can ever be reached through any such idea of mechanical development. Under pain of begging the whole question at issue, the mental, moral, social, and religious ideals of men must be admitted as the primitive, natural, irreducible endowment of the human individual; they cannot be exhibited as an outgrowth of earlier animal "experiences."

The philosophy of the Unconscious, it may be remarked by way of introduction, has gradually supplanted during the last six decades the old world-view of final causes and intentional design. The tendency of scientific inquiry, no less than the drift of the comparative methods now in vogue, has been in the main to widen rather than to narrow the sphere of the unintentional in nature. The manifest instances of purpose-like adaptation of organ to function and of part to organism, so long looked upon as indications of an original divine plan, are now usually interpreted as effects of a slow, unconscious action of environment, which brings about in due course that "eternal fitness" of things once mistaken for evidence of creative foresight. "This world was not planned by a highest reason, although it has the highest reason for its goal," is the way Strauss[2] expresses the new faith.

The last word of science concerning the universe is, therefore, said when it is affirmed to be a vast structure, all the parts of which mutually condition and produce each other in a uniform series of actions which are linked together in an endless chain of cause and effect; or when it is represented as a self-enclosed system, permeated to the last detail by an energy that changes continually in the mode of its manifestation, though never in its total sum; and regulated throughout by a law of adjustment to the whole so rigorously enforcing obedience to its sole behest—"upward and onward ever"—as to make extinction the slow but sure fate overtaking every laggard.

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[1] October, 1901.

[2] Der Alte und der Neue Glaube, p. 143.

It must be confessed that this complete inversion of the old world-view, which took place when evolution placed reason at the end and not at the beginning of things, opened up a way of approaching the traditional problems of human thought that has led to many startling, not to say revolutionizing, conclusions. The constructive imagination which, to quote Professor Shaler, "has given us all the greater revelations of science and literature,[1] came quickly forward into the place of prominence as the faculty to which man must confidently appeal if he would understand his true place in nature. The method of proceeding was as inspiring as it was simple: man had only to put into some far-removed and indefinite antecedent all that he desired to draw out of it later, to explain himself fully with all his present belongings. By centering all needed assumptions in some primitive "mind-stuff,"[2] all the actualities of things might be conveniently exegeted out of this prime potential without recourse to the "carpenter theory of an intelligent God acting from design."

The absorbing point of view thus became retrospective. Future organized life, so it seemed, had been anticipated in the symmetric structure of crystals; free-will in the magnet's attraction for iron-filings; the source and motive of unselfish moral-action in that mutual helpfulness of part to part and of parts to whole displayed by organic beings, and commonly known as "solidarity;" the promise of cultivated reason in the generic sense-images of savage life as manifested in language and in crude methods of numbering; finally, "race experience" and "heredity" grew to be considered as most potent formulas for working out the whole sum of man's present knowledge and aspirations.

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[1] "The Individual," p. 187.

[2] "Mind-stuff is the reality which we perceive as matter."—Clifford, Lectures and Essays, p. 284.

It was not long before romantic literature—the medium through which the abstract ideas of the few are made intelligible to the many—began to reflect in a popular form the views that were current in scientific circles; not long before Realism in fiction and Fatalism in philosophy began again to run their wonted course together. Men read a melancholy lesson out of Nature, wrote prose-poems on the "sadness of science," and resurrected the half-forgotten world-views of the ancient Greeks. The past appeared dark, forbidding, pessimistic; the only ray of Messianic hope which it held out being the hint of better things to come when man shall have succeeded in making a servant of that inherited lower self within him that is still his worshipful master.

The past ten years have witnessed a change of attitude. "Natural Selection" has been so modified and amended as to have lost much of its sweeping significance even with its most ardent devotees. Ribot, who wrote[1] so confidently in the eighties about the transmission of acquired mental characters expresses himself[2] with much hesitation at the century's close. It has been felt that the attempt to conceive the universe as a physical mechanism is offset by the fact that man, who cannot be eliminated from the equation, forms purposes, acts for an end, and implicitly accepts the faith that a reason greater than his is back of the world's unfolding. There seems to be little left of that intense disposition—so prevalent twenty years ago—to make religion a closed department of ancient science, a sort of museum of mistaken views about nature, and to regard ethics merely as a branch of Natural History. It looks as if the philosophy of chance had already reached the high-water mark and begun to ebb.

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[1] Heredity," 1889.

[2] Evolution of General Ideas," 1897. Eng. Tr., p. 218, 1899.

A striking instance of this change of view may be seen in Professor John Fiske's last writings. He abandoned the doctrine which forbids any positive assertion to be made about God's nature, and championed the counter-tenet—that man has a conscious right to believe in the directive influence of the Eternal and Unseen throughout all history.[1] The tendency of the mind to rest in a preconception and to force it upon the varied detail of things, whether it fit well or ill, is not so overpowering as formerly. The baffled speculator has calmly reviewed his own futile attempt to dictate to Nature, criticized his own criticisms, and abandoned extremes for the golden mean. The idea of final causes is slowly creeping back again into the very minds which sought to dislodge it. And we may, therefore, regard as not altogether untimely a survey of three great attempts to carry out the Darwinian preconception in detail along the respective lines of race experience, heredity, and solidarity, our chief interest lying in an endeavor to determine how far the mental bias produced by a highly realistic set of phrases is responsible for that appearance of real proof which these three ideas are wont to wear.

One cannot fail to be impressed, at first sight, with the solemnity of the idea of *race experience* and the smoothness with which it runs its appointed course of explanation. A tiny cellular mass of living protoplasm, starting with its small capital of unorganized matter, acquires function after function as it passes along successively from parent to offspring through untold myriads of individuals, adding constantly to its store of experience what it wins from each; until to-day in the brain of the babe and the adult it has become a veritable storehouse of the habits acquired and transmitted by the long since vanished units of the race. Upon these remains of ancestral knowledge we constantly, though unwittingly, draw; they constitute a fund of blurred impressions, a sort of indistinct mental residue which is the source of what is now known as "automatic thought."

To this store of ancestral experience is to be referred the aptitude for abstracting and generalizing now the fixed habit of the mind, seen especially in that apparatus of first principles whereby we seek to interpret the reality of things about us and to make them amenable to our intelligence as a system of rational order and law. A "spontaneous variation" from a knowledge of dumb and unrelated facts to an insight, dim at first, into their mutual relationship and connection occurred with someone far back in the past, became fixed and communicable by dint of repetition, growing by slow accumulation in the course of generations to its present universality as an acquired mental character.[1]

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[1] "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." See also Professor Royce's article "John Fiske as a Thinker," The Harvard Graduates' Magazine, Sept., 1901.

An appeal to the experience of the race is thus made to account for all the higher working principles of thought, such as causality, identity, and belief in the uniformity of Nature, which transcend the experience of the individual. These, together with the mental habits of abstracting and generalizing, are only the sum of ancestral variations that have hardened into instinctive attitudes of mind and become a second nature. Man's present mental constitution is an acquisition, a legacy, and not the primitive endowment of the individual's nature. Man thinks in grooves which his remote progenitors sunk and deepened for him. A child of the past, he cannot solve the mysteries of his being and his knowing by looking inward, but only by looking back.

But is this stimulus of man's total experience really within us ready to produce ideas on occasion? Professor Shaler imagines it is, and adduces in evidence the pathological states of dreaming, temptation, and insanity, as well as those vague impressions that seem to rise spontaneously, as it were, within us, when "the normal activity of the mind is slowed down," such are his words, so as to shut out the ordinary influence of environment and to allow automatic thought to come into play.[2]

Surely these facts of our half-awake, dreaming, or disordered selves are not to be taken for serious proofs of thought-transmission. To marshal these abnormal facts as actual instances of such transmission is a pure begging of the question, as good an example of the wish being father to the thought as could possibly be desired: it assumes the proposition to be proved. Our inability to refer certain subconscious states of mind to any definite or particular stimulus, so far from establishing the thesis of stored-up experience, proves rather our own ignorance as to the origination of the states in question. As a matter of logic, an interpretation of facts to be legitimate must be disjunctively set forth—that is, shown to be the only interpretation the facts will bear. No mere reference of the unknown to the unknown, of one mystery to another; no mere contrast of the vagueness of "day-dreaming" with the vividness of externally stimulated thought will ever establish anything but our proneness to resort to guess-work whenever we are thwarted in our efforts to analyze the facts of our mental life; unless it also point out the ever-present danger in "slowing down our mental activity" for any purpose whatsoever.

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[1] The term "character" is used throughout this article in the sense of "disposition for action," *i. e.*, habit of acting contracted from frequent repetition of the same acts.

[2] The Individual," p. 89.

A little reflection will go to show that the verbal force of the explanation of knowledge by race experience lies in the word "race," which suggests a series or genealogical line as a something continuous and apart from individuals. It seems to furnish us with the desired unity through the continuous transmission to offspring of the same cellular life. The long line of ancestors to whom we owe our bodily structure and physical traits hints at a like indebtedness to them for the higher spiritual self as well, and makes it easy to imagine the parental descent of mind along with that of brain. The imagination thus accepts without further inquiry a parallel that neither reason nor research can establish.

As it is a fact not worth pausing again to explain at length that the race is nothing aside from individuals,[1] it becomes at once necessary to discuss the problem, in terms of the individual, and not in terms of the race, by asking the straightforward qustion: Can an individual transmit his experience?[2]

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[1] CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, p. 261, July, 1901.

[2] "Experience" is, perhaps, the vaguest term in modern philosophy. It is used to denote the results of habits and dispositions, whether on body or on mind. When said of mind, it generally means the events of the mental life before reflection has

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Without anticipating here in detail what will be more fully discussed in this and in another article under the head of "Heredity"—since race experience and heredity are notions that stand or fall together—we may simply state that an answer to this question must cover two points,—one of fact, the other of conceivability.

The fact that the oldest and most assured beliefs, or rather what looks like them, appear early in the minds of children is sometimes hailed as evidence that these beliefs are ancestral remains, the time being too short to account for their origin in the individual unless the latter be regarded as reabsorbing the impressions of his forebears. But this proves too much. On the same line of thought we should expect to find fully-developed faculties in the child-mind together with a stereotyped form of speech and instinct, since, if time be the worker of all changes, it ought to have brought about these effects as well as the others referred to its influence.

But, unfortunately for the selectionist, length of time in which a belief in the existence of outer reality or in hobgoblins may grow is not the question at stake: that is rather the continuity of these beliefs, the uninterrupted preservation of them. The child may personify the doll, and the savage see a living counterpart of himself in some graven image. Yet the very attenuated resemblance which the mind detects between these two psychological facts, when it suppresses the differences that mark off one from the other, will hardly justify our saying that an early savage instinct is still persistent in the child. To speak with accuracy, it is not "experience" that survives, but the things of which we have experience; it is not views or theories that survive, but the facts about which

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begun. Thus instincts, beliefs, spontaneous judgments, and persuasions not due to critical and reflex thought, but anticipative of it, are all made indefinite by being called "experience." To employ an analogy, experience signifies the "raw materials" of human knowledge as distinct from "the finished products." Reality as the rustic thinks it, or the proverbial man of "common sense" views it, are illustrations. When said of living organisms, "experience" denotes an aptitude to act in the same way, or to repeat a function over again that has once been found to be agreeable and pleasant. It is only by keeping the term indefinite that the selectionist can succeed in making out a good case for his identification of animal and rational experience. He accomplishes by means of loose phrases elastic in significance an apparent unification of distinct and divergent facts. Ambiguity saves him; precision would effectually estop him from constructing his philosophy of the indefinite.

we theorize. It is an easy matter to convert a slender analogy into an instance of continuity when it is the very fact of continuity itself that is on trial.

We may, indeed, single out what is common to the respective experiences of many individuals, but we may not convert this abstract ratio of resemblance, in which the experiences of successive individuals agree, into a physical bond of continuity, and then speak of "experience" as an early form of thought or belief forever reappearing mechanically in the consciousness of men. Experience is not an entity to be detached from the subjects which have experience; and the occurrence of similar experiences in many individuals is quite another thing from the recurrence of one and the same experience in all. Proofs of inherited thought must not be drawn from metaphors.

It is often said, in this same connection, that the individual repeats and recapitulates the experience of the race. The embryo, it is true, repeats the animal series almost stage by stage in the course of its development. The child comes slowly to maturity, advancing from the sense-knowledge of a world of objects to the reflex knowledge of himself as a thinking and willing subject, distinct from the objects which he knows and seeks, until finally he learns to regard himself as a living centre of many relations—cognitive, religious, social, and moral—and to consider his fellows as similarly situate as himself. The question, therefore, suggests itself: is the prenatal and post-natal development of the child the key and clue to the history of man's growth to his present physical and mental stature, nay, a recapitulation of this growth under our very eyes?

There is, indeed, a parallel to this development in the history of the race, since man shows signs of having progressed with marked slowness from a confused knowledge of what he was to a finer sense of discrimination between the cognitive, moral, social, and religious tendencies of the complex nature that was his from the beginning. On purely a priori grounds evolution demands a first man whose consciousness is only of objects, that is, a man as yet without intelligence or will. The documents of history are all against such an assumption, and prehistoric documents do not afford any reliable evidence in favor of it.[1] Man was rational and volitive from the beginning, or he never could have become such by any process of selective development. Neither, to borrow a homely phrase of Carlyle's, could "intellect and moral emotion be put into him by an entity which had none of its own." In a sense, therefore, man's development in knowledge of himself, of the universe, and of his moral duties is supremely true, and the march of civilization no idle figure of speech.

But can the analogy between the human embryo's development and that of the animal series be pressed still further so as to identify both and make rational life a pure outcome of previous organic or material conditions? It must be confessed that it is temptingly easy to enlarge this analogy of the swiftly developing embryo into a slowly developing world and human race; to sink all the actual differences between rational and organic life in some primitive substance of a highly potential and all-embracing nature, whence they will duly emerge by a process of "selective" growth; and to construe the universe as a huge organism, or bundle of unfolding uniformities, each individual bundle repeating and recapitulating all that has gone before, and adding to it. We thus reach a basal unity for the world-ground and seem to settle once for all the "dread dualism" of Mind versus Matter by excogitating a common source and origin in which all life is one.

On the warrant of some such vague monistic speculation—which conveniently begs the whole question at issue by making mind either a phase, or one of the many potentialities, of matter—we may readily imagine that a protoplasmic something, in the race as in the child, after passing like the chambered nautilus from shell to shell, gradually turns introspective and becomes self-conscious. The race will thus have supreme significance for the individual's life. The past will suggest itself as the mysterious source of habits and dispositions that still abide with us. The individual's mental as well as organic life will at once appear as preformed in ancestral experience and fixed by heredity. A few flings at the idea of "special creation" as an undue interference with the mechanism which provides at the start, by hypothesis, the animal and rational life that is now manifested in the child's development, will serve to make sacred and intangible this simple doctrine that all life is one, however varied its manifestations.

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[1] Les Origines. J. Guibert. Pp. 303-383. 2d Ed. Paris.

But if we take the pains to look a little more closely into any such idea of development, and to study the facts of the world directly in terms of the individuals that exist, and not indirectly in the light of comparisons and analogies, we will find that the idea owes its whole strength to the fact that it assumes at the beginning all that is necessary to carry it through to the end; containing logically all the particulars, it seems to imply them really as well. But can an individual be, live, move, act, think, much less vary, develop, change into something else without reference to the supreme productive Cause, which is in the world, though not of it, and directly active in each individual's being, action, and development?

The Monist and the Selectionist speak of "outside interference," "miraculous intervention," and the theory of "a carpenter improving upon a piece of work which he has botched" as the only alternatives left for the thinker who rejects the idea of a homogeneous first-something bursting with the promise of all that is to be. There is a gross confusion here. These would be alternatives for the Deist but not for the Christian Theist. The Christian world-view never contemplated "second causes" as substitutes for divine action, "wound up to go a certain length" and "soon needy of repair again," and "of an additional push" from some external cause. This a travesty, and not an alternative. Second causes are particular causes ever acting in virtue of the constantly received influence of the Universal Cause. They are real efficient causes, it is true, but they are not self-explaining or self-sufficing sources either of their own being or action. The sun could not move the planet on which we live except through an intrinsic activity of its own communicated to it and constantly aroused in it by the Universal Cause.

And if, proceeding on this line of thought, we say that the Universal Cause produces and energizes all individuals variously; or that He increased the generative powers of certain organic individuals in such a way that the reproductive process—now employed only in preserving and maintaining individuals of a kind—was formerly employed to bring about variations and new species in the vegetal and lower animal world, would not the Selectionist find in this view a truer and more solid ground for a scheme of development than his "Deus ex machina" which grinds out mechanically the fictitious grist which he, the Selectionist, brings to the mill? And if, according as matter was disposed and organized under divine direction, new forms, such as that of life, were employed to carry on the work of organization still further through the ages, to secure what had gone before, and to give things a power to transcend their previous dead selves and to rise still higher in development, would this be "miraculous interference?"

And if, to-day in the human embryo, consciousness and rational life may be said to be in germ, is not this a proof that the thinking principle which eventually manifests itself in the child, begins by exercising the functions of nutrition, growth, organization, and feeling, rather than a proof that thought and volition are successive outcomes of material antecedents? The source and origin of all life is one, but it is not matter. You cannot get rid of dualism by making matter somehow precontain Mind. The continuity of things is not broken by admitting a continuous Evolver. You cannot suppress the ideas of creation and providence by falsifying their import in the interest of a Monistic abstraction. The individual repeats the animal series because that which last appears in the child's development was first at work in discharging other functions as preliminaries to its own manifestation. Reason shows itself at the end, but that does not prove that it was not also at the beginning of the child's unfolding. Race experience, whatever meaning it may have in biology, cannot be made the source of man's mental habits, unless we deny all idea of a Producer who fits all individuals with energies to realize appointed ends. To deny this is, as we shall see, to make a philosophy of the world impossible.

But apart from all this, we cannot reconstruct a race experience. If we knew in detail what is actually taking place at each successive stage of the child's development, we might be justified in comparing the results with the development of the animal series, or the race. Yet such information is well nigh inaccessible, and even if obtained, would still leave the thesis of transmitted experience as badly off as ever. How distinguish between mental behavior due to special surroundings, to imitation, to instruction, or to brain defects, and that due to the so-called race experience? What warrant have we for attributing certain functions to the influence of the past? Universal characters, it is answered, common to all child-minds.

But is there anything more in such universal characters than facts of similarity and difference which we would most naturally expect from minds that are not passive recipients, but active assimilators of environing influences more or less the same? To exhibit the resemblances as persistent ancestral habits and the differences as new departures, is to resort to metaphor. To reach a real solution of all such facts, we must seek the grounds of these relations of resemblance in the world-plan which produces individuals according to a common measure of likeness; vital units that unfold from within by virtue of their own peculiarily finalized natures, and not mere passive recapitulators of what has gone before. It does, indeed, seem strange that men should give objective existence to abstractions while practically refusing to give it to the individual active selves of the cosmos. Language makes a thoroughfare where thought meets with an impasse. Even granting the biological doctrine of descent, the facts adduced in favor of race experience, as we have already seen, and shall see more fully, admit of an entirely other, and far less hypothetical, interpretation.

But if we turn to reason and attempt with its aid to conceive how experience could be transmitted we find ourselves still further enmeshed in difficulty. On none of the three great world-views—the Christian, the Evolutionist, the Pantheist—will the conception proceed. If we accept the Christian view of the creation of each individual soul by the omnipresent God whenever and wherever the appointed conditions call for it; if we frankly appeal from Nature at a point where it is unable, of itself, to rise to expectations, it is clear that in a soul not generated by the parents there can be no continuity between its experience and that of its predecessors in bodily frames.

On the other hand, if we embrace the Pantheist's conception of physical and psychical phenomena as the attributes of "one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental, a sort of double-faced unity," it is clear again that the word "transmission" would be a misnomer when applied to experience. For where there are no individuals, but only conscious phases of one universal substance, there can only be a *succession* of manifestations.

If, finally, we should adopt the view—which is the old Traducianism restated by materialists generally, and by pantheists occasionally—that the thinking and vivifying principle in man is begotten of the parents along with the organic structure, we are no nearer a solution. The race is a plurality, not a unity; and hence there can be conceived no one experience in all, but only the individual experiences of many. Humanity, as Holmes once said, never paid taxes. It is only of individuals that such a relation as experience can be affirmed. And until we can prove by direct analysis that experience is a passive inheritance and not an inalienable product of the individual's activity, the thesis of race experience is without support. Nay, more: if we say, to parry this objection and to blunt its edge, that the mind is active in working over the secreted brain-impressions, this is tantamount to saying that the individual has no knowledge but that which he himself produces. The thesis of race experience is therefore abandoned in the answer to the objection. However we view the question of transmitted experience, whether from the point of view of facts, or from that of conceivability, race experience is rather a suggestive metaphor than an explanation of anything in our mental life.

An effort is often made to break through all these barriers by an appeal to the fact and law of *heredity*, and this brings us to consider our second topic. What has thus far been said concerning race experience may be viewed in the light of a preliminary skirmish to develop the general situation and to introduce us to the actual war that is being waged among biologists themselves as to the real nature and influence of heredity.

The hypothesis of mental evolution, it should be noted, occupies very much the same place in psychology as the theory of descent in biology, and is opposed to the idea of special creation. The object is to extend the facts of organic heredity to "adjacent cases" of acquired mental characters, by applying the principles of "Selection," "Variation," and "Adaptation" to minds and thoughts as well as to organized structures, in the hope of finding a future evolution theory that will be psycho-physical and not so one-sidedly biological as the present theory is. As the problem of heredity is, first of all, a problem in organic life before becoming a problem in the life of the mind, it is necessary to understand the biological doctrine of heredity before proceeding to discuss the question of inherited mental experience. So many elements of speculation, however, have been intruded into the facts of the case that a brief historical review will serve as a good corrective.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century,[1] Lamarck, the Father of organic evolution, advocated two points of doctrine that are worthy of note in the light of subsequent events: the perfectly adapted structures discernible in animals are due to the slow development, *by use*, of the several animal organs; all the modifications that the individual acquires during life by the use or disuse of organs are transmitted to the offspring as a sort of net profit or loss in organic development. Darwin saw in this broadly stated doctrine of "use with heredity" a tendency to "breed true to stock," opposite to and restrictive of that tendency to vary, which he had singled out as the prime factor in organic evolution.

The last decade of the nineteenth century, however, has questioned Lamarck's contention and Darwin's point of view. It is now generally denied that the "accidental characters"[2] acquired by parents are directly transmitted to offspring in the reproductive process.[1] "Natural Selection," acting upon variations—which were more likely to occur than "breeding true to stock" in early and unstable organisms—would have eventually, it is said, brought about the same results as those supposed to have been secured through birth-inheritance directly. Thus, by regarding variation as the normal tendency in organic development, with a certain amount of "selection" to limit and restrict it, the preservation of species, races, and ancestral traits could be explained without recourse to Lamarck's doctrine of "use combined with heredity," concerning which there exists such bitter controversy among biologists.

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[1] Philosophie Zoologique, 1809.

[2] Dispositions for action.

The present scientific tendency, therefore, is to recognize some principle of "selection,"[2] rather than any principle of "transmission" as the controlling factor in preserving to posterity the permanent gains made by organisms, races and individuals in the course of their development. This change of attitude is due, in no small measure, to the ineffectual attempts of biologists to work out an acceptable explanation of the hereditary transmission of "characters" on any theory of cell life. The cell, it should be observed, is a mass, of microscopic dimensions, generally surrounded by protoplasm and enclosed within a cell-wall or membrane. Composed of distinct elements which seem to represent a reduced type of individuality, the cell, in the higher animals, passes successively through the complex functions of nutrition, growth and reproduction. When the biologist, therefore, in accord with his scientific method of procedure, transfers his investigation from the organism as a whole to the cell or vital unit from which all organic life springs, it is manifest that the function of reproduction is the one directly concerned in heredity, and the question at once arises with him, How is it so concerned?

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[1] A prominent school of biologists holds that there are no clear cases of transmission in this way, the arguments in favor of it being, they say, largely presumptive and inspired by the requirements of the theory of evolution. Obviously it is a matter of much difficulty to segregate the effects of the general influence of environment on the organism as a whole—such as the deteriorating results of alcoholic habits, poor food, etc.—from the slight variations, in organs or parts of organisms, due to use, abuse, or excessive stimulation, How the parts of parental organisms thus affected and modified could so react on the germ cells—Weissmann s view—as to cause these latter to convey such modifications to offspring is in itself a greater difficulty than the facts of heredity which it has been excogitated to explain. Some other way must be found to account for the persistent reappearance of acquired characters. Lamarck's doctrine has lost caste with biologists accordingly.

[2] Mind and Body, p. 196. Bain.

One theory had it that the germ-plasm, or substance which forms the physical basis of heredity, is made up of small particles drawn from all parts of the organism. Accordingly, the germ-plasm is a miniature reproduction of the parental organism itself, destined to become life-size in due course. But this view was soon discredited by another—that of "germinal selection"—which is now the bone of contention among rival schools of biologists. Weissmann, its author, distinguished between body cells, which have to do with the mass of the individual body only, and germ-cells, whose sole function is to perpetuate the species. By this distinction all the modifications acquired by the body-cells remain the exclusive possession of the individual acquiring them, and their transmission was made theoretically impossible.

But, as the general fact of persisting species, races, and acquired characters—in other words, "heredity," could not be denied, Weissmann, to explain it, was forced to fall back upon the mysterious hypothesis that the germ-plasm had been one and the same uninterruptedly from the very first beginning of life. The continuity of the germ-plasm in all individuals, he argued, would account for the persistence of types. The rise of variations and of individual differences might easily be explained by supposing that the body-cells exerted a constant influence upon the germ-cells through the internal environment which they mutually created for one another. He thus extended the theory of "selective" influence beyond parts of organisms, to the very germs themselves, which he conceived of as fighting for the mastery within, even as individuals fight for the mastery without. Though the germ-cells alone could be inherited by offspring, they nevertheless bore with them the modifying effects of their contact with the body-cells in that internal field of competition where fitness to survive is worked out beforehand.

This ingenious attempt of Weissmann to give the furthest possible application to the idea of "the struggle for existence" has not proven acceptable to many biologists. It has been felt that a theory such as this which makes variations appear when and where they are wanted is not a welcome amendment to "natural selection," which allows organisms a larger margin for oscillation under *external* conditions. Moreover, the doctrine of the identity of the germ-plasm throughout all the modifications which it has successively undergone in myriads of individuals, cannot be empirically established. Nay, more: this entire piece of speculation is rightly regarded by biologists as only a subtle reassertion, in a roundabout way, of Lamarck's doctrine of "use with heredity," since it only pushes the difficulty back from the organism to the cell, without at all solving it. Clearly beyond the power either of the microscope to reveal, or of reason to verify, this last word of the philosophy of chance leaves the question of how the effects of past experience are handed on to posterity as much an enigma as ever.[1] To adopt military parlance, this advance upon an extreme position was repulsed.

These efforts of Weissmann and others to make "natural selection" the sole and supreme factor in all development, whether organic or mental, and to disassociate it wholly from Lamarck's doctrine of inherited characters are known as Neo-Darwinism. Nowadays, however, biologists try to frame a conception of development that will hold independently of this bitterly mooted point and proceed equally well on either the Darwinian or neo-Darwinian assumption. Natural selection, it is said, acts directly upon individual organisms and upon different reactions of the same organism. The organism tends to repeat and retain useful and pleasant stimulations, and to select the pleasure-giving movement in preference to the one that is accompanied by pain, whenever the same external conditions present themselves. Thence arise habits and newer and still newer accommodations which break up the habits formed and cause the organism to expand and reach out to new stimulations.

Thus, by viewing contracted habits as capable of varying to any desired extent, there is plenty of room in the theory for past "experiences" to persist in species, races, and individuals no less than for new variations to occur "spontaneously" on the occasion of a change in the surrounding conditions. Random movement in quest of what is agreeable, causes some actions at first to be associated with pleasure and others with pain. Memory preserves the association of pleasure, incites the organism to repeat the associated action, and to become more and more adapted to its performance by dint of repetition. Spontaneity, choice, habit, adaptation, and accommodation, if the same external conditions be presupposed, will explain how the past is still present with us whether we recognize its presence or not. Memory thus reduces to a form of mental habit; character to a disposition for action; the brain is simply an early function increased and enlarged to its present complexity; and mind sums up the experience of the past through the organic and nervous apparatus handed down to it from dead and forgotten sires. All life is one, from the flower that blows to the mind that reasons, and selective development is life's sole law and prophet.

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[1] See Note 3, p. 49.

This long excursion into the field of biology will not be without profit and pertinence to the issue upon which we are engaged—namely, the inconceivability of race experience or mental inheritance, if we learn from it the plain lesson that biology advances no theory sufficient to account finally, either for the fact or the nature of what we call heredity. To realize the truth of this statement we need only disentangle from the speculations woven into them the simple facts of the heredity problem.

Viewed in themselves apart from any effort to explain them, the facts in heredity are two: a certain amount of similarity between parent and offspring, and a certain amount of dissimilarity between both. Galton's law of ancestral inheritance furnishes a scientific presentation of these baldly stated facts.[1] Similarities and dissimilarities are, therefore, the only elements of fact in the problem. Extend the meaning of heredity as we please, to species, races, or even to the parallel between the child's prenatal and postnatal development on the one hand, and the corresponding stages in animal depelopment on the other, we reach no addition to these two facts of resemblance and difference. Nor can we ever fully explain these facts without admitting as their causal ground a divine world-plan which not only constitutes individuals as apt and active principles, but guides them to varying degrees of development in their respective environments. This is the real reason ultimately of that fluctuating scale of similarities and differences into which we arrange them in our reconstructive thought.

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[1] "Each group of ancestry of the same grade contributes to the heritage of the average offspring double the quantity of the group of the grade above it." Dict. of Philos and Psych. Baldwin. Art. "Galton's Law." "Natural Inheritance.' Francis Galton, N. Y. and London, 1894.

Now, the selectionist, whose aim it is to solve the mystery of all organic life from plant to man on some vague process of development by selection, approaches these facts of resembling and differing individuals from a point of view that will not stand criticism, even if the biological doctrine that all organisms have descended from a few originals be fully and freely conceded. It seems to be the persuasion of the empiricist generally that a philosophy of the world can be constructed merely by coördinating together in a mechanical way a number of observed facts; that a genetic connection of all things can be concocted out of a series of recurrent associations of pleasure and pain; that the world could have fallen into its present condition of fitness and order by dint of the mutual interaction of a few primitive elements throughout indefinite past time.

Unable to make his mechanical explanation work to suit his preconception in the short term of individual life, he appeals to the past experience of the race to secure the development and changes which the world has reached at present. In other words, he seeks to hide the defects of his working principle by an appeal to the mysterious preservation of ancestral habits of thought and action. This is only another hypothesis conjured up in support of a tottering view, yet its influence on the imagination is very great. Association of certain actions with the feeling of pleasure becomes stronger and stronger with the years, so that eventually, it is argued, it could have brought about the present uniformities of thought, belief and action just as easily as the most ordinary nervous and organic functions.

We are here concerned only with biology. The attempts to make biology the true key to the mental life of the individual we will consider in another paper. All that we contend at present is that biology does not explain the facts of organic, not to mention the so-called "mental" heredity. For in what does the explanation consist? It consists simply in regarding the similarities between parent and offspring as a real type physically enduring throughout them all, and in representing the dissimilarities as variations ramifying out from the type in the course of individual development. The whole issue is thus befogged with a metaphor. Out of resemblances, species are created; out of differences, variations from type are manufactured. These terms "species" and "type" which the mind employs because of the mental convenience which classified thought always affords to the thinker are converted into things, and the Selectionist is thence led to believe in the reality of his own figments. He then piles Pelion upon Ossa to cover the difficulties arising out of this confusion. The various hypotheses which we have rehearsed concerning the absolute identity of the germ-plasm and the unbroken continuity of the same type in individuals of common descent, show to what straits biologists are driven when, mistaking the mental units of classification for a real immortality of germ-cells, they are forced to resort to a personified class-term to explain the facts of heredity in accord with the requirements of their philosophy of chance.

It is not a fact of observation that the germ-plasm is immortal; nor that the same identical cells play their part in animals as well as in man. Because we cannot discern any marked difference in cells, is no proof of their identity, but rather of our inability to penetrate into the mystery of life, even with the aid of the microscope. How explain on any mechanical theory that a germ-cell, supposedly one and the same, turns mollusk, fish, reptile, and man to suit occasion?

Surely not by compounding a number of hypothetic ingredients so as to derive the greater from the less, the superior effect from the inferior cause. What ground are you going to assign for the excess product in the effect? The mollusk, so far from accounting for the fish, cannot even account for itself.

As an individual, it does not contain in itself the sufficient reason of whatever generic or specific qualities you choose to assign to it or analyze out of it. It is no answer to state that the entire evolutionary process is "spontaneous" from matter to life, from the supposed first dawn of consciousness in the animal's feeling of pleasure to the fullness of spiritual life in man. You cannot suppress the real differences in things so as to reach an abstract unity of all realties in some indefinite prime potential and then proceed to derive all things again out of this convenient generality. Of course you can draw upon it to the full extent of the capital you have invested in it fictitiously. But whence comes this capital orginally is the real question which the Monist perpetually begs when he confounds the Actual Infinite with a Potential Indefinite.

It is futile to try to explain an organism, which is a continuous whole of perfectly subordinated functions, by supposing it to accumulate slowly through a long process of assimilation and rejection the structure and functions which it now has, unless Reason from the very beginning, either immediately, or by the aid of slowly developing agencies, brought about and constantly guided a series of causes and effects that is rational and orderly at the close. What makes a mechanical explanation appear so satisfying is very simple. Things are physically related among themselves and the thoughts we frame of them are mutually associated, in consequence. This associated character of our thoughts leads the uncritical to imagine that things exist and occur in Nature as spontaneously as thoughts exist and recall one another in Mind.

All necessity of a Productive Cause is thereby made to vanish, and Nature becomes self-sufficient when spelt with a capital letter and endowed with "spontaneity." The "functions" of all organisms are then reconstructed on a mental scale according to some common bond of association, as "a feeling of pleasure," and a number of realistic phrases—"persistence," "struggle," "survival," "selection," "accumulation"—are made to account for everything, and to establish an ascending series of beings genetically connected from the mollusk up to man. To furnish a real insight into Nature's way of working, the Selectionist should tell us how the paradox came about that a blindly developing world succeeded to the extent it has in counterfeiting the order and harmony which human reason sees in it. Until such be done, his "types" and his laws of "adaptation" can have little meaning.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these considerations is that no view of nature can live which does not admit that nature is the realization of design. No substitution of race experience for the experience of the individual; no attempt to make man a mere recapitulation of the beings that lie below him; no persistence of early organic functions, "unconsciously selected" at first, and transformed into fixed habits afterward, can ever displace the idea of finality. We must admit that there is a purposeful something in every being, and in organized beings especially, whereby two parent-types of the same species have a natural tendency to reproduce their kind, and in addition to this, their own proper tendency as organized individuals to reproduce their own peculiarities.

These combined tendencies, natural and individual, together with the potent influence of habit and environment, will explain the persistence of species, races and ancestral traits. The offspring resembles the parents because it develops from a substance of essentially the same nature as theirs. "Characters" are inherited not so much from, as through, the parent organisms; not from any germ-plasm, identically the same, which is transferred from parent to offspring without cease, but from an immanent tendency in every living organism to beget its like in composition and structure.

Evolution of the lower organic kingdom from a few originals, even if it be admitted, in nowise diminishes the necessity of creation and design; it would only enlarge the part which the Creator allowed second causes to play, under his constant influence, in bringing about the development of a plan, the causal reason and source of which at every moment must be finally sought in His infinite power and referred to His foreseeing guidance; else, the selectionist, "in fixing his thought on the physical system of the universe," will find that he has forgotten the supreme fact in it—his own rational self. If matters were allowed to develop slowly from the nebula and to become more and more organized and disposed for the reception of a new form, that new form of life could only have come from its Eternal Source—God. No tendency to vary, or to breed true to stock, can ever show how, by a mechanical system of trial and rejection, purpose could have arisen from the purposeless. The two lie infinitely apart, and are only apparently brought together by postulating some all-containing abstraction as their early ground. There is something more behind the facts of heredity than persistent types, something more in the universe than the mechanisms we excogitate to explain it.

Cosmic philosophy is, therefore, not a mere calculus of probabilities. The world is not to be written out in biological formulas alone; neither is it a fair inference that reason should be placed at the world's end, rather than at its beginning, because such happens to be the order in embryonic development. We must read purpose into nature and out of nature, or else agree to the paradox that reality "started as a beggar and wound up as a prince." Wundt was right when he criticized natural selection as a blind philosophy which failed to take into due account that purposive something that drives all things to their appointed goals. Biologists have, without intending it, furnished matter for as solid a chapter on Final Causes as was ever written. The shadow of that eternal world-plan, in which individuals were fashioned according to ideal ends, fitted with energies to realize these ends gradually and to minister to one grand purpose finally, is cast upon their pages. Back of all "selective action," back of the fixities of species, races, and recurrent types, none of which can be lightly dismissed as mere fortuities that somehow managed to survive, stands no "race experience," but the Supreme Adjuster of all relations, who is not Chance, nor Action of Environment, but Intelligence, Will and Law, variously endowing the individuals of the cosmos with all their powers to advance to fuller and still fuller life, in a word, with all their "aptitudes to select." It is written: "All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made." The most that man can do is to think the Maker's thoughts after Him, and to feel assured that there never was a thing which was not previously a thought in the mind of God.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

AN ANCIENT SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHER.[1]

Whatever Baghdad may have been in remote antiquity, it sprang again into existence, as from a desert, when Sultan Al-Mansoor, second caliph o fthe Abbasside dynasty (755 A. D.), made it the seat of his empire. The new city developed rapidly, and grew to be the richest and perhaps the largest city of the civilized world. Built on the left bank of the Tigris, only seventy miles north of the ruins of Babylonia, much nearer still to the site of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, it possessed, like almost any point of the plain of Irak, all the natural requisites of an Eden. There, if anywhere in the world, the great law of labor imposed on our first parents seems to be a mere formality. Man, so to speak, has but to stoop to the earth and touch it, to see it turn into another paradise. A paradise, indeed, it became under the rule of the Abbasside dynasty, thanks above all to the wise administration of the Barmecide family, who for nigh a century supplied the Caliphs with such able ministers.

We leave it for others to fancy and to sing the material splendor of the city of the Arabian Nights. Baghdad has another and a greater claim to our attention as the home of letters and sciences. Haroon-al-Rashid's century was the golden century of Mohammedan literature, and from that standpoint it can justly be compared with the most brilliant periods of any civilization, whether in ancient or in modern times.

Nor were the sons of Islam the only ones to share in the great literary movement of that time. The true Mæcenas does not know racial or even religious boundaries. His favor extends to all genius, wherever it may appear. The Caliphs and their ministers were all such noble friends of letters. So it came to pass that among the Syrians, Jacobites and Nestorians, the ninth century marked a revival of scientific and historical studies. This is especially true of the Nestorians, who were more numerous than the adepts of the rival sect in the capital of the Caliphs. The movement originated with the famous school of medicine founded by George Bokht-Jesu at the request of Sultan al-Mansoor. Syrians had, long before, earned for themselves the reputation of excellence in medicine, and Bokht-Jesu, who was then the leading physician in the school of Gondesapor, could not fail to attract the attention of such a munificent patron of science and letters as Al-Mansoor. It would appear that Bokht-Jesu transferred his whole school to Baghdad, for while the latter began at once to flourish in a marvelous way, we hear no more of Gondesapor. Those somewhat familiar with Oriental lore need not be told that physicians were then, what every physician in the East is supposed to be—a hakîm—that is, something but little short of a living encyclopedia, embracing grammar, natural sciences, astronomy, philosophy, history, geography—in fact, everything that comes within the range of the human mind. In all those different branches Nestorian physicians distinguished themselves, and it seems that almost every distinguished Nestorian, layman or cleric, was somewhat of a physician. At this time the Syrians acted as instructors of the Arabs, who received, through their teaching, that Greek learning which, in their turn, the Arabs were to transmit to us.

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[1] These pages have been suggested by the completion of Prof. Rubens Duval's edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. In a future number of THE BULLETIN will appear a review of that epoch-making publication. It is hardly necessary to say that we are indebted to it for most of our knowledge of Bar-Bahlûl's work.

At the same time, however, they were witnessing the decline of their own language, which was being gradually superseded by the tongue of their conquerors and pupils, at least in the ordinary intercourse of life. Moreover, a flood of translations, more particularly from the Greek, had brought into scientific literature, both Arabic and Syriac, a multitude of technical terms with scarcely any change from their primitive garb. Dictionaries unknown so far, because uncalled for, became soon a necessity. Their appearance in the Syriac literature is characteristic of the tenth century. Otherwise it was a century of marked decadence for the tongue of St. Ephrem and Mar-Abha. The Arabic asserted itself more and more, even as a literary language, much to the detriment of Syriac. Writers in the old idiom of the Eastern Fathers became gradually more insignificant and farther apart, until, after a last and brilliant manifestation of life in Ebed-Jesu (+1218) for the Nestorians, and Bar-Hebraeus (+1286) for the Jacobites, Syriac literature came to an end, not long after the fall of the Abbassidian Califate (1258), which had, at first, so powerfully contributed to its revival and then to its evolution, or rather to its survival in an Arabic dress.

In this tragic wreck of Syriac literature lies the key to the obscurity which enshrouds the life and works of most of its last representatives. Their names and a list—probably much curtailed—of their writings, quasi-miraculously preserved in the so-called "Catalogue" of Ebed-Jesu, is all we now possess of most of them. That is particularly the case with the lexicographers of the ninth and tenth centuries, with whom we are principally concerned in this monograph. A partial exception, however, is to be made for Bar-Bahlûl, whose work, happily, embraces the efforts of all his predecessors.

Bar-Bahlûl, or, as his full name reads in Arabic, Abu'l-Hassan ibn al-Bahlûl, was born of Nestorian parents, in the province Tirhan, in the village of Awânâ, not far from Tekrit, a city on the Tigris, famous in the Crusades as the birthplace of the great Saladin. We do not know exactly when Bar-Bahlûl was born nor when he died. His date is, however, approximately fixed by his rôle in the election (963) of the Catholicos Ebed-Jesu I. Nor do we know more about his life, except that he came to Baghdad, where he, very likely, did settle as a teacher in its famous school. The only work attributed to him by Ebed-Jesu is his lexicon. This is rather surprising, for Oriental writers, as a rule, are very prolific; but Ebed-Jesu lived three centuries later than Bar-Bahlûl and probably wrote his "Catalogue" a quarter of a century at least after the devastating invasion of the Mongols. At all events the lexicon is a monument, the glory of which even Ebed-Jesu or a Bar-Hebraeus might justly envy.

Bar-Bahlûl either gave no title to his work or, if he did, which is quite probable, the title has not reached us. The heading we read in the different codices is evidently from the pen of the copyists. This defect, however, is to some extent remedied by the preface, or rather prefaces, for Bar-Bahlûl wrote two of them, one in Syriac and one in Arabic, both of them much too short, indeed, for our curiosity, and remarkable for their unassuming tone. The Syriac preface begins as follows:

> "This condensed lexicon has been arranged by a miserable man, a mere school boy, as well as he possibly could in his weakness, by Hassan Bar-Bahlûl, from the many existing lexicons, and from the works of a few commentators of scientific repute, for the instruction of his children and friends, and of any one who may happen to lay his hands on that book."

Bar-Bahlûl then proceeds to say that he arranged the book according to the alphabetical order[1] of the radicals, excepting a few words, the radicals of which were rarely used in their nude shape. Then he names briefly his sources: Rabban Honain, who is his authority whenever he does not name another; Gregory of Nyssa, Bar-Dashandâd, Zacharias of Merw, Shamli, the physician, who quotes Honain; John Bar-Serapion, the physician; Daniel of Beth-Garmai, bishop of Tahal; Henanisho Bar Seroshwaï, bishop of Hirta, who perfected the work of Honain, the physician; also a few other commentators and interpreters. Besides the compiler inserted, here and there, his own gleanings, according to his own judgment. Finally:

> "Honain in the preface to his lexicon said: 'I have given such as I found them the locutions which are not entirely barbarous, even when they were rare and obscure, adding only a word to show my diffidence, i. e., *lam* in Syriac, and *za'ama* in Arabic.' These words I have copied in the same way, and I have dealt in like manner with similar expressions that I found."

In his Arabic preface Bar-Bahlûl says that at first he intended to give a collection of definitions that everybody would agree to pronounce paramount. He wanted also to separate the ecclesiastical words from the medical terms, and these again from the logical ones. He wanted also to give separate lists for the Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Nabathæan and other words. He soon perceived, however, that this plan would reduce his work to almost nothing. For most of the questions agitated between scholars referred to words of doubtful and obscure meaning or but little used. He consequently resorted to the plan of collecting all the contradictory information he could find about the various words, and giving it, when possible, with the name of their originator or upholder, leaving for the reader to weigh in each case the evidence pro and con. Thus he might decide for himself what was to be retained as genuine, and what was to be rejected as spurious. Moreover, the former plan was likely to frustrate the scope of the author, which was to render the use of his work as easy as possible. For that very reason he had adopted the alphabetical order stated in the Syriac preface. To divide the words into as many classes as, by the origin, they represented languages, would have interrupted this order all the more fatally for the fact that the reader, ignorant of the origin of the word in the Syriac form, would not know in which section of the work he should seek it. Finally, Bar-Bahlûl anticipates an objection on the part of the reader, namely, that the work contains so many words useless to him. "Know ye," says he, "that what is useless to you is useful to some one else." Besides, Bar-Bahlûl is fully conscious of having fallen short of this aim, for "Failing is common to all children of men."

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[1] Oriental lexicons are generally by order of subject-matter, being divided into books and chapters.

A few remarks on Bar-Bahlûl's sources will help the reader to realize more fully the importance of a work so modestly prefaced by its author. We follow the order of the Syriac preface.

St. Gregory of Nyssa (died after 394) is the author of several exegetical works (Migne xliv-xlv), some of which, his ’Απολογητικὸς πέρι τὴς ἑξαημέρου, were certainly translated into Syriac, as we see from Bar-Alî, another famous lexicographer, contemporary and rival ot Bar-Bahlûl. Although Bar-Bahlûl borrowed quite a few glosses from St. Gregory of Nyssa, it seems strange to find this Father mentioned in the preface when we miss from it the name of St. Gregory Nazianzen, to whom the Nestorian lexicographer refers so much more frequently.

Rabban Honain (+ 873 A. D.), or Abû Zaid Honain ibn-Ishâg al ‘Ibâdi of Hirtâ, was a famous physician of Baghdad. He had composed a lexicon, a grammar, a treatise on the equivocal words (De aequilitteris), a chronicle; had moreover translated from the Greek, with which he was quite familiar, a large number of medical works, such as Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Galenus, Paul Aegyneta, and revised the translations previously made by Sergius of Reshaina (+ 536). With the assistance of his son and his nephew, Honain translated also the whole cycle of the Peripatetician philosophers.

Abraham Bar-Dashandâd, i. e., the Lame, belonged to the Nestorian school of Bashoosh, in the province of Marga, where he distinguished himself as a teacher. He was the author of different works on asceticism, polemics, etc., none of which, however, have been discovered as yet. He lived in the eighth century.

Zacharias, or Jesu, of Merw, was a lexicographer of the end of the ninth century, who had attempted to complete the lexicon of Honain. It appears that his glosses were arbitrarily classified and conflicted with those of Honain, which was the occasion of a third lexicon, the one of Bar-Ali, who was a physician and had studied under Honain.

Of Shamli we know nothing further than that he was a Nestorian physician, who seems to have written some work *ad mentem* Honain, and also translated some treatises of Aristotle and Galenus.

Bar-Serapion (ninth and tenth centuries), son of a physician, and a physician himself, is the author of two important medical works.

Daniel, Bishop of Tahal, also called Bar-Tubanitha, is not known except as a writer against Isaac of Nineveh. His appearance in Bar-Bahlûl's preface is rather surprising, as we do not find him quoted once in the whole lexicon.

Last, but not least, in the preface comes Henan-Jesu Bar-Saroshwaï, bishop of Hirta, in the tenth century. Unfortunately we know nothing of his life. Of his works Ebed-Jesu names only his questions on Scripture. But from Bahlûl we see that he had composed a lexicon in which he had perfected Honain's work. Besides, as we shall see in the course of this paper, the bishop of Hirta seems to have devoted much of his energy to the study of philosophy and logic.

These names, however, do not exhaust the original material worked by Bar-Bahlûl into his vast compilation. In the columns of the lexicon we find an extraordinary number of other authorities, modestly alluded to in the Syria proemium as "other interpreters and commentators." Some had been consulted just for one obscure question on which their authority was paramount. Thus Abu-l Hassan Ali who became patriarch of Antioch. Bar-Bahlûl had written to him to have his opinion on the word *διαλαψμα*. Others, on the contrary, occupy quite a prominent place in the work of Bar-Bahlûl. Thus Gabriel, son of Bocht-jesu, a famous physician of Baghdad, under the Calipps Haroun-al-Rashid, Amin and Mâmûn, had written an Arabic compendium of the works of Dioscorides, Galenus, and Paulus Ægyneta. Bar-Bahlûl quotes him repeatedly for botanical and medical terms mostly borrowed from the Greek. As the Arabic script depends often on mere points for the distinction of several letters (t, th, b, n, and i, for instance), and, as amanuenses were very apt to overlook these points, either through carelessness or for fear of misplacing them, it happened unfortunately that when the names were transliterated into Syriac, where the same letters are widely different from one another in shape, a number of misspellings took place. This gave rise to many monstrosities, every one of which, much to our distress, found its way into the lexicon of the conscientious Bar-Bahlûl, either as a head-word, or, in the body of the article, as a synonym. Unfortunately, to this first and original defect, others, both of the same and of a different order, were added in the course of time. Why it so happened will appear more clearly from a brief account of the few known manuscripts of that precious work.

Until quite recently the three largest and choicest collections of Syriac manuscripts in Europe, viz., the Vatican Library at Rome, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the British Museum at London, had not a single copy of Bar-Bahlûl's work. The first copy that came to Europe, the one of Erpenius (+1624), now in Cambridge, England, is dated A. D. 1601. It was made from an exemplar in the Maronite monastery of St. Anthony of Quzayeh, on Mount Lebanon. The same exemplar had furnisher another copy, dated 1597. It was sent to Golius from Mount Lebanon in 1650. After his death it became the property of Marshal, who bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library. A copy of the same origin is preserved in the famous Medicean Library in Florence; it was made at Rome, in 1606, by the well-known Gabriel Sionita. Professor Duval suspects that it was made from the codex of Erpenius. Like the exemplar from which they originated, those three manuscripts are in the Carshooni script; that is, the Arabic text is written in Syriac letters. Lord Huntington obtained another copy dated 1645; it is now the property of the Bodleian Library. This fourth manuscript betrays the same origin as the preceding ones, and might be another copy from the exemplar in Quzayeh. It is true that the Arabic text appears there in Arabic letters, but there is ample evidence of its having been transliterated from the Carshooni writing. The four manuscripts therefore form one group, which may be called the Maronite group. The Maronites, however, received their first exemplar from a Jacobite source, as appears from many interpolations which are characteristic of the sect of that name.

The second group we shall call the Jacobite group proper. Its oldest representatives are the last two volumes of a copy of the Lexicon in the possession of the Borgian Museum at Rome. That copy was made up of four volumes that once belonged to two different sets, made up themselves of odd volumes. Just now we are concerned with Vols. III and IV only, dated 1214 and 1508 respectively. They were part of an original set of three volumes. By a curious chance the first volume of that set was discovered in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the late Prof. A. Socin and is now in the keeping of the German Oriental Society, in Halle. From various colophons we know that the first two volumes, one of which was dated 1214, were copied in Tur-Abdin by a Jacobite, and that those two same volumes, together with Vol. IV of the Borgian Museum, formed a set which became the property of a Nestorian priest of Diarkekir in 1594 and was copied in 1606-1612 by a Jacobite priest named Abraham, from Qâlûq. The same Professor Socin found another copy dated 1796. It is in Carshooni and was written in a Jacobite monastery near Mardin, district of Tur-Abdin. It belongs also to the German

Oriental Society. Finally, the National Library of Paris has recently acquired a copy made in 1886; it comes also from Tur-Abdin. It is hardly necessary to remark that this second group is akin to the Maronite group. But the older manuscripts represent also an earlier stage and are free of numerous posterior insertions.

A third group, unfortunately the most poorly represented, is the Nestorian group. Of this we have Vols. I and II of the copy in the Borgian Museum. They belonged once to two different sets of four volumes each. The first volume may be as old as the thirteenth or fourteenth century; the second looks a trifle more recent; however a Latin note of uncertain origin on the cover ascribes it exactly to the year 1233–1234. Another Nestorian manuscript was brought to Europe by Professor Sachau, and belongs now to the Royal Library of Berlin. It contains old fragments of the seventeenth or possibly eighteenth century, and new ones dating from 1883. The latter are full of mistakes.

We shall dispense with the description of a fourth group, entirely made up of modern manuscripts now in the British Museum, or in the Royal Library of Berlin. They are all strongly interpolated with glosses taken from the Lexicon of Bar-Ali and are consequently out of the question.

Altogether this is certainly a poor representation, especially for a work of the Lexicon's nature, and, at first sight, it might prejudice us against the value of Bar-Bahlûl's work. But this suspicion soon vanishes when we think of the sad condition of literary affairs that has prevailed in the East since the capture of Baghdad by Hulagu. The fact that copies of Bar-Bahlûl's compilation were already in the hands of the Jacobites of the region of Tur-Abdin, as early as 1214, shows that it was appreciated even outside of his own communion, and there is little doubt that if the political condition of Western Asia had been better, the Lexicon would have had a much greater diffusion. Who can tell how many copies of that precious work lie charred and shrivelled, if not converted into ashes and dust, under the ruins of the convents of Babylonia and Mesopotamia? For blood and fire, not arts or sciences, followed in the Mongols' trail. When their savage hordes finally disappeared the surviving monks were few and far between, like the ears of corn left by the harvesters. They had other cares than the preservation of the rare and obscure expressions of a language that was no more, or the rescue from the ruins of their libraries, of the lexicographical relics of Greek philosophers or physicians.[1]

If we now dip into the columns of Bar-Bahlûl's work we shall not find anything like the Dictionary of the French Academy. Bar-Bahlûl told us himself that if he had left out all the words for which he could not give a clear and indisputable explanation his work would have been reduced to a small compass. Besides, a simple glance at the book will show us that it has suffered much at the hands of copyists. From Bar-Bahlûl's preface we know that he had often been puzzled by misspellings of copyists in the documents from which he compiled his work. This was inevitable, as we have seen above, in the case of Arabic translations from the Greek, like those of Gabriel, son of Bocht-Jesu. How much more frequent such misspellings must have been under less experienced copyists, every one can easily imagine. This accounts for many enigmatic readings which often defy all plausible solutions. Moreover, new glosses, sometimes entirely new articles, were placed by erudite readers in the margin in order to perfect the lexicon; for where is the man who ever found in a dictionary all he would like to see there? Sometimes those glosses were, or may have been, gleanings from the sources already used by Bar-Bahlûl; more frequently, however, they were borrowed from sources of another origin—not unfrequently of another age. It was quite natural, for instance, for a Jacobite to quote from the books of his sect, since he wished to adapt the lexicon to the use of his own people; and we must not be surprised to find the writings of Bar-Hebræus represented in that process of evolution, although he lived three hundred years later than Bar-Bahlûl. All those additions were crowded into the margin, as the space permitted, and without much order; then the exemplar, thus completed, was recopied, all the marginal glosses crept into the columns, as well as they possibly could, to allow space for future emendations and additions. Every time the book was copied a new edition was issued, considerably enlarged, and of course, considerably corrupted. We can follow this process of expansion in three manuscripts of the same group, viz., the two manuscripts of the German Oriental Society and the one of the National Library of Paris. The oldest one, dated 1214, wants many glosses to be found in the one dated 1796, which in its turn wants quite a number of the readings of the Parisian Codex (1886).

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[1] Hulagu, the destroyer of the Caliphate, was not at first as cruel to Christians as to Mohammedans. But Timur, whose armies covered the very same ground at the close of the fourteenth century, was himself a fanatic of Islam. The Syriac chronicles have preserved for us the memory of the atrocities he committed in the various Christian centers, principally in the provinces of Tur-Abdin and Diarbekir. The same horrors besides had already been more than once perpetrated by the savage Kurds, and they have been quite often repeated since, even in our own days, and with impunity, although some powers pretend to maintain a perfect order in the world.

Undoubtedly it would be interesting to have Bar-Bahlûl's work, such as he gave it out. But this we could hardly expect. It is in the nature of a lexicon to be thus interpolated, and, after all, better by addition, as in this case, than by reduction. Glosses are interesting independently from the person who collected them, and over-enthusiastic admirers of Bar-Bahlûl, instead of uselessly protesting against posterior additions, would do better to face about and claim the merit of the whole *corpus* for their hero, for he really was the one to form the first crystal around which the others clustered; or, to use a more Oriental comparison, it is to his credit that belongs the first honeycomb that attracted the bees.

Let us, therefore, overlook details and examine the substance of the work as it appears now. We shall be surprised at the variety and thoroughness of information it contains. We find ourselves in presence not of a mere lexicon, as Bar-Bahlûl modestly calls it, but of a real encyclopædia, reflecting, in all its aspects, the state of Oriental thought at the time of the Caliphs of Baghdad. Astronomy, natural sciences, medicine, philosophy proper, grammar, history, geography, biography, biblical exegesis—everything is there, not always as systematically arranged as we would like, with sufficient clearness, however, to satisfy the mind of the truth-seeker. A number of words to which no special interest attaches are either entirely overlooked or dismissed with a brief explanation, sometimes a mere Arabic translation. For others, on the contrary, a whole column or more will be allowed. Strangely enough theology proper is almost entirely excluded. Under the heading JESUS we find nothing except that it is the name of the Saviour. Under CHRIST we are simply informed that the Greeks had two words for anointed, one for any kind of anointing and another, χριστός, which applies to the anointing of humanity with divinity. The word GOD, however, is treated quite at length, although in two different articles. The first article is brief. It begins with the Arabic translation of that word and its derivates divinity, divine, divinely, deify, atheist. Then come two definitions: "He who judges everything in his seeing knowledge," and "Lord of the world." Finally the remark that the heathens called Hermes, "the god whose name is Gain" (κερδῷος). Two manuscripts, however, have the following addition:

"Gregory of Nyssa: 'He who sees all.' The Blessed Interpreter-Universal, (Theodore of Mopsuestia): 'Lord and Creator,' also, 'he who judges all in his seeing knowledge.' Jesuabh of Arzon: 'The judge.' Barsaumah of Tahal: 'The cause of all.'

We give the second article in full:

"According to Bar-Saroshwaï: The Eternal Being, the Spirit Living and Reasonable, the Creator of all. He is defined Eternal, because he is not subject to time and has no beginning, and stands above, and is exalted beyond, all times and imaginable ages; Spirit, because he is properly so: For God is spirit. Other beings are called spirits, but improperly; Living, because he is the true life and in him live and move all who have motion and life; Reasonable, because he gives wisdom to the wise, understanding to those who know; Creator, because there is no other creator like him. Otherwise, he is also defined as follows: The Eternal Nature, not circumscribed by space, or: the cause of all, or: he who suffices for all blessings. Those expressions are used of God, but not by way of complete definitions,—for the divine nature is above the thought and concepts of creatures,—but solely for the instruction of the reasonable beings, who without them cannot rise to his essence."

Then follows that curious gloss:

"The word God comes from the Hebrew. It is interpreted stream, meaning the stream of goodness that flows around all beings."

The article ANGEL may be quoted also in connection with the one on God:

"ANGEL.—According to Bar Saroshwaï: messenger. Again, according to the same: an angel is a body simple, reasonable, made and without organs. We define him: a body, to distinguish him from God; simple, because he does not come from carnal intercourse; reasonable, to distinguish him from the elements; made, without organs, to distinguish him from the soul which is perfected by the organs of the body for its operation. For a single note is added to the soul, namely, that it is united to a body, through which its operation is perfected. Angel is also defined: a living being, reasonable, made, acting without organs. Again: an angel is a finite spirit, reasonable and not united with anything. Angels are divided into nine orders." . . . Follow the names of the nine orders, then. . . . "Those names, however, do not indicate the *ousias* but the operation only, for there is no *natural* name for non-corporal beings."

It seems as though Bar-Bahlûl had purposely eliminated all explanations that might cause friction between the different religious bodies. Under NESTORIUS, for instance, he simply states that it is a name of person, meaning *faster* (Bar-Sauma). But in that case it is rather surprising to see the *ecclesiastical words* mentioned first in the preface! Or is it rather that the lexicon has reached us mainly through Jacobite revisers, whose interest it was to cancel what to them was blasphemy?

By way of compensation, students interested in philosophy will find ample material for investigation in the numerous quotations from the same Bar-Saroshwaï, from whom Bar-Bahlûl seems to have borrowed, almost exclusively, his information on philosophical topics. We hope to gratify the curiosity of our readers in giving here in extenso a few specimens of that classico-oriental philosophy. With the exception of the definitions proper, which are always given both in Syriac and Arabic, the text from which we translate is exclusively in Syriac. We begin with the general article on philosophy.

"Philosophy, according to Bar-Saroshwaï, is the mother of all arts, the first and greatest (of all). It is divided into three kinds: the science of beings as they are, the foundation of rationability and the imitation of Divinity. It is the mother of all sciences; and philosophers are the parents of all doctrines.

"Philosophy, according to Bar-Saroshwaï, is the science of all beings, in what they are essentially. It is defined the science of all beings, because each art has one matter (object) and one termination (end); like medicine, whose object are the human bodies and whose end is their soundness, or like astronomy, whose object (ὕλη) are the stars, whose end are their motions and their action. And thus for all arts, each of them having but one object and one end. Philosophy, on the contrary, is not restricted to oneness in either. Its object is all being: each and every being, whether perceptible by the intelligence, or by the senses. Thus also its end is not one, for it is the science of all beings. I add 'as they are.' Because knowledge of things varies according to people. Some know the nature, the power, and the action of a thing; others know its power only, and are ignorant of its nature. Others, equally ignorant of its nature, know its appearance only. If, for instance, one knows what the human body is made of, and what is the nature of everyone of its humors, and what are its functions, knowing everything that belongs to it, that man verily knows the body. However, we say the same of a man who has studied but one of its functions, or even of a man who knows nothing but its external appearance. Because, therefore, the knowledge of things is not the same in all (who belong to the ordinary arts), they define Philosophy as knowing beings, as they essentially are, thus asserting that its knowledge is true, (thorough and exhaustive).

"Philosophy is (also defined) the accurate knowledge of divine and human things. 'Accurate knowledge of things' amounts to the same, as in the latter part of the first definition. For everything that is, is either knowable and intelligible, or visible and sensible. 'Divine' includes all the knowable ousias, 'human' all the sensible ousias, which, according to the words of the Spirit to the whole world, we usually express by the words visible and invisible,[1] temporal and external.[2]

"Philosophy is (also) the practice of death,[3] and it is thus defined because man consists of two parts: the body which is visible, and the soul which is knowable, but not visible. And as he is composed of two parts, he, also, has two bonds, one natural and another voluntary. The natural bond is the one by which the body is united to the soul, being subject to it and perfecting it in all its faculties, according to the law of the Creator. The voluntary bond is the one which unites and ties the soul to the body, in all the appetites of the latter. For it is not in virtue of a law of God that the soul is thus submitted to the body, but it is in virtue of the will and liberty of the soul; and this is the reason why this bond is called voluntary, just as the former bond is called natural, because it rests on nature. And as there is a double binding in man there is also a double dissolution in him, one natural and another voluntary. For all bonds must be loosened. The natural dissolution takes place when the body is separated from the soul, according to the decree of God, and becomes dead, and this, which is called natural death, takes place with all men. The voluntary dissolution is when the soul detaches itself from the body and becomes dead to all its appetites. This breaking off of the soul from the appetites of the body is called voluntary death. This is not for all men, but for the wise only. Thus Philosophy is defined the practice of death; not of the natural death, for the philosophers themselves blame those who destroy and take their own life before the term appointed by God, but of the voluntary death by which men for the sake of the true knowledge destroys all the appetites of the body.

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[1] Coloss i, 16.

[2] II Cor. iv, 18.

[3] More accurately in latin: exercitatio ad mortem.

"Again, Philosophy is the secular art of obtaining the knowledge of beings; and it is granted to every one who stands correctly both in speculative and practical life.

"Others define Philosophy: the imitation of divinity, because God has two attributes: knowledge by which He is wise in everything and providence by which He sees to the needs of all beings. Similar is Philosophy; because it has also those two attributes: the knowledge of all beings, and the other by which it provides for all the necessities of such as approach it. This, however, only in so far as men can imitate divinity. For it is evident that men can not be entirely like unto God, either in science or in providence, but only in a typical and obscure way, like the shadow is to the body, and in the measure that creatures can imitate their Creator.

"Philosophy is the art of arts, the science of sciences. We define it the art of arts, because it is the mother and teacher of all sciences and arts. They all borrow from her like as many streams from one spring. Medicine receives from it the four elements, the cold, the warm, the moist and the dry, of which the body is made. Geometers receive from it the point and the line, the plane and all sorts of triangles, quadrangles and hexagons. Astronomers receive from it the course of the stars and their actions. The physician, undoubtedly occupies himself with the four elements and their proprieties, but to explain the nature and origin of each of them, if asked, does not belong to him but to the philosopher, because the latter, not the former, discovered them. Thus again, the astronomer occupies himself with the celestial sphere and the stars, but he does not know the nature of the sun, nor of the moon, nor of each individual star, for the philosopher is the only one who knows that, having given it to the astronomer. And the intellectual arts are not the only ones that receive their foundation from Philosophy, but also the technical arts. The architect received from it the canon of proportions and the scale of dimensions; the carpenter, the line, square and compass. Therefore, because Philosophy is the inventor of all arts, it is called the art of arts and the science of sciences, in order to assert its excellence and superiority over all arts.

"There are two parts in Philosophy: theory and practice. Theory is divided into three sections: the science of divine things, the science of natural things and the science of doctrines. The science of divine things treats of all spiritual natures and, in the measure of possibility, of God. The science of natural things treats of all natures that fall under the senses. The science of doctrines treats of all the various arts. Practice is also divided into three sections. Common, particular and individual morals. Common morals teaches how a man must deal with the whole nation, particular, how he must deal with his family, and individual, how he must deal with himself, namely, according to good principles."

For the following articles I beg leave to use the Latin idiom as so much fitter to express philosophic concepts.

"Esse, juxta Bar-Saroshwaï dividitur in duas species: esse alicujus et esse in aliquo. Quod attinet ad id quod est alicujus, ex eo est numeratio, ut divitiae et opes, et ex eo est persona ut sapientia, pulchritudo, et sanitas, et omnia quae quis possidet tum in corpore cum in anima; quod vero attinet ad hoc quod est in aliquo, dividitur in undecim species: tanquam in tempore, tanquam in loco, tanquam in vase, tanquam in partibus in natura, tanquam non in partibus, tanquam species (εἶδος) in genere (γένος), tanquam genus in specie, tanquam species (εἶδος) in materie (ὕλη), tanquam rectio in regenti, tanquam in integritate, tanquam accidens in substantia (οὐσία).

"Ithoutha (essentia) juxta Bar-Saroshwaï est vox in qua omnes naturae includuntur. Ithoutha: Vox indicativa subsistentiae quae in scholis intelligitur [oriri] ex quacumque adhaesione (relatione?) causali et unione generica (genitiva?) et acceptione accidentali. Ithoutha est nomen indicativum naturae; significatione communi, est quod cadit singulariter in indivisibilitate particulari.

In another gloss, the origin of which is not given, we read:

"Ithutha, est Ousia. Hoc enim nomen Ithutha derivatur ab esse quia (indicat quod) est . . . Si quis dicit, non determinans, qualemcumque harum vocum (scilicet: ousiam, naturam, existentiam, et personam) multa et innumerabilia quasi dicit. Si, verbi gratia, dicit ousiam et tacet, omnia includit in hac voce, quia quidquid est vocatur ousia. Iterum, ousia, natura et existentia dicuntur tum communiter cum singulariter, persona vero communiter dici nequit, sed singulariter tantummodo."

This will suffice to give an idea of a system of philosophy which, if properly studied, may prove most useful to understand the theological discussions which form one-half of the Syriac literature.

Bar-Bahlûl's work is particularly rich in botanical, zoological and medical glosses, but those are entirely too special to be illustrated except by a specialist in these different lines. Not to dismiss, however, that section too briefly, we shall give an interesting variation of a zoological theme which occupies a prominent place in the ancient writers, namely, the enmity of the deer for snakes, as an explanation for the then proverbial thirst of that inoffensive animal. Under DEER, we read:

> "We are told by the interpreters that the deer is the enemy of the snake. Wherever it finds it it rushes on it and kills it. If, however, the serpent crawls into a hole or a crevice of the earth, the deer runs to a spring of water, fills his mouth with water, and coming back pours that water into the hole or crevice where the serpent took refuge. As soon as that water, impregnated with the breath of the deer, reaches the snake, the latter, unable to stand it, comes out forthwith, then the deer catches it and kills it. If the deer finds no water in the neighborhood, he sends forth a loud and mournful cry because he cannot seize his enemy."

We find a trace of this strange theme in the Bible (Ps. xli, 2): Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, etc. In Christian symbolism the deer is frequently used as a type of the catechumen longing for the regenerating water of Baptism; also of the full-fledged Christian yearning for the Blood and Body of our Lord.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Roman Public Life, by A. H. J. Greenidge. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°., pp xx + 483.

A Constitutional and Political History of Rome, from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Domitian, by T. M. Taylor. London: Methuen and Co., 1899. Pp. 507.

A History of Rome, for High Schools and Academies, by George Willis Botsford. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xiv + 396.

1. The object of this work is to trace the growth of the Roman constitution, and to explain its workings during the two phases of its maturity, the developed Republic and the Principate. It touches "on all the important aspects of public life—central, municipal, and provincial—and exhibits the political genius of the Roman in connection with all the chief problems he had attempted to solve." A preliminary chapter describes the growth of the Roman City—patricians, plebeians, clients; the family; the citizens (populus, tribes, army, curiae), the monarchical constitution and the Servian constitution. Then follow two chapters on the growth of the republican constitution, the classes of the population and the constitutional theory of the state thus organized. Chapter IV deals with the idea and details of the magistracy, Chapter V with the people and its powers. In Chapter VI the senate, and in Chapter VII, the international relations of Rome and the incorporation of Italy are described. Chapter VIII deals with the organization and government of the provinces, and Chapter IX with the revolution and transition to the Principate.

Chapters X and XI are devoted to the Principate or Empire. The former treats of the power of the princeps, his titles, insignia, and honors, the creation, transmission, and abrogation of the office, the remaining powers in the Roman state-magistracy, comitia, senate, the dual control of senate and princeps, the nobility (senatorial and equestrian), the functionaries of the princeps. In this chapter are exhibited the organization of Italy under the Empire, and the organization of the provinces as well as the cultus of the emperor. An excellent select bibliography of six pages, under suitable rubrics, enhances the utility of this rarely valuable manual that must at once take rank among the best descriptions of the wonderful government of the Roman City. Though written with constant reference to the original authorities and frequent citations of the texts, the learned apparatus does not overcrowd the pages, while it satisfies at once and whets the appetite of the genuine student for a more thorough acquaintance with the government and laws of ancient Rome.

2. It is quite the same field that is covered by the manual of Mr. Taylor. It has been prepared to give students of Roman history a short account of the growth of the Roman constitution and the problems with which it is surrounded. The doctrine is that of Mommsen, with aid drawn from Pelham, Herzog, Willems and Professor Seeley's introduction to the first book of Livy. The foot-notes are reduced to a minimum. In general, this exposé of the constitutional life of Rome is clear, succinct and graphic. It can be recommended not only to beginners, but to students considerably advanced, as a reliable modern account of the most perfect state that antiquity knew or could imagine.

3. Professor Botsford aims in this manual "to present briefly the growth of Rome, the expansion and organization of the power, the development and decline of the imperial system, and the transformation of the ancient pagan empire of the Romans into the mediæval Christian empire of the Germans." The aim of the author is to bring out the merits of the Romans, especially in the imperial period, as organizers, administrators and builders of a great state—a task more congenial to them than war itself. Numerous maps and illustrations, all very pertinent and well done, adorn the manual. It has at the end of each chapter a brief conspectus of the original sources and the best modern works that deal with the period or topic in question. A good bibliography, a skeleton outline of the constitution of Rome, a chronology, a series of suggestive topics and an outline (pp. 335–351) of the private life of the Romans, add to the utility of the work for both teachers and students.

In general, it is one of the most serviceable manuals of Roman history, compact, accurate and sufficiently full. A Catholic historian, however, finds some defects in the otherwise temperate treatment of the relations between Christianity and the Roman state. Thus (p. 262) the author seems to think that St. Peter was not at Rome. The treatment of the persecutions (pp. 263–265) lays more stress than is just on the anti-social character of the first Christians and less than is just on the hideous falsehood and immorality of the usual Roman polytheism. It is not true (p. 281) that the Christian communities were originally independent of one another, and that their hierarchy was patterned after that of the Roman state. There are writers who maintain the same, but the oldest and most continuous form of Christianity protests against that view of its origin. A Catholic writer would be a little more favorable to Constantine (p. 282) and a little less favorable to Julian, perhaps without straining the documents. On the same page Jesus Christ is presented as having "left no system of doctrine," which is against Matthew xxviii, 20, and the testimony of the oldest historical witness on the earth—the Catholic Church. On p. 322 it is implied that the English Church became subject to the Roman Church through the failure of the Irish Church to retain its control in the seventh century. A "Romfreie" Irish Church is a myth, and the Venerable Bede furnishes all the documents needed for the original subordination of English Christianity to the Roman Church. On p. 331 the Gallican and Bismarckian thesis of a Catholic Church subordinate to the state of Charlemagne is maintained, though the falsity of this assumption has been again and again demonstrated.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Source-Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period. Paul Monroe. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. viii + 515.

In this volume Professor Monroe renders an important service to teachers and to all who are interested in educational problems. It is not a history of education, but it furnishes the best sort of an introduction to that history by presenting in an orderly arrangement the more important literary sources from which our knowledge of Greek and Roman education is derived.

The book is divided into two parts, and each part contains seven chapters. The first and somewhat longer part deals with Greek education; the second, with Roman education. The same general plan is followed in every chapter. There is a brief survey exhibiting the characteristics of educational ideas and practice during a given period, the sources and such special features as deserve attention. This sketch serves as a setting for the essential content of the chapter, the selections from the sources. The translations are taken from the Jowett editions and from the Bohn Library editions. A few explanatory foot-notes and references are given, but there is no attempt at a commentary nor discussion as to the meaning and bearing of the selected passages. The classic writers are allowed to speak for themselves, and the student is free to put his own interpretation upon the text.

The value of this Source-Book as a means of information can be readily understood. But to appreciate it fully one must read the selections themselves. It is instructive to follow, in the Republic of Plato or the Politics of Aristotle, the discussion of problems which still call for solution from our modern systems of education. And it is pleasant to recognize, in their quaint trappings of allusion and illustration, the very arguments that are nowadays arrayed on opposite sides of many questions concerning which educators disagree.

EDWARD A. PACE.

Select Documents of Constitutional English History, edited by Professor George Burton Adams and H. Morse Stephens. Macmillan, New York, 1901, 8° pp. 555.

Professors Adams and Stephens have worthily followed the excellent example set by Stubbs and Gardiner, and in this volume have made available for students the great documents that give us the key to English Constitutional History. It begins with some typical records from the reign of William the Conqueror, the earliest being of date previous to 1060, and concludes with the Reform Act of 1884. The book will be gratefully welcomed by all who appreciate the value and the importance of training students to scholarly methods in the study of history. These compilations of historical sources are characteristic of the appreciation of scholarship that marks the present-day teacher of history. Accuracy and thoroughness are the alpha and omega of scholarship, and such books as these are designed to develop these traits in the college student. The time is not so long past when the average college student felt that to be a historian was to reel off glittering sentences and be brilliantly philosophic. To-day he is being made to realize that truth and not rhetoric is the one test of history, and that works may pass for great literature, in the usual acceptation of the term, and be very poor history, whilst a volume to which the critic denies the character of literature may be an epoch-making work in history. The art of expression, literary form, brilliant presentation—these are not to be minimized, but are, of course, to be sought after in historical as in every other form of writing. But the mining of facts is the first and the greatest duty of history. Too much importance cannot be ascribed to keeping the student constantly in touch with the very basis of history. The collection and publication of these sources of history is evidence of the appreciation of this fact by our best and more enlightened teachers of history. Through these books the sources themselves are placed before the students; they are led to the clear and unpolluted fountain heads of history and bidden to drink from them. The great scholar, the master of a period or an age, can alone interpret for us the movements of that period or that age, and make us grasp their importance and significance in the procession of history; but it still seems that the key to his explanatory volume lies in the original documents of the time. It may not be too much to say that a week given to the study of the text of a great epoch-making document in English history is worth more to the student than a month given to the study of the most brilliant commentators without ever having read the documentary sources. The model system of teaching history is, of course, the use of these source books as supplements to be used steadily in conjunction with text-books or lecture courses. But they must be recognized as indispensable supplements; or, perhaps, better called complements. No student can be considered as having enjoyed a thorough course in English history who has not been introduced to some of the source-books that the labors of scholars have made available. This volume of Professors Adams and Stephens is, for collegiate work, the best yet published, and it is likely to remain the standard one for a long time to come. Its two hundred and seventy-six selections are well chosen, and illustrate most thoroughly the growth of the English Constitution from the Norman Conquest to the last quarter of the Victorian era. The documents of the earlier periods are given in translations from original Latin or French, and the compilation is thus made suitable to the use of undergraduate students who are without the training to enable them to make ready use of the originals. The book is one that ought to be in the hands of every class that undertakes the study of English Constitutional History.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

La Littérature Syriaque, Rubens Duval. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, pp. xvi + 444.

This is a book of general interest,[1] that answers a long-felt want. We are not surprised to see a second edition, bearing the same date as the original issue. This time the well-known professor of the "Collège de France" has placed under obligations, not, as by his former publications,[2] a few hard-to-please and not over-grateful specialists, but the whole large and generous body of scholars interested in the ancient Christian literatures of the Orient.

The fact that we had already a sketch of Syriac literature by such a master as the late Prof. William Wright[3] does not detract from the novelty, much less from the usefulness, of Professor Duval's book. The latter's work is not only more fully developed; it is executed on a much more practical plan. Professor Wright, whether of his own initiative, or in compliance with the regulations of the editors of the Encyclopedia Britannica, followed throughout the chronological order, with the result that the reader who wants information, not on a particular period, but, as is generally the case, on a special branch of Syriac literature, is left to seek it for himself, as best he may throughout the lengthy study.

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[1] This volume is the second of the Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes of the excellent Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiatique (Paris, Lecoffre.)

[2] We are glad to give here some of the most important publications of Professor Duval—"Traité de Grammaire Syriaque," Paris, 1882.—"Histoire d'Edesse," Paris, 1892.—"Lexicon Syriacum, Auctore Hassano Bar-Bahlul," Paris, 1886–1901.

[3] A Short History of Syriac Literature, by the late William Wright, London, 1894. Professor Wright's sketch appeared first in the XXII Vol. of the Encyclopedia Britannica, under the heading, "Syriac Literature." It was republished after the author's death in a separate volume.

Professor Duval has understood the defect of this method. Realizing, nevertheless, that a chronological presentation was not devoid of usefulness for some readers, he would not exclude it entirely. So he gives us, in his volume, a twofold exposition of the Syriac literature, viz, in the first part a systematic and quite developed one; in the second, a chronological, and much condensed, conspectus.

The first part—La littérature Syriaque et ses différents genres—is divided into seventeen chapters, viz: I–II. Introductory. Characteristics of Syriac Literature, Poetry. III–VIII. Biblical productions. III. Ancient Versions of the Old and New Testament; Peshitto of the Old Testament; Diatessaron of Tatian, Peshitto of the New Testament, Curetonian and Sinaitic Versions. IV. Syro-Palestinian lectionaries. V. Later Versions of the Old and New Testament: Philoxenian, Syro-Hexaplar, Heraclean. VI. Syrian Massorah. VII. Commentaries on the Bible. VIII. Apocrypha. IX. Acts of Martyrs and Lives of the Saints. X. Apologetic Writings. XI. Law, both Ecclesiastical and Civil. XIII. Historiography. XIII. Asceticism. XIV. Philosophy. XV. Sciences: Medicine; Natural Sciences; Astronomy; Cosmography, and Geography; Chemistry; Mathematics. XVI. Grammar; Lexicography; Rhetoric; Poetics. XVII. Syriac Versions from the Greek, either of theological or profane works.

The second part—Notices sur les Ecrivains Syriaques—is divided into three parts: I. From the beginning to the Fifth Century: St. Ephrem and his School. II. Fifth and Sixth Centuries, the Golden Age of Syriac literature; 1. Orthodox writers: Isaac of Antioch, Rabbla, etc.; 2. Nestorians: Ibas, Mari, Barsauma, Schools of Narses of Nisibis, Hannana of Adiabene, Mar Abba I., etc.; 3. Monophysites: James of Sarug, Philoxenus of Mabbogh, Simeon of Beith-Arsham, James Baradaeus, John of Asia, Sergius of Reshaïna, etc.

The work is rounded out by three useful appendixes: I. A brief bibliographical Index, that enumerates the most important sources for the study of Syriac literature. II. An alphabetical Index of authors and anonymous works. III. A list of additions to the first edition. The prefaces to both editions and a geographical map of Western Asia complete the work.

As far as it goes Professor Duval's work is nearly perfect. We may even go further and say we found it much better than we expected; not that we have the slightest doubt as to Professor Duval being one of the best qualified men to write it, but on account of our lack of information, from other points of view, concerning the vast territory over which Syriac literature flourished, for well nigh a thousand years. Are not Geography and History the two torches in the light of which the expounder of ancient literatures must proceed? And what does the average student know of the history and geography of Western Asia, if he be not a specialist in that line? Professor Duval seems to have understood this difficulty; here and there he imparts a little historical information, much to the satisfaction of his reader. This, however, seems hardly enough. In our opinion, the author will do well, in the next edition, to devote an introductory chapter to the general geography and history of the home of Syriac literature; and it goes without saying that the little map, for which we are exceedingly grateful, small and rudimentary as it is, will have to be enlarged and perfected. Otherwise, we have but few and unimportant remarks to make. We may say, however, that we would have liked to find the Index of authors more complete. We fail to understand why Professor Duval has excluded all non-Syrian authors. As long as he saw fit to mention all through his work the translations from the Greek Fathers (in which he most assuredly was right), it seems to us that their names should have been found in the Index, so as to make the information about them easily accessible to the reader.

From the detailed list of chapters we have given, everybody will see that two very important ones have been left entirely untouched—the chapter on Liturgy and the chapter on Theology. This, however, is not an oversight of the author. Professor Duval is a layman, and he is right in thinking that these two chapters ought to be treated by one professionally qualified for that purpose. HENRY HYVERNAT.

Les Origines de la Renaissance, Louis Courajod. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8° pp. 687.

Renaissance Types, William Samuel Lilly. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901. 8° pp. 400.

L'Eglise et les Origines de la Renaissance, Jean Guiraud. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8° pp. 339.

The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages, Henry Osborn Taylor. New York: The Columbia University Press (Macmillan), 1901. 8° pp. 400.

The Triumph of the Cross, by Fra Girolamo Savonarola, translated from the Italian, edited with introduction by the V. R. Fr. John Procter, O. P. London: Sands and Co., 1901. 8° pp. xxxi + 213 (B. Herder, St. Louis).

1. Nowhere is the history of Renaissance art more seriously cultivated than in France. The names of Eugène Müntz, Lèopold de Lisle, Léon de Laborde, Viollet le Duc and others, recall monumental and epoch-mak-

ing labors. In the volume before us we have an attempt to reproduce the famous lessons of one of the masters in this province of history—the teaching of Léon Courajod at the Ecole du Louvre from 1887 to 1896, more particularly from 1886 to 1890. The great thesis of M. Courajod is the original and independent origin of the Renaissance art of France, or rather the unbroken traditions down to the middle of the fifteenth century of the national Gothic art as carried on by the art-centers of Northern France, where numerous Flemish and Burgundian artists cherished the high mediæval traditions of the orderly, beautiful and noble that had reached their acme among a Christian people and in a Christian spirit during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. M. Courajod worked on the most modern and satisfactory lines. Original art specimens, or in their absence plaster casts and photographs, were his habitual texts. The screen was frequently in demand for projections; his teaching aroused an extraordinary enthusiasm. Deceased at an untimely age, the notes of his lectures are now presented in three volumes, covering the history of the origins of mediæval, Renaissance, and modern art. The volume before us is so suggestive, so replete with ideas, observations, indications, mostly new, often very original, that only a personal reading of it can satisfy a lover of the history of art. It will long remain a kind of "thesaurus" for the beginning of that period of transition between the world of mediæval faith and modern skepsis which is nowhere so visible as in the domain of ecclesiastical architecture and art. M. Courajod has made good use of the history of commerce—the great Italian artists, Leonardo, Michael Angelo, the Della Robbia, Cellini, Andrea del Sarto, appear in France as only the last of a long procession. Not they introduced the Renaissance of Italy to French art,—that was first done by the nameless traders and peddlers, the equally humble nameless wandering "artisti" who cross the Alps regularly from the end of the fourteenth century. France was always rich, generous and art-loving. So Padua and Venice sold their pretty bronzes in France, and other Italian cities sent thither their ivories and intarsia work. Italian miniaturists and goldsmiths worked steadily for France during the fifteenth century. The Lombard money-changers knew well the value of rare jewels, coins, medals, enamelled chalices and plate. Civil and ecclesiastical luxury sent its products to one who was now the Great King of Europe, whether he was Charles VII, or Charles VIII or Louis XI. The market grew daily more open and tempting. The French demand for new designs in furniture, for the decoration of the knight's saddle, the pommel of his sword, for crosses and coffins and fonts, for a hundred other uses of life among a rich and tasteful people, kept alive and active a multitude of Italian cinquecento artists. In the same measure the work of the Flemish and Burgundian artists, conservative, sincerely Gothic in temper and taste, failed to command the purses of the wealthy and the powerful—the "mode d'Ytalie" grew apace. And when the house of Anjou yielded to the fascination of the South, when the great châteaux of Plessis-les-Tours, of Blois and Amboise, became centers for the Italian influences, especially in decoration and ornamentation, when the d'Estouteville and the d'Amboise cardinals gave way to unmeasured fondness for the art of Italy and turned over their castles and cathedrals to it, the old and glorious and purely Christian domestic art of mediæval France was doomed to a long eclipse. The sure and deadly poison of pagan art was at last in the veins of the sprightliest and most susceptible of the Christian nations.

2. Catholicism has not at its service many pens more brilliant, honest, and erudite than that of Mr. Lilly. He is a philosophic historian, a kind of "paysagiste," who loves to map out an epoch, to seize on its strong dominant characters, to limn boldly its peculiar shadings of temper and ideals, the currents and movements that shaped it, and the "lointain" into which it fades away. The latest German book melts, in his hands, into a paragraph of exquisite beauty, and the latest French book gives up, through him, its animus and real value. He is a Catholic apologist—but a *sui generis* one, a lineal descendant of the great tribe of learned reviewers who have left to English literature a wealth of historico-critical appreciations that have gone far towards forming the modern mind. Within the framing of a prologue and an epilogue he offers us five grandiose portraits of the century that opens with the Invention of Printing and closes with the Confession of Augsburg. In these medallions that he entitles Michael Angelo, the Artist; Erasmus, the Man of Letters; Reuchlin, the Savant; Luther, the Revolutionist; More, the Saint, he presents, with rare skill and truth, the outlines of the period that saw the ruin of ecclesiastical unity, and as he confesses himself, the equally complete ruin of political liberty (pp. 391–392). It is impossible to review in detail, within the short space at our command, a work that, like this, is itself the "fine fleur" of a multitude of profound studies and the last of a long series of conflicting judgments on that tangled period "dont Dieu seul a le sens," according to the happy formula of M. Nisard (Renaissance et Réforme, I, 44). Mr. Lilly is, intellectually, a frank and sturdy Englishman—the debased German monachism of the Reformation, and the Italian immorality and infidelity of the time, come in for a severe and merited flagellation. But the antique Catholic soul of Michael Angelo and the spirit of enlightened mediæval sanctity that flamed in the breast of Thomas More are placed before us in pages that shine like crystal. What a puissant engine of judgment is this English

tongue when it is handled by a master! Mr. Lilly dedicates his book to Lord Acton, whom he styles "the greatest living master of historical scholarship." Of himself it may be said that no living writer of English possesses in a higher degree the gift of historical imagination and the witchery of an historical style not yet surpassed by any of its English masters. When he says (p. 36) under the rubric of "The Dogma of Impartiality" that he will "endeavor to set aside altogether theological tests," he does well to state that such a complete *ἀταραξία* is impossible among men. Even Saint Thomas Aquinas, formally the coldest of writers, could not always maintain this rock-like imperturbability of feeling. And so it is rather interesting to see how the "theological tests" affect the judgments of Mr. Lilly concerning Michael Angelo. "It is abundantly clear," he says, "from the works of Condivi and Vasari that the great doctrines of the Catholic faith entered into Michael Angelo's life as simply, naturally, and unquestioned as the common truths of physical nature or the most elementary principles of civil society" (p. 99.) Unless, indeed, by "theological tests" Mr. Lilly means the opinions of the schools, fine and remote metaphysical questions—but then the words are misleading, for theology means primarily the Catholic faith. Meaner and falser senses have been given to that noble word, but by anti-Catholic partisans or by the enemies of Christianity.

3. The volume of M. Jean Guiraud is the fifth in the Library of Church History of the Maison Lecoffre at Paris. It deals with the relations of the Roman Church and Humanism in the first half of the fifteenth century. The earlier chapters are a welcome vulgarization of a series of writings on the origins of the art of the Renaissance that we owe to the pens of Faucon, Müntz, Courajod, Frothingham, and others, not to speak of the classic Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The magnificence of Boniface VIII and his family finds a rival magnificence in the Avignon popes, the *moles miranda* of whose castle offers for a century a vast workshop to all the great artists of France, and to some from Italy. Their churches, tombs, villas, libraries nourish all the elements of the full Renaissance. And if they nearly went down in the flood of Paganism that it let loose, it was because their powerful line, had so long cherished the studies and ideals of a new and lovely intellectual world that its essential insufficiency and its probable aberrations were too easily overlooked by them in the abounding consciousness of the Christian unity of Europe and their own share in forming and preserving the Christian mediæval culture. The pages devoted to Petrarch (59–75) bring out very well the manifold indebtedness of the great poet to the popes of Avignon, the new un-Christian love of glory that was beginning to turn the heads of scholars, and the yet genuinely Christian attitude of

learned men. If the Avignon popes loved splendor in architecture it was yet the Gothic architecture that they furthered. And if they cherished too fondly the site on which their fate had cast them, they did not utterly forget the principal churches of Rome. The discoveries of the fifteenth century are largely the outcome of a spirit nourished by the foreign missions to Asia and Africa sedulously kept up by these popes. The increasing love of books throughout Europe had for one of its chief sources the papal library of Avignon and the bookshops that flourished there as nowhere else in Europe. Men of letters were welcomed to their service, and of Urban V it is said that he had founded one thousand scholarships for poor students in different universities of Europe.[1]

The bulk of the volume is devoted to the embellishments and improvements of the City of Rome that are owing to Martin V., Eugene IV., and Nicholas V. It is the most pleasant chapter of the Renaissance period, the innocent prelude to the tragic dénouement that M. Guiraud foreshadows and denounces in his concluding chapter, entitled "Christianity and Paganism about 1450."

4. Though this work does not belong directly to the literature of the Renaissance, it does belong to it indirectly. For it treats of the transmission to the mediæval world of the ancient classical culture. How much was handed down? By what channels? With what loss or modification of the Christian spirit and temper? From the fourth to the seventh centuries of the Christian era one world went out of existence and another rose to life. The intellectual life of Greece and Rome was eclipsed by the thoughts, ideas, and aims of Christianity. But such events do not happen without far-reaching consequences. In a remoter period the destruction of the Greek state had a far-reaching influence on the future of its victorious rival, the City of Rome. So the reign of intellectual paganism could not pass away without leaving on the new Christian society many a trace of its long career, could not pass away with equal fulness at all points, or with equal rapidity. It never entirely passed away—its literature, monuments, social and political institutions and ideals, have always been a power, more or less in evidence, within the ancient limits of the Roman State. In ten chapters Mr. Taylor undertakes to make up the debit and the credit of this long and complicated bankruptcy of classicism. They are entitled—the passing of the antique man, the phases of pagan decadence, the antique culture, pagan elements Christianized in transmission, ideals

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[1] Baluze, "Vitae paparum Avenionensium," I, 395. "Viros litteratos valde dilexit multosque ex ipsis promovit et exaltavit; et ut daret ceteris addiscendi materiam et opportunitatem, quamdiu vixit in papatu, suis expensis tenuit mille studentes in diversis studiis; ex quibus cum aliqui jam provecti erant aut alias deficiebant, illorum loco alios continuo subrogavit. Libros necessarios tam eis quam aliis pluribus quos scivit studio esse intentos ipsisque indigere, etiam ministravit."

of knowledge, beauty and love, abandonment of pagan principles in a Christian system of life, Christian prose, Christian poetry, Christian art. The work is provided with a valuable appendix of bibliographical notes that suggest the choicest modern literature on the subjects treated. It argues extensive reading and in general a fair and correct judgment. In this province the standpoint of the author frequently affects his criticism, while neither his learning nor his honesty may be doubted. One does not need to share all of Mr. Taylor's views and opinions before saying that the book is suggestive from cover to cover. The (ninth) chapter on Christian poetry is, perhaps, the most surely and deeply felt of all. Yet the whole book is worthy of attentive perusal, and of assimilation, since it touches on a great many culture-problems and questions that the last century was busily employed in formulating, discussing and (tentatively at least) answering.

5. Savonarola was a sworn enemy of the pagan Renaissance. Its "Medici" and "Arrabiati" compassed the prophet's death amid circumstances so tragic that they will challenge forever the attention of mankind. Yet it was as an orator, as a living pleading voice, a Christian and Catholic Greatheart, that he worked out his calling—the piazza, the street, the pulpit of Santa Maria del Fiore, the garden of San Marco, were his coigns of vantage. The real charm and puissance of oratory are, by its very nature, immediate and evanescent. Demosthenes, Cicero, Peter the Hermit, won their real triumphs in the overwhelming but perishable convictions that they transfused into the hearts of their hearers. So it was with Fra Girolamo—his power lay in the burning faith and the wondrous skill that made him the born master of every Nello and Pippo and Cecco in the City of the Lilies. He left few books. Among them the "Triumphus Crucis," published originally in 1497, in Latin and Italian, has been always looked on as his religious testament, his real Credo, and the touchstone of his most intimate convictions concerning God, Christ, the Church, her history and future. It was a vade-mecum of Saint Philip Neri. Often reprinted in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the first complete edition in both original texts is that of Padre Ferretti (Siena, 1899). Fr. Procter edits for us an English translation of this publication that is owing "to an anonymous but graceful as well as faithful pen," thereby presenting to us Savonarola in his own words and not in the distorted dress that he too often wears. Fr. Procter justly excoriates an English translation of the "Triumph of the Cross," published at London (1868), in which the specifically Catholic character of the great preacher's writings is wiped out, and without any warning, by omissions and mistranslations—a most reprehensible proceeding, quite akin to certain editions of the "Imitation" for non-Catholic readers.

No literary or social history of the Renaissance can afford to ignore the four little books into which this work is divided. It is an "Apology for Christianity," almost the only written and printed one at a time when the current of paganism was rising perilously close to the "holy of holies." The argument is brief but vivid and forceful, nourished on Saint Thomas and the history of the church, yet very modern and applicable—a series of theses and conclusions illuminated by pithy reasons and constantly calling to their aid that "testimony of mankind" which from Tertullian to Pascal the apologists of Catholicism have always invoked. No one can read this book and maintain that Savonarola was a "harbinger of Martin Luther." At every page he is the "contrepied" of the Reformer of Wittenberg. Nor can anyone read the work and not be struck with the ravages of the pagan Renaissance that could compel the production of such an elementary manual of Christian Apologetics at the end of the fifteenth century, beneath the shadow of the Campanile of Giotto, in the native city of Dante, in a society nursed and educated, enriched and ennobled by Catholicism—its spoiled darling. The book is a timely one, and we recommend its perusal to our clergy and cultured laity. It is not the least of the scholarly contributions to the story of Savonarola that seems so persistently to solicit our busy and materialistic world. The resurrection of certain historical problems is a curious illustration of the truth that nothing is settled among men until it is rightly settled—so powerfully works in humankind the leaven of truth and justice.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

History of England, by F. York Powell and T. F. Tout. Longmans, Green and Co., 1900. Pp. 1115.

Of the making of Histories of England there seems to be no end. Moreover, they are good histories in matter, form and tone. In matter the people, i. e., the schools, are reaping the first fruits of the labors of the earnest and expert investigators who for almost a century have been unearthing the musty records of the past. In form equal improvement—more maps, glossaries of archaic words, copious indexes, logical divisions well marked off by clear marginal and other headings, references to sources, etc. In tone we are glad to note a growing liberality, reasonableness, sympathy for the past—above all, an objective sense of justice in dealing with those delicate religious problems that make the path of an historian of England beset with pitfalls and stones of stumbling. The present history is no exception to the above. It presents some new and good features, particularly the lists of genealogical tables and the specimens of our language at different periods of its existence. As a whole we would prefer the first part of the book, written by Mr. Powell, because he seems to have threaded his way with more success through the obstacles above mentioned, though in his treatment of the early British Church and of the relations of England and Rome in the days of the Conquest he is sometimes ambiguous. So also his view of England as feudalized before the Conquest, is sure to provoke dissent. The worst piece of work is his unfair account of the Albigensians (p. 141.)

Coming to the second part, we will give Mr. Tout full credit for a sincere desire and generally successful attempt to be fair. Many of his Protestant readers will rise with disappointment from reading his portraits of Elizabeth, Knox, James I, and some others of the Reformers. So also to many of those bred on Fox's Book of Martyrs it will be a perfect revelation to be told (p. 438) what people of culture ought to have known and acknowledged long ago, that "everybody (in the sixteenth century) agreed that to tolerate error was both a sin and a mistake. . . . Henry VIII had burnt Protestants and hung Papists. Edward VI had burnt Anabaptists and shut up Romanists in prison. Calvin was equally intolerant and Charles V equally so." Likewise, many of his Catholic readers may dislike some very distasteful truths regarding the conduct of the Catholic party in its resistance, especially under Elizabeth, James I, and James II—mistakes to which is due, in no small measure, the almost total extinction of English Catholicity. While we think Mr. Tout's general presentment of the policies of Henry VIII and Elizabeth the fairest and most correct we know of so far as popular histories by non-Catholics go, still we cannot unreservedly subscribe to each and every one of his statements. For example, what does Mr. Tout mean, on p. 406, by saying that Henry VIII sought to organize the English Church "without any change in its faith, organization or its worship." Our perplexed mind asks: "What, then, did he seek to do?" Certainly this is pushing the "via media" a little too far. On p. 400 the author avoids the customary blunder of calling an indulgence a permission to commit sin, but adds that in practice they amounted to "little better." This, at least, is highly ambiguous. Moreover, Mr. Tout need not go out of his way to use the words "Romanist," "Popery" (pp. 675, 679, 434.) They are not good form, are contemptuous epithets invented in a past age of religious warfare, and are now generally considered as insulting by all Catholics; hence decidedly bad manners. However, as a whole, the book is an advance upon its predecessors. We recommend it cordially to the mature reading public; with some corrections like those indicated above, it can safely be used in Catholic colleges. LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The Venetian Republic: Its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall (421-1797), by W. Carew Hazlitt. Vol. I (421-1422), pp. xxvii + 814; Vol. II (1423-1797), pp. xix + 815. London. Large 8°. Adam and Charles Black. New York: Macmillan, 1900. $12.00.

From Attila to George Washington, from the Anglo-Saxon Invasion of England to the Emperor Napoleon, what a glorious theme of human history! This is the span of the political life of Venice, and within it fall all the interests, motives, passions, all the progress, decay, and change, all the shame and glory, of European mankind for fifteen centuries. On a handful of sandy islets, salt-encrusted, overgrown with underbrush and dwarf forest, arose from century to century this loveliest dream-city of mankind, that in its very decay fascinates the traveller as no other site of human endeavor. Elsewhere great states have grown from the soil; here men must first create the soil on which they shall grow to greatness. Elsewhere men found in the fertile bosom of Mother Earth the means of subsistence; here the uncertain sea must furnish them a precarious living. Yet Venice grew while Aquileia decayed, and Padua lingered on, and Milan fell beneath many a German lord. Traditions of genuine Roman life were taken over into the lagoons by the noblemen and peasants who fled before the Huns of Attila, and the relations of Church and State once peculiar to the Theodosian house found an unexpected welcome in the amphibious capital of a fisher-community.

It is the grandson of William Hazlitt who presents us in these two thick volumes of over sixteen hundred pages the vicissitudes of the queenly city of the Adriatic—the Venetia Princeps. It is a long story, with many phases. Questions of internal government come first—the foundations of public life; then follow the needs of self-defence, the wars with Dalmatian pirates and Saracens, with Lombards and Franks, the domestic feuds, the rivalries of one fishing village with another, the ambitions of one aristocratic house after another, the dealings with Exarchs and German emperors and jealous lords of Byzantium, the alliance with the papacy against the injustice and aggression of German feudalism; finally the long, and for Venice the profitable, era of the Crusades. Badoers and Sanudi and Orseoli, Falieri and Michieli, Foscari and Morosini and Guistiniani, these makers of Venice in the first thousand years of her life, have never had their equals, In one way or another it was an oligarchy that made the state grow great, and when that oligarchy could no longer make headway against the absolute monarchies of the sixteenth century, the doom of Venice was certain. But it did not fall until it had rounded out a glorious existence—only in the Roman

Forum and beneath the Pyramids is the traveller so oppressed by the weight of history as when he glides along the Canal Grande within the shadow of the Cà d'Oro or the Fondaco de' Tedeschi.

These two volumes, greatly enlarged from the second edition of 1860, are of very unequal worth. By far the most valuable portion is the second half of the second volume that deals with the institutions and customs, the domestic and religious life of Venice, with education, printing, the fine arts, and the like. All these chapters, in spite of occasional flippancy and affectation, form a memorable picture of Venice, and will remain useful when the long political narrative has been told again by some more consummate master of the historian's profession. For it is a pity that this book should have been written without a proper critical introduction. There is no attempt made in the beginning to enumerate and describe the original authorities for the great state's history, if we except a few references in the preface and some pages devoted to the historical literature of Venice, chiefly apropos of the wonderful diaries of Marino Sanudo (1466–1536). The earliest history of Venice is narrated with an absolute confidence in chroniclers who do not date back beyond the year 1000. There is no clear and motivated exposé of the region of the legendary and possible that nearly always forms the first chapter of such ancient histories. The gradual perfection of the historiography of Venice is not brought out, nor is there any sufficient bibliography of the subject, such as is imperatively called for in a voluminous and costly work like this. Had an Edward Freeman or a James Gairdner undertaken this task, its execution would have been otherwise serviceable to future historians. More than once the style suffers from a certain Gibbonesque scurrility that is not offset by the perfect diction of that master of historical narration. Dates are sparingly given, and marginal guides, very useful in a work of such length, are wanting. The footnotes are few enough, and seldom offer the actual text of authorities that are not easily accessible to English readers. Altogether, the work is far from the perfection to which we are now accustomed by the great German and French masters of the historian's calling, and of which some good specimens exist in English. Nevertheless, it is readable and useful, despite some cheap allusions to the "ambitions" of Rome, at a period when it would take a microscope to discover them and a prophet to foresee the greatness of Venice. The misprints abound and accuse a careless proof-reading. The term "Romish," applied to the Church of Rome (II, 402), might be left to Exeter Hall—it is now beneath the dignity of any grave historian. The pages of both volumes are not devoid of general statements to which exception may easily be taken, e. g., on the slave-trade at Venice (I, 81–82). The excellent works of M. Allard and the late Bishop Brownlow sufficiently prove the deep and genuine concern of the Church for the mitigation and final extinction of slavery. However, Mr. Hazlitt more than once tones down his own language, perhaps as the result of better studies in the preparation of a work that has been with him a labor of love for thirty years. All told, there is nothing to equal this work in the English language as a continuous history of the state of Venice—a history that, with the constitutional story of Switzerland and England, might well form a trilogy of historical studies for any reader who wishes to pursue the mediæval vicissitudes of political freedom.

Thomas J. Shahan.

History of America before Columbus, according to Documents and Approved Authors, by P. De Roo. Vol. I. American Aborigines, Vol. II. European Immigrants. 8° pp. 1 + 613; xxiii + 613, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1900. $6.00.

The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, with translations from the Icelandic Sagas (and Rafh's Map of Vinland). B. F. De Costa. Third edition, revised. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1901. 8°, pp. 230. $5.00.

1. Of Fr. De Roo's two fine volumes the second is certainly the more scientific, the one more likely to be frequently used by scholars when dealing with the pre-Columbian discoveries of America. In this second volume will be found a history of the island and church of Greenland. Fr. De Roo has embodied therein the best results of the older documentary collections of Northern Europe, and the later investigations made on their authority. Some will still think that Fr. De Roo is too confident in his maintenance of the genuinity of the papal letters of Gregory IV for the archiepiscopate of Hamburg (883). The discovery and conversion of Greenland, its political, economical, social and religious institutions, its relations with America, its ecclesiastical government, its episcopal succession, its tragic disappearance from the ken of continental Europe, are well told; often the narrative becomes fascinating by the mere novelty and rarity of the facts and testimonials. Most of this material has always been known to the special students of these questions. Fr. De Roo brings a goodly number of documents from the Roman Archives, chiefly the Vatican, concerning the collection in Greenland of Peter's Pence and Crusade obligations in the thirteenth and fourteenth, as well as papal provision for the See of Gardar in the fourteenth and fifteenth, centuries. Unfortunately, while these documents prove the concern of the Roman Church for the remotest settlements of Christen-

dom, they add only here and there a trait to our knowledge of the civil and ecclesiastical situation. Would that we could have in their place the letters sent from Greenland to Rome by the bishops of Gardar, with the details of the religious situation as they must have exposed it to the Holy See! Fr. De Roo collects in the same volume about all that can be said for the thesis that Irish monks discovered America in the eighth and ninth centuries. If later on, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Icelanders made their way to the coast of the New World, it was less by the chance of contrary winds than by the information derived from Irish clerics to whom these voyages had been a matter of frequent occurrence.[1] M. Beauvois' belief in this discovery finds an excellent champion in Fr. De Roo. Yet in the present state of the documents and monuments it can hardly be set down as more than possible, perhaps probable. It may be that when the mass of Middle-Irish documents has been worked through, some texts will be found to shed light upon this problem. Fr. De Roo has spent many years upon this work that we may truly call an important one. Its 1,226 pages are indeed "instructive and entertaining," even if one cannot always agree with his conclusions, e. g., the presence of Saint Thomas the Apostle in the New World, or if one is obliged, frequently enough, to demur from his critical method and principles, that do not always bear the hall-mark of academic exactness and severity. For this latter weakness he has been very severely judged in more than one quarter. But it remains true that this work, alone in the English language, presents us a readable and consecutive account, in popular style, yet with much scientific apparatus, of the discussions of a century concerning the relations of the Old World with the New before its discovery by Columbus. Let those interested and capable discuss, chapter by chapter, its contentions; even thus is all truly scientific progress made in the wake of some general and cursory presentation of truth.

2. Dr. De Costa offers us in this third edition of his interesting work the fruits of investigations carried on since 1868 and 1894, the dates of the two previous issues. Readers ignorant of Latin, or unable to reach the text of the papal documents concerning Greenland, will be glad to find several of them in this work. Is it not a little strange that no reference is made to the "Documenta Selecta," etc., by Mr. Heywood (Rome, 1893), or to the fact that ten of the most valuable of these documents are now easily accessible in THE BULLETIN (Oct., 1896, vol. II, pp. 503–514)? It is worth while recording the statement in the preface (pp. 7–8) that

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[1] La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais et les premières Traces du Christianisme en Amérique avant l'an 1000. Nancy, 1875. Cf. also his numerous articles in the "Muséon" of Louvain.

in 1889 the historian George Bancroft withdrew, in a letter to Dr. De Costa, his objections to the historic character of the voyages recorded in the Sagas, and confessed "that he had long been in error." In the same place the author judiciously says that "in reality we fable, in a great measure, when we speak of our 'Saxon inheritance.' It is rather from the Northmen that we derived vital energy, freedom of thought, and in a measure that we do not yet suspect, our strength of speech. Yet happily the people are becoming conscious of their indebtedness; so that the time is not far distant when the Northmen may be recognized in their true social, political and literary character, and at the same time, as navigators, assume their rightful position in the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Ireland, Historic and Picturesque, by Charles Johnston. Illustrated. Philadelphia: Henry Y. Coates and Co.,1901. 8°. Pp. 393.

Ireland and the Empire: A Review 1800-1900. T. W. Russell, M. P. (South Tyrone). New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°. Pp. xi + 284.

1. In a sustained poetic monologue Mr. Johnston relates the story of Ireland from the earliest dawn of her history down to modern times. He is au courant of the best archæological and literary work on Ancient Ireland, and has very neatly interwoven its conclusions with his tale. The volume is in every way exquisite—poetical text, choice illustrations, excellent typography—quite a pretty gift for any lover of Ireland's history.

2. We should like to see these calm and sincere pages in the hands of all who would grasp the real gist of the grievances of Ireland. Mr. Russell is a Unionist and a Protestant; all the more eloquent and convincing are the admissions he everywhere makes of the substantial justice of the claims of Ireland to a more equitable settlement of the great financial, educational, and administrative questions that affect so intimately the daily life, the thought, the development of a race of men and women who have shown themselves pre-eminently fitted by nature to rise to the first rank in the new adjustment of the world and humanity. "O passi graviora!" we may well exclaim as we note in rapid succession the confessions of Mr. Russell. He cannot long stay away from the councils of the real Irish nation. With such views and principles he now stands too close to the sane and experienced men who represent the majority of the Irish people at Westminster. With Mr. Methuen's book on "Peace or War in South Africa," the work of Mr. Russell is a political event of much importance—both express and suggest deep underlying

currents of popular feeling that, in England, eventually sweep away all opposing interests and prejudices. The book deserves an extensive sale and a profound study, for its truthfulness, its sympathy, and the spirit of peace and conciliation that it breathes.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Spirago's Method of Christian Doctrine. A manual for priests, teachers, and parents. Edited by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Messmer, Bishop of Green Bay. Benziger, New York, 1901. 8° Pp. 589.

This truly welcome and much-needed volume is divided into six chapters. The first treats of Christian doctrine in general, rehearses the church legislation on the subject, and analyzes the nature and dignity of the catechetical office as well as the qualities indispensable to the catechist. It is an interesting, orderly, and practical presentation.

The second chapter is concerned with the selection and arrangement of the various subject-matters according to the different classes of children to be taught or the various grades into which they are divided. The treatment is pedagogical throughout, and the detailed arrangements presented will serve to guide the catechist in making out a consistent program for the exposition of Church History, Bible History, and Liturgy. In the third chapter the qualities, forms and stages of instruction, as also the best aids to results, are duly portrayed. Excellent examples are furnished of the method of forming definitions and arguments. The catechist who masters the suggestions of this third chapter will have acquired the true art of effective teaching.

The fourth chapter deals with the pedagogical value and use of religious pictures, wall-maps, and blackboard drawings or illustrations, the qualities which a serviceable catechism should possess; the selection of suitable books for a library, and the best methods of familiarizing children with their contents. Philosophers may deal in abstractions, says Macaulay, but the majority of men want pictures. The child-mind retains the picture and the story with much more ease and interest than a colorless definition, and teachers of the young would do well to bear ever in mind the lesson of this fourth chapter. The truths of religion should be made attractive.

The educational value and qualities of prayers and sacred hymns, together with the distinct advantages to be derived from proper instruction in the sacrifice of the mass and in the sacraments, form the topics well treated in the fifth chapter. The last chapter is devoted to an historical sketch of Christian doctrine in the Messianic days, the early Christian Church, the Middle Ages, modern times, and nineteenth century. An appendix on the catechist's library and a good topical index for purposes of reference complete a treatment that is worthy of the best commendation.

We welcome this manual, not only for its solid and useful contents, but also for its departure from the beaten path, as exemplified in the endeavor of its author to apply to religious instruction the principles of modern pedagogics. The Bishop of Green Bay, its editor, has made it especially serviceable to the needs of English-speaking people, and is to be congratulated for having thus added the qualities that make for success—among which is certainly that of suitability to American needs. To priests, seminarians, catechists, and parents, this contribution to the pedagogics of Christian doctrine must be truly welcome, not to say necessary. It will enable them to break the bread of doctrine in a manner most creditable to themselves and most advantageous to the spiritual well-being of their appointed charges. We wish it permanent and universal success. EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Meditations on the Life, the Teaching, and the Passion of Jesus Christ, by Rev. A. M. Ilg, O. S. F. C. Edited by Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J. 2 vols. 8° Pp. 561, 510. New York: Benziger, 1901.

These volumes, as the editor informs us in the preface, were principally compiled from an old book of meditations by a Capuchin monk published in the year 1712 under the title "A Mirror of the Virtues Displayed in the Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Father Ilg it was who first compiled therefrom a series of meditations for every day of the ecclesiastical year, suited for the use of priests and religious. But his work was not merely that of a compiler adhering slavishly to the original; he completely remodelled and recast the book, introducing many new features and apt quotations from ascetical writers. Father Clarke has ably presented in an English dress the work of his predecessors and added two convenient indexes—one suitable for retreats, the other detailing in alphabetical order the special topics to which one might have need or occasion to refer. These indexes greatly enhance the value of these two volumes.

After an introduction to mental prayer in general and to the use of these volumes in particular, follow the meditations. These are all eminently practical and generally divided into three well-defined considerations. The tone is intimate and personal, and the reflections are made easy and familiar. The word of Holy Writ abounds and a mosaic of Scripture texts helps the pious reader to live over in his own mind the many scenes and incidents of the Lord's blessed life. It is in this wise, proceeding day by day, that the pious soul is enabled to reach a fuller and still fuller appreciation of Him who was the way, the truth, and the life. Were it only for the knowledge of Scripture and of holy maxims that these two volumes were read, the intellectual profit would be considerable. But in addition to this is the spiritual benefit which is sure to be derived from daily absorption of the significance which Christ's life has for the meditative and the "pure-minded" soul.

The index to meditations suitable for retreats is especially well prepared and the topics are so chosen as to fill the mind with noble and pious thoughts and the will with holy resolves rather than to give an "esquisse" of theological doctrines or to distract the mind with the usual pious stories. To know Jesus Christ and Him crucified is the sole purpose of these volumes.

St. Thomas says somewhere that the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity are given us as dispositions for action, while the function or office of the gifts of the Holy Ghost is to maintain us in a constant attitude of receptivity towards the Giver of these Good gifts. We may say of these volumes that a devout perusal will, to borrow the words of the author, prove useful and profitable to all who desire to lead a virtuous life and follow the Lord. We bespeak for them the attention which they deserve.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

God and the Soul. A poem. By John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, author of "Education and the Higher Life," "Songs from the German," etc. The Grafton Press, New York, 1901. Pp. 256.

The Feast of Thalarchus. Condé Benoist Pallen. Boston: Small Maynard and Co., 1901. Pp. 73.

Words and Their Ways in English Speech. By James Bradstreet Greenough, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, and George Lyman Kittridge, Professor of English in Harvard University. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 396.

Poems and Inscriptions. Richard Watson Gilder. New York: The Century Co., 1901.

1. Bishop Spalding's new book of poems is worth the most serious consideration from all readers who have aspirations beyond the things of earth. That there are defects in the technical arrangement of the verse every student of metre will easily perceive. They are faults, however, so easily amended, that one only feels the slight irritation when there is dust on an opal—the fire is there, though for the moment slightly obscured. In "Deepening Shadows" there are two instances of carelessness as to the music which indicate where the only fault of the poet lies. In the second quatrain he writes:

"But as we onward move we surely find
That only soul of youth this deep trust lends,
For loss of which nothing can make amends;
And we walk on leaving sweet joy behind."

Apart from defects in musical expression, "God and the Soul" is the noblest book devoted to the poetry of philosophy yet printed in our country. The essential thoughts of the past, the present, and the future are presented with intellectual force and a masterful clearness and power of synthesis. "The Thing Itself" is only one of the noble poems in the volume that deserve quotation. It begins:

"The mystery of faith is what repels,
But is not mystery the bottom fact
Of science, too, which in authentic act
Confesses that it on the surface dwells?"

That Bishop Spalding has the lyrical quality is shown by the exquisite "Silence."

"Inaudible move day and night,
And noiseless grows the flower;
Silent and pulsing wings of light,
And voiceless fleets the hour.

"The moon utters no word when she
Walks through the heavens bare;
The stars forever silent flee
And songless gleams the air."

The fashionable technical poet cannot, to quote Sir Thomas More, see the wood for the trees. He loses the strength of his thought in his eagerness for details. This cannot be said of Bishop Spalding. We are in the shadow of a great, strong forest, where God and nature are august, majestic—a forest where the spirit speaks through Northern firs and pines whose forms we do not mark in listening to the resonant voices.

2. Dr. Pallen's "Feast of Thalarchus" clearly shows the influence of Dryden and Newman. And could a poet have a finer pedigree? It is a good thing in these days to read one who recognizes the splendor of the last of the Elizabethans and the purity and height of him who wrote the "Dream of Gerontius," and who, having the courage to accept both, adds deep-pondered truths to theirs in pictorial words. Dr. Pallen aims high, and you will fly with him; you know that you are with a master of the best modes of thought; but not for a moment does he touch your heart. His poem soars, as in the prayer of Simeon, in the

intervals of the chorus of demons who are fighting for the soul of Thalarchus. It glows with verbal color—sometimes a little fervid. Its verse is melodiously pleasant. It has not one moment of that higher ecstacy which comes every now and then in the compositions of Francis Thompson or the careless lines of Father Sheehan. It is correct, academic; but nowhere is the spiritualized passion of Dr. Pallen's earlier sonnets. The swing of Thais' song—

"Swifter than fire
It is love's desire,"

is musical and spontaneous, and the rhythmical phrasing of all the lyrics would be delightful, if it were not for the obviousness and carelessness of the rhymes. For instance—

"Lord of the vine,
Lord of the wine,
We are thine, we are thine,
We run and we dance,
We leap and we prance."

This is so like the chorus of the usual comic opera libretto that it surprises all the more because the opening:

"Io! Bacche! Io!
Twi-mothered god,
With ivy-wreathed rod!
Io! Bacche! Io!"

gives promise of something better. The last speech of Thalarchus makes a fine close to this highly thoughtful, strongly dramatic poem:

"For now I know,
My soul illumined by that kindly beam,
The deep philosophy of poverty,
The wealth of having naught, the precious gain
Of self-surrender, riches infinite,
Out of the nothingness of this base earth
Transmuted in th' alembic of God's love!"

3. This is a popular book, written—and well written—by men of scientific training and methods. Even the chapters on the development of words, of which the authors appear to have some fear, seem not to be too technical for the "practical man who rides in electric cars, talks by telephone and dictates his letters to a stenographer." The frankness of the first chapter, which might have been filled with philological diagrams, will lead the average reader to feel both gratitude and respect for

gentlemen who confess that their knowledge has some bounds. As an incentive and a stimulus to the study of words in English no better book at present exists. An excellent index makes it easy for the busy inquirer to find at a glance ready answers to questions as to the history of words which arise almost daily. This kind of "haute vulgarisation" of English philology ought to be encouraged.

4. Mr. Gilder's technique is so sure and so fine, that the lightest mood is exactly expressed and it produces the effect intended with artistic accuracy. In accordance with the progress of the art of poetical expression, Mr. Gilder gives himself more freedom than formerly. The unconventionality and simplicity of "Many the Names" is an example of his advancement from merely traditional forms:

"Many the names, the souls, the faces dear
That I have longed to frame in verse sincere;
But one high name, sweet soul, and face of love
Seemed ever my poor art, oh far above.
Like Mary's, stricken with sorrow was that face;
Like hers, it wore a most majestic grace."

"A Sacred Comedy in Florence" breaks, with a smile, the deep seriousness of the book. Mr. Gilder, in "Poems and Inscriptions" adds beauties and melody to the beauty and melody that have put him among the first four of our American poets. Grace, distinction, dignity, and aspiration to voice only the best, are his—and the best that can be said of this little volume is that it does not detract from his reputation.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

Sainte Thérèse (1515–1582) Henri Joly (Les Saints). Paris: Lecoffre, 1902; pp. 233 (2d ed).

The Way of Perfection, by Saint Theresa. Edited by H. R. Waller, London: 1901. J. M. Dent and Co. (The Cloister Library). New York: Macmillan. 8°, pp. 231.

1. M. Joly has again placed us under obligations to his brilliant and facile pen, this time for an admirable life of Saint Theresa. Her reform of the religious life in Spain, her own growth in the supernatural life, her foundation of new Carmelite convents, her government of the Carmelite nuns, her wonderful writings that even yet affect profoundly every intelligent reader, her friends and opponents, her confessors and spiritual guides—all these phases of her extraordinary career are narrated, with succinctness indeed, but in a most fascinating way. The principal

materials at his command are the masterpiece of her "Life" that henceforth ranks with the "Confessions" of St. Augustine as a guide to the world of the human soul, and her correspondence (ed. Paris. 3 v. 8°. 1900). Of the many stories of her work M. Joly has selected as the best the Carmelite histories of the Spaniard P. Francis de Sancta Maria (French tr. 5 v. 4°, Abbaye de Lérins, 1896), the "Memoir" of the Paris Carmelites on the foundation, government and religious spirit of the order (2 v. 8°, Reims, 1894), the "Life" by P. Ribera (2 v. 8°, Paris: Lecoffre) the Bollandist lives of the Saint, the "Espagne Thérésienne" a photographic album of the Carmels of Spain and their souvenirs of the great mystic, and the two volumes of the "Carmelite of Caen," (Paris: Retaux). Naturally, her own works, such as the "Book of Foundations," tke "Way of Perfection," the "Castle of the Soul" are the principal sources of information and the best commentary on her life. They are accessible to all in the French translation of P. Bouix (Paris, Lecoffre). M. Joly has been able to consult more than one new or unpublished document. His personal reminiscences of Avila, Salamanca and Albe de Tormés, lend freshness to the book. Perhaps its greatest charm is the psychological nicety and modernity of the pages that M. Joly devotes to the Saint's "growth in holiness." They reveal the woman as intimately as they do the Saint—to the modern mind this personal revelation is henceforth a "sine qua non" of hagiological works.

2. Messrs. Dent of London have enriched their "Cloister Library" with another dainty and attractive volume, the "Way of Perfection" of Saint Theresa. It is the seventeenth-century translation of Abraham Woodhead (4°, 1671–1675) with modernized spelling, correction of misprints, and proofs compared with the version of Rev. John Dalton (1852). Thanks to this enterprise and to translations of other Theresan writings by Mr. David Lewis and Rev. John Dalton, we have now a fairly large list of the Saint's writings in excellent English.

It is rare to find the most divergent minds agreeing on the merits of a spiritual writer. Such is the case with the great Carmelite saint. "I have not met with a single spiritual man who does not become a passionate admirer of Saint Theresa," says the old Spanish Bishop Palafox. "Her sheer power of mind is enough of itself to make her an intensely interesting study to all thinking men. No one can open her books without confessing the spell of her powerful understanding," says the Presbyterian scholar Dr. Alexander Whyte (Santa Theresa, 1897). "She is the geographer and hydrographer of the sinful soul. She has drawn the map of its poles, marked the latitudes of contemplation and prayer and laid out all the interior seas and lands of the human heart," says Huysmans in his fantastic work, "En Route." We are grateful to the editor

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for the reprint (pp. 229–231) of Crashaw's lovely verses on Saint Theresa, the famous "Flaming Heart" (1548). The staid pages of the BULLETIN are scarcely a repository for poetry of any kind, yet we cannot refrain from reprinting the closing lines of Crashaw, so fresh and spontaneous and genuine is the spiritual note they strike:

"O, thou undaunted daughter of desires!
By all thy dower of lights and fires,
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love,
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they;
By all thy brim-filled bowls of fierce desire,
By thy last morning's draught of liquid fire,
By the full kingdom of that final kiss
That seized thy parting soul and sealed thee His;
By all the heaven thou hast in Him,
Fair sister of the Seraphim!
By all of Him we have in thee,
Leave nothing of myself in me,
Let me so read thy life that I
Unto all life of mine may die."

These volumes of the "Cloister Library" are among the most neat and tasty specimens of English book-making. If we except the smallness of the type, there is scarcely a fault to find with them.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Fénelon: His Friends and His Enemies, 1651-1715, E. K. Sanders. Longmans, Green and Co. 1901. 8°. Pp. 426.

The very title of this book betrays its general weakness. It is not a life of Fénelon such as we would prefer and which the author is perfectly capable of writing, but rather a series of monographs upon different aspects of Fénelon's character, most of which aspects are precisely those that are of least interest to the modern reader and least beneficial to the reputation of the good archbishop. Moreover, "His Enemies" fill, it would appear, a much larger space than "His Friends," or (relatively speaking) "Fénelon" himself. This accounts largely for the tone of bitterness which runs through the whole book and occasionally mars what is otherwise a most interesting, able, and generally fair study. True! Fénélon's own stormy life is largely responsible for such treatment. He was an unlucky man in a way. Prone to politics, religious as well as secular, he was possessed of few of those baser but firmer qualities that are so necessary in that rude game. Hence he made enemies by the wholesale, because he was too true to his friends; and his enemies pursued him ceaselessly. So much for the general design and tone of the book. Coming to particulars, we would call attention to an occasional severe judgment upon the character of the priesthood, both in general and in individuals. On page 7 we read that "it was a period of perpetual intrigue and treachery, in which there were no adepts equal to the priests." Now that smacks of amateurishness. The author will probably modify the statement at least so far as not to award the prize of treachery to priests. Also on pages 67, 68, we find some allusions to the methods of the confessional which are likely to produce an effect quite opposite from that intended. Again, the restraint upon speculation and freedom of thought produced by the priesthood (301) is rather exaggerated, as well as the supposed priestly contempt for women in general (311). The assertion on page 207 that it "seems an almost necessary part of the Roman creed" to bow down to papal authority even to the extent of "professing a belief which (he) one did not hold" is so ambiguous as to look very much like a charge of hypocrisy. Lastly, in the name of common sense, what logical connection is there between the supposed shiftiness of Innocent XII. in the matter of Fénelon's condemnation (152) and "the doctrine of papal infallibility?" The young child in a First Communion class knows that the moral character or even the private religious views of a pope do not touch upon his infallible character as head of the Church.

This brings us to a critique of the portraits furnished by the writer. His view of this same Innocent XII. does not seem demonstrated by a perusal of the evidence submitted. Because Fénelon considered the pope shifty is no proof that he was. We want more proof than the opinions of the adherents of a lost cause to warrant us in stigmatizing the judge of the same as guided chiefly by duplicity. Bossuet's character is also rather too harshly painted. The world has known for a long time that the great orator allowed his feelings to run away with his charity in that long and bitter rivalry with Fénelon, but the present book allows more importance, as a motive, to mere, petty jealousy than we would—at least judging from the evidence at hand. The whole book, in fact, is as much a case against Bossuet as it professes to be a life of Fénelon. It might not without injustice be entitled "Fénelon or Bossuet Exposed." Such is not history. The same for Louis XIV., the "watch-dog of the church" and "prop of despotism" (p. 6); the two compliments placed so near together as to suggest the suspicion that they are also very near together in the author's own mind. Other portraits are better drawn.

The Sulpitians, with whom Fénelon was so long united in friendship, come in for well-merited praise. True to the original designs of their illustrious founder, they then as now succeed because they so consistently eschew politics and attend strictly to the business of educating the diocesan clergy. Madame de Maintenon is well drawn, though the author might have exerted himself a little more to understand the very simple moral situation in which Madame de Maintenon found herself placed (p. 68) as the guardian of the royal despot's unroyal progeny. To our view, the best descriptions are those of Madame Guyon (chap. IV, Part I), and the peculiar heresy known as "Quietism," with which her name is individually connected. The reader need hardly be told that certain members of the Society of Jesus come in for no very gentle treatment. With the justice of the handling he can best judge for himself, although we imagine that he will find some difficulty in finding out just how friendly were their relations with Fénelon. All along, even down to the close of his life, Fénelon was on terms of friendly intercourse with many of the Jesuits so prominent in the controversies of the period; still it is not so clear that this intimacy was always unclouded if we can believe the statement on page 175, that they, failing of hope to save the Maxims from condemnation, "suddenly withdrew support and left him to his fate," still less in view of Fénelon's low estimate of Père La Chaise (p. 254).

Of Fénelon himself the book is likely to leave an impression somewhat at variance with the prevailing popular estimate. That estimate is due largely to the sympathy excited by his persecutions. To such it will be a mild shock to learn that he was ambitious, often hot tempered, headstrong, unwary, overconfident, sometimes jealous and not above malice, despite the untarnished purity of his character, and his devotion to his flock. "It would be false to say that Fénelon's character remained unaffected by the evil passions at work within the Church; the spirit of resentment took hold upon him in spite of his protestations to the contrary, and he showed no eagerness to shelter others in storms such as had broken over him." We might add, moreover, that the court's attraction proved even to him as to all others, powerful enough to make exile from it bitter. In truth we confess our inability to thoroughly understand Fénelon. There was in him an indefinable something not very lovable which crops out precisely just at moments when we are about to think best of him. He was, indeed, absolutely upright. But somehow or other there was about him at times a chilliness which rendered his mysticism inconsistent and an ambition which mated ill with his asceticism. He just missed being great or saintly. But withal he loved his flock with the zeal of the true pastor, as is evidenced by his solicitude for the sick, the dying, the unfortunate of all descriptions among the peasantry of his diocese—a devotion that was generously repaid by the constant affection of all who came in contact with him. He surely must have been attractive, for which we can desire no stronger proof than that given by the writer (p. 237). "After the great decision Fénelon's position was not altered among his friends, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that they held him sacred, although duty demanded that they should subscribe to the papal sentence. Perhaps in this lies the greatest tribute ever paid to him, distinguishing the man he was by faith and character from the ardent and bitter controversialist whom many judged by Bossuet's slanders and his own defence." It is to be regretted that more space is not given to Fénelon's rôle as a reformer in education as well as a good shepherd of his flock, for it is upon these two great facts that his fame among men must rest. As a literary genius he was a failure in so far as he did not do that which lay in him, but expended his genius in dry religious controversy, and, worse—court politics. But as an educator he can take rank with the great reformers in that line, arguing, as he did, in favor of a more rational, healthy system than that prevailing in the Jesuit schools of the day, and thereby anticipating much that is best in modern training.

Before closing this review there is one chapter to which we would call special attention—chapter II of part II on "Fénelon the Politician." The author, on page 122, says that "historically the Quietism controversy is the central point in the life of Fénelon." Historically yes, but not psychologically. The true secret of Fénelon's failure in the age of Louis XIV. is a political one. Louis knew men, and under the purple of the archbishop, in the mystic dreamer of Quietism, he instinctively recognized something which was out of all harmony with his ideas of the supremacy of kingship. A mere casual reading of Télémaque would have revealed this much, even if the king's own instinct had not done so before. Surely it was no pleasant thing for such a monarch to see himself covertly held up to the scorn of his suffering people by that description of the ideal king, who, from love of his people, ruled in a manner opposite to that in which Louis did. And if there were any doubts of the meaning of Télémaque they were very decidedly set at rest by the "An Examination for the Conscience of a King," that is, if he ever read it. Too much stress cannot be laid upon this point in Fénelon's make-up and unsuccessful career. It will explain many things left unexplained by his passing connection with Quietism. The latter is too small a peg upon which to hang the failure of such a genius as Fénelon. His democracy might explain it very well.

Of the book as a whole we should be inclined to speak well, despite the defects above noted. It shows thorough scholarship and a firm historical grasp of French court life under Louis XIV. We only regret that the author has not written a real biography, for which this collection of essays proves him capable, and that he has not devoted more space to Fénelon, the educator, the bishop. As we put it down we feel that the great Archbishop of Cambrai has sunk in our estimation. We knew him through Télémaque in our college days; now we know him through the controversies from which it cannot be said that he came forth altogether unsullied. At all events the book will surely prove most interesting in many quarters where Fénelon's "friends and foes" still live, despite the fact that the "Grand Monarque," Bossuet, Madame Guyon, the Jesuit Le Tellier, and Fénelon himself have long ago moved off the stage and handed in the account of their stewardship. All of them, we are sure, would now, if they could, blot out from history the records of the bitter and useless controversies in which they were so ceaselessly concerned. It was an age of intestine warfare in the Church, and few wars are as bitter in their methods or as lasting in their consequences as civil wars. Looking back now at those conflicts over Quietism, Jansenism, and other minor subjects we experience a feeling of uneasiness, above all an abiding regret that differences of opinion in the Church cannot be settled in a manly, open fashion, concerning which it will not be amiss to quote the observation of d'Aguesseau (p. 216): "When a question is still undecided by the Church there can be nothing more dangerous, especially when passions have become heated on the subject of the question, than to permit it to be supported and attacked; the danger is equal on either side. Because, as the Church has not defined the precise limits of such a doctrine, and as there is hardly any truth which is regarded with the same point of view by different understandings, each mixes up his own prejudices, predilections, and interests, so that it often happens that, on one side, one who supports permits too large a limit, and on the other, he who attacks it wishes to confine it within too narrow bounds; and because there is not yet any authority to arrest and unite such temperaments, each one makes up a system according to his fancy and, charging every opinion that differs from his as heresy, disturbs the peace of the Church in attempting to forestall decisions which he ought to await respectfully." In so far as these words are a plea for charity, moderation, good temper, respect for adversaries—in a word, for temperance in debate, we fully subscribe to them. A study of the book before us is well calculated to demonstrate the evil of controversy in general, still more so of a lack of the qualities which should always accompany a difference of opinion.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament, Francis E. Gigot, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. Part I. The Historical Books. New York: Benziger, 1901. 381 pp.

Father Gigot has followed his General Introduction to Holy Scripture with the first half of a Special Introduction to the Old Testament. As is proper in a work on the historical books, a large part of the volume is devoted to the Hexateuch, or Genesis—Josue, as the author entitles it. The writer first gives a historical sketch of the traditional and critical views on the authorship of these books, and points out the theological aspects of the question. Following this he presents the opposing arguments with fairness and considerable length, and does not hesitate to indicate his own opinions. Each of the six books is then considered individually with reference to literary structure, contents, and historical character. Separate introductions to the remaining historical books, Samuel, Kings, Paralipomenon, Esdras, Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, and Machabees, complete the volume.

It requires no little courage for a Catholic scholar to undertake a work which involves the more or less magisterial treatment of the thorny and delicate questions belonging to an Introduction to the historical books of the Old Testament. Father Gigot's task called for especial hardihood, for a survey of his work shows that he has advanced, pioneer like, considerably beyond the lines and conclusions of other Catholic works of the same class. The author does not conceal his preference for many of the views of modern biblical criticism. The prevailing critical hypothesis for the composition of the Hexateuch finds favor in his eyes. He quotes approvingly the opinion of Professor Hoberg, the latest Catholic commentator of Genesis, that the Five Books are Mosaic only inasmuch as they are a development of Mosaic legal decisions and religious thought.

In regard to Creation, the reverend professor favors a theory intermediate between the Idealist and Concordist interpretation of the Hexaemeron. The account of the Fall is symbolical, but with a historical basis. The Flood narrative is historical in purpose, but the universality of the cataclysm is a relative one, "commensurate with the limited horizon which bounded the world at the time when the primitive tradition of the Deluge originated." No attempt is made to reconcile such a phenomenon with natural science. The author does not attempt the problem of the biblical chronology, contenting himself, after an exposition of various theories, with the remark that we are not obliged to accept the scriptural numbers as a divine revelation. In regard to the historicity of Tobias, Judith and Esther an attitude of reserve is taken. Perhaps a greater amount of reserve in the treatment of other delicate questions would be desirable in a seminary text-book. There is in the Introduction a tone of overconfidence in the conclusions of the Graf-Wellhausen school of criticism. Doubtless the predominant system has a great cumulative strength and much to commend it, but some of its cardinal results have been challenged by critical scholars. Not to mention the archæologists, so pronounced a critic as the late Professor Dillmann refused to admit the post-exilic composition of the Priestly Code, and recently Dr. Van Hoonacker of Louvain, in his "Sacerdoce Lévitique" has brought forward respectable reasons for believing that some distinctive institutions supposed by the sacerdotal code, if not the code itself, were in existence before the Exile. Father Lagrange, O. P., is of the opinion that we must put back the origin of many religious rites of the Israelites centuries before Moses, who, if he did not write the Law, was the instrument of a divine sanction of these venerable institutions.[1]

This reservation made, it must be said that Father Gigot has produced another excellent manual. The style is clear and smooth, and the English—a language not native to the writer—is in general idiomatic. The author seems to have coined a convenient word in "severalfold"; the phraseology would be improved by the omission of "yea," too antique for a modern work, and the "etcs." which savor too much of the class-room. Professor Gigot shows a good command of authorities, a broad acquaintance with the literature of his topics. The progressive Catholic exegete of the present day is more catholic in his erudition than his Protestant fellows. He is versed in a field neglected by Protestant biblical scholars, that is, Catholic Scriptural literature, and at the same time is awake to non-Catholic thought and learning in his department. He does not lose sight of the Fathers and catholic tradition, while keeping abreast of current research, which is always contributing something toward a juster appreciation of Holy Writ in its large aspects and its details. "Nova et vetera" find constant use and place in the work of the modern exegete, particularly if he be of the old faith.

This Special Introduction, together with its companion General Introduction, marks a distinct advance among Catholic text-books of Scripture. It is distinguished from its predecessors by a more satisfying endeavor to safeguard Catholic truth without belittling the fruits and working theories of science. Its candid recognition of the value of critical methods and results is to be commended. The book will be more widely appreciated when such a recognition ceases to be a novelty among us.

George J. Reid.

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[1] *Revue biblique*, October, 1901.

Le Père Gratry. R. P. A. Chauvin. Paris: Blond et Barral, 1901. Pp. vii + 480.

Une Carrière Universitaire. Jean-Felix Nourrisson. Henry Thédenat. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1901. Pp. vi + 362.

1. This volume, written by a member of the Oratory, is a fitting tribute to the memory of the man who had an important share in the foundation of the Oratory. It brings back to view a character full of generous enthusiasm for the truth and of gentle sympathy for all men. It shows us in detail the work of a thinker whose ideal was that which has so often prompted and which still prompts the noblest efforts—the harmonizing of religion and science. The many-sided activity of Père Gratry, both as a priest and as a writer, is carefully studied; for though the biographer's admiration is not repressed, his estimate is tempered by what may be called a kindly critical treatment of his subject.

Now that nearly thirty years have passed since Père Gratry's death (1872), it is interesting to follow his career through a period that was so eventful in the history of the church and in the development of modern thought. Curiously enough, with all his *douceur*, he took a prominent part in the polemics of his day, encountering such adversaries as Vacherot, Renan and the group whom he styled the "Sophists." But his work was constructive also. In fact, his philosophical writings are the most important of his publications. In these, too, the elements of contrast appears; a speculative tendency reaching almost to mysticism alternates with the study of those more practical problems which are now taken up in the science of Sociology. This very contrast is simply the projection of Gratry's chief qualities, his intensely spiritual view and his thoroughly human love of his fellow-men. So, what we carry away from the perusal of this book is the portrait of a man, strong in his convictions and stronger, after the severest tests, in his loyalty to the church.

2. For any one who desires to follow the career of a straightforward Christian thinker through all the intricacies woven by the intellectual activity of France in the nineteenth century, this little volume will be of interest. Nourrison was a man of faith and yet full of sympathy for the better elements of that valuable life of which his own was a part. The friend of Cousin, Gratry and Ozanam, he naturally shared the lofty spiritualistic views and ideals of these great thinkers. He sought, one might say, the prototypes of his own clear thought in Leibnitz and Bossuet. This thought was, in brief, that the human mind, under the influence of Christianity and by its own endeavor, is ever advancing, in spite of its mistakes and weaknesses, towards a clear solution of the problems which concern its nature and its destiny. His aim was to

defend the principles on which modern society, knowingly or unknowingly, is based, and to bring into clear light, by historical illustration, the spiritualistic ideas which had so long been the glory of French philosophy. Without binding himself to any system, he sought a profound knowledge of every system. For him, faith in the supernatural was above all claims of the natural order, and practical results furnished the criterion by which all theories and doctrines were to be judged.

The author has given us a charming biography by letting Nourrisson and his correspondents speak for themselves. So, in these papers, we catch glimpses of those closer, not public, relations, which unite men of different views upon a higher, more spiritual plane.

EDWARD A. PACE.

Political Economy, by Charles S. Devas. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1901. Pp. xxiv + 662.

This work is a second edition, rewritten and enlarged, of the author's volume contributed in 1891 to the Stonyhurst Series of Manuals of Catholic Philosophy. The present volume contains one hundred pages more than the earlier edition. The language and the treatment of topics has in many places been very materially changed for the better, whilst parts have had to be very much modified and revised "in view of the many changes in laws, economic conditions and prevalent opinions since the first edition was published." With the rapid changes going on about us in the economic structure of society, with the constantly growing investigation of economic phenomena and the corresponding development of economic theory, a decade is a considerable life for an edition of a text-book on economic science, and all who were favorably impressed with the first edition of this work will be grateful for this second and improved edition.

It is no easy task that the writer sets before himself who attempts a text-book on Economics. The nature and the scope of the science are themselves still matters of grave dispute, so that each author must determine for himself what he shall take as the field of his science. Professor Devas is not of those who distinguish Economics from Ethics. For him Economics is merely one subdivision of "particular Ethics," Political Science being the other. In consequence, he does not stop with the laying before his readers of economic data, or the analysis of economic phenomena, but at all points insists on the recognition and the application of ethical principles in economic life. With his view that sound ethical principles ought to be a stronger and more actual force in economic life than is at present the case, there will be few to disagree; but those most in sympathy with this view may consistently question whether the indiscriminate mixing of economic analysis with ethical sermons aids either science or reform. However, this extreme, if it be an extreme, is at least to be preferred to that other in which not only is Economics divorced from Ethics but is set up as an unrelated and even superior study.

The importance that is assigned to the subject of consumption in this work is in keeping with the best tendencies in later economic discussions. Book IV, on Public Finance, is also a part of the science that is too often omitted from works intended for students and general readers, and the including of it in this work is an example that should be followed. The device of putting in larger type a connected treatise for the beginner or the general reader, and interpolating more extensive discussions, with references to other writers, is an excellent one, and makes the same book appeal equally to two very differently equipped classes of readers. The book is well printed, and has an excellent index.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

A Collection of Cases and Statutes on the Principles of Code Pleading, with notes, by Charles M. Hepburn, Lecturer on Code Pleading in the Law Department of the University of Cincinnati. Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson and Co., 1901. Pp. xxxvi + 651.

Readings in the Law of Real Property; an Elementary Collection of Authorities for Students. Selected and edited by George W. Kirchwey, Nash Professor of Law in Columbia University. New York: Baker, Voorhis and Co. 1900. Pp. xxix + 555.

1. The adoption of the system of Code Pleading in the majority of our American States, and the influence it has gradually exercised upon the procedure in the courts of the remaining States, have rendered inevitable the production of a new branch of legal literature, to which the work of Prof. Hepburn comes as a most valuable contribution. It contains one of the largest collections of cases for the instruction of students in this subject which has yet been published; and though it nominally covers but a portion of the entire field of Code Pleading, the doctrines incidentally illustrated in the cases leave few points of practical importance unexplained. Simple as the rules which constitute the new procedure may appear when examined in the text-books of Bliss, Maxwell, Bryant, Pomeroy, and other writers, in their practical application they have occasioned, perhaps, as much perplexity as the technical rules they were intended to improve, and it is only in the decided cases that the student meets these difficulties and discovers their solution. With a view to present and solve these in the most lucid manner possible, Prof. Hepburn confines his selection to cases discussing the "Form of Action" and the "Party-

Plaintiff," which topics necessarily bring into review the fundamental principles and theories underlying the entire system. The cases printed at length in this volume number two hundred and three, taken from twenty-two different States and Territories, while over seven hundred cases are utilized for purposes of explanation and corroboration in addition to those merely cited in the text. Naturally a large proportion of these cases are drawn from the decisions in New York, where code pleading originated, and in whose courts its intricacies have received the widest exploration. How far this selection contains the best and most useful cases for the student it is beyond the province of the reviewer to determine. Only an examination of all the decided cases by a competent instructor in the subject could result in an authoritative answer to that question. Professor Hepburn's experience as a teacher, and his familiarity with the history and development of the new procedure as evidenced by his previous publications, must be accepted as a guaranty that in this particular his work has been wisely and successfully accomplished.

That feature of his book which does, however, impress the mind of the reviewer is the excellent arrangement of the cases under the logical subdivisions of the general matter to which they refer; and the elucidation of their doctrine by analyses and comparisons of the statutes and by numerous prefatory and intercalated explanatory notes. Such a treatment was indispensable in order to render this mass of decisions capable of their intended benefit to students just approaching the subject, and its execution seems to have left nothing further to be desired.

As we consider the amount of legal learning concentrated in this volume (which concerns only one of at least twenty branches of the law, of equal magnitude, covered by the ordinary law-school course) and the time which the student must necessarily consume in gathering and appropriating it permanently to his use, the conviction forces itself with increased energy upon our minds that the day is rapidly approaching when our best schools of law, notwithstanding their three-year term of study and their demand upon the student for the devotion of his whole time to their work, will be compelled to require for his admission to their courses not merely a collegiate degree but a preliminary legal education equal to that which, thirty years ago, would have been sufficient to admit him to the bar. The introduction into the college curriculum of studies in jurisprudence and elementary law, which has recently occurred in several institutions, will render this step possible as it is certainly desirable, if not imperative, in the interest of higher legal education.

2. The chief regret the reader feels as he finishes the perusal of this volume is that its editor was compelled, by the limitations set by him to

his own design, to confine his extracts to so few authorities and to so narrow an appropriation of their respective discussions. So vast is the learning of Real Property Law, so profound its problems, so exhaustive their interpretation by the ablest jurists of all times, that a volume like this can give but a taste of the most eminent, leaving an intense unsatisfied appetite behind. Still in this book the student will find much to inform his memory and discipline his legal reason, which but for this selection he might never encounter in his studies. Bracton and Littleton, and even Coke himself, have lapsed into the past as names to be revered but no longer authors to be read, and this reproduction of their utterances concerning what, in their day, was the most important body of the law, will give the student the opportunity he needs to wrestle with their difficult terminology and catch the savor of their concentrated wisdom. These, interspersed with copious extracts from Blackstone, Digby, Kent, Leake, Williams, and from both ancient and modern English and American statutes, constitute a chain of reading in historical order on the various subdivisions of the main subject which cannot but prove helpful to both instructors and pupils. The readings are arranged under five general heads: I. The Place of Real Property in the Common Law System; II. Ownership of Real Property; III. Estates in Land; IV. Rights less than Ownership; V. The Creation and Transfer of Interests in Land. Under these heads are distributed, in fifty-four chapters, with several *addenda*, the extracts relating to the numerous topics which these chapters represent. The example set by this compilation should be followed by many other editors in other branches of the law, as the only method of presenting to the students of the future those treasures of our legal literature which, by the accumulating publications of the present day, must soon be utterly submerged.

William C. Robinson.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Books on Education in the Libraries of Columbia University. New York. 1901. Pp. vi, 435.

This is the second of the Library Bulletins issued by Columbia University. It contains over 13,500 titles, which are arranged under 41 heads. At the end of the volume there is an author and classification index. The publication of this catalogue is a benefit, not only to those students who have access to the libraries represented, but to those as well who feel the need of a practical bibliography on the subject of education.

An Introduction to English Literature. By Maurice Francis Egan, Boston: Mosher & Co., 1901. 8°. Pp. 241.

In this small octavo Dr. Egan has sought to stimulate to deeper intelligence and some personal research the students of English literature in the more advanced classes of our colleges, convents, and high schools. His appreciations of the best literary products in the long history of our tongue have more weight than their succinct form might at first suggest. Long years of teaching and direction bring a rare familiarity with the masterpieces themselves that is reflected in every judgment however brief and note-like. The treatment of Shakspere is particularly pleasing, and calculated to rouse in the youthful mind both intelligence of and reverence for the great writer who is destined to be for the men and women of English tongue that great interpreter of life which Homer was for the Greeks and Dante for the Italians. We recommend this manual to teachers and instructors—it contains, in a brief space, a good and reliable summary of the principal epochs of English literature.

A Cassock of the Pines and Other Stories, by Joseph Gordian Daley. New York: Wm. H. Young and Co., 1901, 8°, pp. 311.

These tales are admirable. Fr. Daley possesses all the qualities of a "raconteur" of the first rank, and with his pen may do genuine service for communities whose humble tragedy and comedy have long been waiting for writers who could recognize in them the same human pathos and verity that make the only charm of books with more pretence to fame. The Catholic life of New England offers many a tempting theme to those who possess insight enough to grasp firmly its peculiar phases and problems, also humor and sympathy enough to enter into contact with all its varieties. Usually such sympathy springs up only in the hearts of those born and brought up amid the surroundings they describe—only the children of a race can catch and render naturally a hundred shadings of belief, ideals, longings, habits, that escape all foreign or academic observation. There is no reason why Fr. Daley should not one day produce work of as exquisite truth and beauty as Prof. Henry Van Dyke's Canadian tales or Dr. William Drummond's "Habitants" and "Johnnie Courteau." But for that a stern and minute literary self-discipline is a prerequisite—the smaller the chef d'oeuvre the more exacting are the conditions of perfection; the more humble and common the material, the more numerous the critics capable of judging its good or bad treatment.

Echoes of St. Mary's Chimes, St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana. 8°. Pp. 103, 1901.

This exquisite work is not only a lovely specimen of the art of bookmaking; it also contains choice verse from the pens of the young ladies of St. Mary's Academy at Notre Dame. As a rule, the technique is sure and clean. The subject-matter is of a noble and elevated kind, and the thoughts are always chaste and elegant. There can be no doubt that a solid and reliable formation in the English language is one of the characteristic features of the admirable school on the banks of the St. Joseph. The evidence of this is not only in the dainty book of verse that lies before us, but in the pages of the "Chimes" that already enshrine no few essays and dissertations of superior merit.

A Life's Labyrinth, by Mary E. Mannix. The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1901, 8°, pp. 304.

This reprint of Miss Mannix's pretty tale will be appreciated by all who are acquainted with the productions of her clever pen. It deserves a place in every family library.

Juvenile Round Table. Stories by the Foremost Catholic Writers, with twenty full-page illustrations. Benziger Bros., New York. 8°. Pp. 216. 1901.

This little volume might well be found on the library-table of every Catholic home. All of the stories are pure and interesting; some of them are excellently told. The child can make the acquaintance, in these pages, of a long list of devoted men and women who give their talents to the service of Catholicism, and are thereby not the least among its every-day apostles.

Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. A Short Story of One of the Makers of Mediæval England. By Charles L. Marson. New York: Longmans, 1901. 8°, pp. 159.

The style of Mr. Marson is scarcely worthy of so noble a subject as Saint Hugh of Lincoln (1140–1200). He writes in a flippant, ultramodern way about men and things of seven hundred years ago. It is as though one should study Roman history in à Becket's Comic History of Rome. He holds a brief against relics and miracles—the work is really disfigured by the numerous outbursts of wrath and mockery that they evoke. It is not clear why he should have chosen to write a sympathetic book about Saint Hugh, except on the principle that the latter was doing better than he knew.

Chivalry, by F. Warre Cornish. New York: Macmillan, 1901, 8°, pp. 266.

In this volume of the "Social England" series we meet with an elegant and sympathetic treatment of the great mediæval institution of Chivalry. The author treats successively of knighthood and the mediæval education of nobles, of war and tournaments and the crusades, of heraldry, ceremony and literature, of woman and religion as essential elements of chivalry, of the great military orders and the influence of chivalry on the people. The book is both tasteful and useful, and in its composition the author has consulted every work of importance from St. Palaye to Léon Gautier.

Letters of Richard Green. Edited by Leslie Stephen. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. 512.

These "Letters" of the author of the "Short History of the English People" are taken, mostly, from his correspondence with Edward Freeman. They reflect in a very lively way the principles and the spirit of that great teacher of history—for Green was his most illustrious, if not his most most scientific disciple. Incidentally they throw light on the development of the modern historical school in England. Green is a chatty and playful correspondent; his letters from Italy are of more than ordinary interest. Every ancient town was like a new mediæval book to this impressionable historian, and it would seem that the frequent sojourns in Italy that he was able to make, after the success of his principal works, did much to perfect his style. Home Ruler, disciple of Stubbs and Freeman and Creighton, painstaking stylist, liberal in politics and religion, Green's writings have done much to bring about a true and a saner view of the Middle Ages in England. His life was a long struggle with poverty and ill-health—the story of his death is pathetic, indeed, and recalls the last hours of the venerable Bede and Saint Columba. Like them he died on the scholars' battle-field, dictating and instructing.

Religious Education and Its Failures, by the Right Rev. James Bellard, D. D., Titular Bishop of Milevis. Revised and enlarged. The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana.

It is a pity that every Catholic teacher and parent could not read the weighty considerations that make this small brochure so interesting and useful. It is a sincere and thoroughgoing discussion of some of the causes why a system of religious education so widespread, minute, and costly as our Catholic system, is defrauded of its legitimate results. The questions raised by the author grow more serious and alarming with every year; until they are settled practically, the religious training of our Catholic children will be too often attended with disappointment and failure.

Sermons on the Holy Ghost. By a Diocesan Priest. Catholic Library Association, 120, 50th Street, New York. 12°, pp. 235. New York. 1901.

An excellent volume of instructions on the relations of the Holy Ghost with mankind, with especial reference to the Incarnation, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Church, and the written Word of God. The language is chaste, correct, and clear. And the doctrine—the most profound and transforming of Christian doctrines—is set forth with commendable succinctness, but also with a certain suggestiveness that tempts the reader to go farther afield in the same direction. May the booklet meet with wide diffusion! It needs a general table of contents at the beginning and a good "Index Rerum" at the end.

Idealità Buone. Per la patria, per il secolo, per le donne, per giovani, per gli operai, per la musica, per i monti, per le feste, Genova, Tipografia della Gioventù. 1901. 8°, pp. 237.

L' Eredità del Secolo. Conferenze intorno alla Questione Sociale. Rome: F. Pustet. 1900. 8°, pp. 202.

Gente che torna, gente che si muove, gente che s'avvia. Genova: Tipografia della Gioventu. 1901. 8°, pp. 44.

Un Raggio di Scienza e di Caritià sull' alba del secolo. Rome: Desclées, Lefebvre et Cie. 1901. 8°, pp. 24.

Perhaps we are the first to call attention to the beneficent labors of Father Giovanni Semeria, a Barnabite monk of Genoa. He ranks among the best historians and archæologists of the newer Italy. His brochure on the Christian character of Boethius is a little gem that would not be disowned by the best German critic, and his popular lectures on primitive Christianity exhibit a mind well trained in modern research—methods and results; also a heart of the antique Christian type.

In the popular discourses that are here made known to our readers it is the modern Catholic man and citizen who speaks to his equals in a language that all can understand. No one can rise from their perusal without feeling sad that so much sense and wit, so much genuine patriotism and sure intelligence of the conditions of to-day, still more of to-morrow, should be confined to the limits of one tongue. It makes us wish for another period of the domination of a common language, so that the sanest and shrewdest thought of Catholicism might be no longer hemmed in by Alps or Pyrenees, by the accidents of geography and history. Would that Fr. Semeria would undertake, as writer or editor, a popular history of the Catholic Church in several volumes, so that we might have a continuous and consistent story of her glorious life, done under the direction of one cognizant and respectful of the best modern method and helps, and devoted to the genuine interests of the mighty institution which is the true parent of all that is worthy and durable in the modern world!

The Jewish Encyclopædia. Vol. I. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901.

Much to our regret, lack of space forbids us from publishing in this number of the BULLETIN a review of this book in proportion to its merits and importance. However, we wish, without further delay, to call the attention of our readers to such an epoch-making publication. Long before its appearance a place was assured it beside the most indispensable encyclopædias. We would like to see the work on the bookshelves of every student of religious and social questions, of those especially who, whether from the pulpit or from the teacher's chair, have to expound or defend Catholic truth. We therefore heartily welcome the new-comer, and wish it a speedy and extensive diffusion.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

SCIENTIFIC AND ACADEMIC WORKS.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform, an account of ecclesiastical legislation and its influence on affairs in France from 1789 to 1804. William Milligan Sloane. New York: Scribner's, 1901. 8°, pp. xviii + 333.

Les Etapes d' un Soldat de l' Empire: Souvenirs du Capitaine Desboeufs. Charles Desboeufs. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8°, pp. 224.

Die altchristiche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900. Albert Ehrhard. Friburg: Herder, 1900. 8°, pp. viii + 644.

Venticinque anni di Storia del Cristianesimo Nascente, Giovanni Semeria. Pustet. Rome: 1900. 8°, p. 393.

Les Sources de l' Histoire de France—I. Epoque primitive, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens. Auguste Molinier. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. viii + 288.

L' Apollinarisme, Etude historique, littéraire et dogmatique, etc. (doctorate dissertation) Guillaume Voisin. Louvain: van Linthout, 1901. 8°, pp. 323.

Origen and Greek Patristic Theology. F. W. Fairweather. New York: Scribner's, 1901. 8°, pp. xiv + 268.

Patres Apostolici, Textum recensuit, etc. Franciscus Xaverius Funk. Vol. I–II. Tuebingen: H. Laupp, 1901. 8°, pp. cli + 688; lxxii + 332. (Second improved edition of Funk's text of the Apostolic Fathers).

Il Cristianesimo di Severino Boezio rivendicato, Giovanni Semeria. Rome: Propaganda, 1900. 4°, pp. 120.

Time Table of Modern History. A. D. 400–1870. Compiled and arranged by M. Morison. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Large quarto of 150 pages, with valuable index and seven colored plates, containing many historical maps.

Colonial Administration (1800–1900), with an extensive bibliography. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 4°, 1901, pp. 1631.

Works of Edification: A Treatise of True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, by the Blessed Grignon de Montfort, translated by Frederick William Faber, St. Charles Seminary, Sherbrooke, P. Q., 1901, 32°, pp. 341.——Forgive Us Our Trespasses, or Talks Before Confession. A book for children, by Mother M. Loyola. Edited by Father Thurston, S. J. New York: Benziger, 1901, 8°, pp. 142.——First Confession, by Mother M. Loyola. Edited by Father Thurston, S. J. 1901, 8°, pp. 63.——Jesus Living in the Priest. Considerations on the greatness and holiness of the priesthood, by P. Millet, S. J. English translation by Rt. Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D. D., Bishop of Nashville. New York: Benziger, 1901, 8°, pp. 517.——The Holy Mountain of La Salette, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Ullathorne, City Printing Co. 8°, pp. 220.——But Thy Love and Thy Grace, by Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J. Illustrated. Benziger, 1901. 8°, pp. 138.——The Victories of Rome and the Temporal Monarchy of the Church, by Kenelm Digby Best. London: Kegan Paul, French, Teubner & Co. 32°, 1901, pp. 147.——Spiritual Letters of the Venerable Liebermann, translated into English by Rev. Chas. L. Grunenwald, C. SP., Detroit, Mich. 8°, 1901, pp. 550.——The Little Imperfections. Translated from the French, by Rev. Frederic P. Garesché, S. J. St. Louis: Herder. 1901. Pp. 251.——Lucius Flavus. Rev. Jos. Spellman, S. J. 8°, 1901, pp. 619.

FROM THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS.

One of the interesting features of The Catholic University of America is the number of private libraries and collections owned by some of the Professors and placed by them at the disposal of their colleagues, students and friends. The library of Dr. Bouquillon was the subject of a short monograph in The Catholic University Chronicle for December, 1897, pp. 122–124. Our readers do not forget his splendid collection of books, the achievement of over thirty-five years of tireless intellectual activity and the result of great sacrifices of time and money. This monograph, however, although sufficient to show the usefulness of one professor's library as an instrument of individual research, does not display many curious and rare prints which, having a real value apart from the utilitarian standpoint, appeal to the cultured public beyond the necessarily limited circle of the learned master's pupils.

These considerations are equally true of almost every professor in the University. Who is the scholar, really in love with his favorite study, who, hunting up in second-hand book stores at home or abroad the volumes necessary for his work of the ensuing year, did not occasionally meet with the good fortune of the cock in the fable—*escam quaerens margaritam invenit*—but who, wiser or perhaps more foolish than the king of the backyard, bought the pearl, regardless of cost, for the mere pleasure of looking at it and showing it to his friends?

The University cannot afford to spend money on curios of any kind. Still, at times, it purchases books in which usefulness and curiosity are combined. Moreover, it often receives from its friends souvenirs, relics of all description, coins, commemorative medals, manuscripts, specimens of ancient and modern art, Indian, European, or Oriental. These and hundreds of other similar objects have been collected in a room set apart for the purpose. They form the beginning of a museum which, for want of a more comprehensive name, has been called the Museum of Ethnography.

In inaugurating this new section of THE BULLETIN it is our intention to describe, and, if necessary, to publish, the most important objects in the Museum, just as opportunity or fancy will lead us, without placing any restriction upon ourselves as regards time, order or style. Our notes may run regularly for some time and then become intermittent. The reader will understand that, until we become richer in curios and in leisure, it cannot be otherwise. The order will be progressive, by which we mean that every article in the Museum, whether a coin, a manuscript, an Indian calumet, a Fidji island full-dress skirt, an ancient Armenian shield, or an autograph of Abd-el-Kader, will be the subject of a notice or receive a number by which it will be known and referred to in the future. We hope thereby not only to open a new field of interest to some of our readers, but also to offer a material sign of recognition to the generous friends who, from time to time, confide to our keeping valuable and rare objects.

I.—THE MEXICAN CODEX FEJÉRVÁRY-MAYER.

The University has received from its generous benefactor, His Excellency the Duke de Loubat, a copy of his photochromographic reproduction of an ancient Aztec manuscript known as the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, the only pre-Columbian Mexican Codex in the Free Public Museums of Liverpool.[1] This codex was reproduced for the first time by Lord Kingsborough in the third volume of his "Mexican Antiquities," under the title, "Fac-Simile of an original Mexican painting in the possession of M. de Fejérváry, at Pess, Hungary.[2] It is to be regretted that Lord Kingsborough did not give either the history or the interpretation of this interesting manuscript. In the notice accompanying his own edition, the Duke de Loubat informs us that Dr. E. Seler, of the University of Berlin, has undertaken a thorough study of the history and contents of this valuable document. It will be sufficient to give a description of the new copy of the codex and point out the importance of such Mexican codices from a linguistic standpoint.

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[1] Codex Fejérváry-Mayer Manuscrit Mexicain précolumbien des Free Public Museums de Liverpool (M 12014), publié en chromophotographie par le Duc de Loubat, Président de la société des Américanistes de Paris, etc. Paris, MDCCCCI.

[2] The Kingsborough reproduction is very inferior to the new edition as regards color and design. Its arrangement of the pages is different from that of the original.

The new copy of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer gives us a very good idea of the peculiar make-up of ancient Mexican manuscripts. It reproduces the original in almost every detail. It is divided into six sections, consisting of thick white paper. The sections are 6¾ in. high. The first five are of equal length, 27 in., the sixth is only 20 in. long. This last section contains 3 leaves, the others have 4 leaves each, so that the leaves form perfect squares, 6¾x6¾ in. The first section is fastened to leaf 5, the second to leaf 9, the third to leaf 13, the fourth to leaf 17, and the fifth to leaf 21, which begins the last section. The fastenings are made of strips of white paper. In the original codices the sections are usually joined together by means of some gummy material. The copy folds like a screen, and when spread out has a total length of 155 inches. All the leaves, except the first and last, are written on both sides. The back of the first and last leaves is left in blank, because these two leaves are to receive the covers or binding of the manuscript. There are 23 leaves in all, and consequently 44 paintings or drawings, because the first and last leaves have only one drawing each, for the reason already given. On account of the way in which the copy is folded, the binding has no back. Hence, remarks F. Del Paso y Troncoso (The Manuscripts of Anahuac, p. 7), arises the difficulty of determining which is the beginning of an Indian book, a difficulty which is increased when the cover is absent. The imperfect arrangement of the leaves in the Kingsborough edition of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer and of other Mexican Codices must have been caused by some difficulty of this kind. Thus the first page in the Kingsborough edition of the present Codex is the last one in the original[1].

The Codex, the copy of which we have just described, belongs to a class of Mexican Codices known as Nahuac or Aztec manuscripts. These are very important for the linguist and the archæologist. Before the Spanish conquest there were two hieroglyphic systems of writing in Central America, the calculiform and the Aztec. Both are represented by numerous inscriptions and a few manuscripts. The calculiform system, which is by far the more perfect of the two, was used specially by the Mayas of Yucatan. It takes its name from the word calculus (stone), because its hieroglyphics consist of small stones of uniform size, upon which were carved different pictures or designs. These stones, being arranged in the proper order and fixed to the walls, constituted inscriptions which have the appearance of rough mosaics (cf. Brasseur de Bourbourg, Anciens Monuments Mexicains, Palenqué, plates 34–37).

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[1] In the notice to the present edition the Duke de Loubat gives a concordance showing the differences between his reproductions and those of Kingsborough for the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer and five others, viz., the Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773, the Codex Borgia (ex-Velletri), the Codex de Bologne (Cospiano), the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, and the Codex Vaticanus, No. 3738 (de los Rios). Cf. BULLETIN, Oct. 1888, pp. 538–39, and April, 1901, pp. 252-254.

The Aztec system, used by the Nahuac tribes which overran Mexico from the North—Toltecs, Chichimecs, Aztecs—is a sort of pictorial script, which is hieroglyphic in character and consists of various pictures or designs of different sizes. The Codex Fejérváry Mayer is a beautiful specimen of this kind of script. The importance of this Codex and of the other Nahuac codices of the same kind lies in this, that they represent an interesting step in the development of the art of writing. While some hieroglyphic systems like the Egyptian reached the alphabetic stage, in which the hieroglyph may sometime stand, not for the object which it depicts to the eye, but for a single letter, the Aztec system did not go beyond the syllabic stage in which the hieroglyph stands sometimes for a syllable. Not all its hieroglyphs, however, are syllabic; some of them are mere ideograms, that is, represent the object they picture, and those which are syllabic seems to be restricted to the translation of proper names. The principle underlying the use of these Aztec syllabic hieroglyphs is, as Berger points out,[1] the principle of the rebus. According to this principle, words are expressed by signs which recall the sound or pronunciation of the words, but which have no necessary connection with the meaning of the words themselves. Thus, in some Aztec manuscripts, the name of the fourth king of Mexico, Itzcoatl (literally the obsidian serpent), is translated by a group of signs, consisting of an obsidian arrow (itzil, root itz), of a vase (comitl, root co), and of the sign for water (atl). In other manuscripts this same proper name is written ideographically by the combined pictures of a serpent (coatl) and the obsidian arrow (itzil). Only a few hieroglyphs, both of the calculiform and Aztec types, have been deciphered. However, much work has been done recently in that direction by such scholars as Brasseur de Bourbourg, Léon de Rosny, Dr. E. T. Hamy, of Paris, and Dr. E. Seler, of Berlin. It is acknowledged on all sides that the difficulties attending the interpretation of Mexican pictorial script are considerable.

In this field of study the student has no bilingual tests like the Rosetta Stone for the Egyptian and the Behistun inscriptions for the Assyrian to give him a clue to the meaning of the hieroglyphs. The scanty indications and explanations written in Mexican or Spanish, which, in some Aztec Codices like the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, accompany the Mexican text, are often obscure and inaccurate. Besides, the material at hand is not abundant. It cannot compare in richness with the papyri of Egypt and the cuneiform tablets of Assyria, which supply the Orientalist with a large number of texts treating of a great variety of topics. The task, however, has been greatly facilitated by the generosity of the Duke de Loubat, who, at considerable expense, has undertaken the reproduction of the principal Mexican manuscripts,[1] thus placing within easy reach of all those venerable monuments of ancient Mexican civilization. May these strange Aztec and calculiform hieroglyphics, which doubtless contain much valuable and interesting information, soon find a Champollion or a Grotenfend! May we witness, in the field of American linguistics, the complete realization of the Scriptural words which the Duke de Loubat has chosen as the motto of his preface to the edition of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, "Cherchez et vous trouverez!"

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[1] Histoire de l' Ecriture dans l' antiquité, Paris, 1901, p. 25.

ARTHUR VASCHALDE.

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[1] The list of the Mexican publications of the Duke de Loubat, includes, besides the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, the following manuscripts: Codex Vaticanus, No. 373 (17896); Codex Borgia (ex-Velletri) (1898); the work of Don Ignacio Borunda "Clave generale de jeroglificos Americanos (hitherto unedited) (1898; Codex de Bologne (Cospiano) (1899); Codex Telleriano Remensis (1899); Codex Vaticanus, No. 3738 (de los Rios) (1900); the Toulamatl Aubin (hitherto unpublished) (1900). Cf BULLETIN April, 1901, pp. 252–254, for the titles in full. The University Library is constantly indebted to His Excellency, the Duke de Loubat, for copies of all his Mexican publications. In this he shows himself a generous and enlightened Mæcenas.

THE EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OF THE RIGHT REVEREND RECTOR.

Our Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. Thomas J. Conaty, D. D., was consecrated Titular-Bishop of Samos, on Sunday, November 24th, in the Cathedral at Baltimore, by his Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University. The consecrator was assisted by Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington, Secretary of the Board of Trustees of The Catholic University, and by Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, D. D., Bishop of Springfield, the diocese to which Mgr. Conaty belonged. Very Rev. Dr. A. L. Magnien, President of St. Mary's Seminary, was archpriest. The deacons of honor were Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Griffin, Worcester, Mass., and Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Magennis, Boston. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Lynch, Utica, N. Y., was deacon of the Mass, and Rev. P. B. Phelan, Holyoke, Mass., was subdeacon. Rev. Dr. W. A. Fletcher, Rector of the Cathedral, was master of ceremonies. He was assisted by Mr. George Harrington, of St. Mary's Seminary.

In the sanctuary were seated many members of the hierarchy: Most Rev. John J. Williams, D. D., Archbishop of Boston, attended by the Revs. John Flatley, Cambridge, Mass., and William P. McQuaid, Boston, Mass.; Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D. D., Archbishop of New York, attended by the Revs. E. R. Dyer, S. S. D. D., President of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y., and M. J. Lavelle, the Cathedral, New York; Most Rev. W. H. Elder, D. D., Archbishop of Cincinnati, attended by the Rev. J. W. Cummings, Arlington, Ill., and the Very Rev. V. Huber, O. S. B., Peru, Ill.; Most Rev. Patrick J. Ryan, D. D., Archbishop of Philadelphia, attended by the Revs. Morgan M. Sheedy, Altoona, Pa., and J. H. O'Neill, Philadelphia, Pa.; Most Rev. John Ireland, D. D., Archbishop of St. Paul, attended by the Revs. Hugh McGuire, Chicago, Ill., and E. J. Conaty, Grand Forks, N. D.; Most Rev. F. X. Katzer, D. D., Archbishop of Milwaukee, attended by the Very Rev. J. Amrhein, C. P., Baltimore, and the Rev. J. J. O'Keefe, Clinton, Mass.; Most Rev. J. J. Kain, D. D., Archbishop of St. Louis, attended by the Revs. P. S. O'Reilly, Whitinsville, Mass., and J. F. Clarke, New Bedford, Mass.; Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., Archbishop of Dubuque, attended by the Revs. B. M. O'Boylan, Newark, O., and D. F. Cronin, Hinsdale, Mass.; Most Rev. Alexander Christie, D. D., Archbishop of Portland, attended by the Revs. H. M. Chapuis, S. S., Washington, D. C., and J. F. Redican, Leicester, Mass.; Rt. Rev. Mathew Harkins, D. D., Bishop of Providence, R. I., attended by the Revs. William Stang, D. D., Providence, R. I., and Thomas P. Grace, Providence, R. I.; Rt. Rev. Maurice F. Burke, D. D., Bishop of St. Joseph, Mo., attended by the Revs. T. J. Campbell, S. J., New York, and William E. Foley, Worcester, Mass.; Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, D. D., Bishop of Detroit, attended by the Very Rev. F. A. O'Brien, Kalamazoo, Mich., and the Rev. Stephen Hallissey, Hudson, Mich.; Rt. Rev. A. Van de Vyver, D. D., Bishop of Richmond, attended by the Very Rev. J. J. Fedigan, O. S. A., Bryn Mawr, and the Rev. J. Hanselmann, S. J., Worcester, Mass.; Rt. Rev. Charles McDonnell, D. D., Bishop of Brooklyn, attended by the Very Rev. C. H. McKenna, O. P., New York, and the Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien, Brooklyn; Rt. Rev. Henry Gabriels, D. D., Bishop of Ogdensburg, attended by the Revs. J. Brouillet, Worcester, Mass., and William Duckett, S. S., Montreal, Canada; Rev. Michael Tierney, D. D., Bishop of Hartford, attended by the Rev. P. Kennedy, New Haven, Conn., the Rev. J. J. Quinn, Collinsville, Conn.; Rt. Rev. M. J. Hoban, D. D., Bishop of Scranton, Pa., attended by the Revs. R. McAndrews, Wilkesbarre, Pa., and D. F. McGrath, Holyoke, Mass.; Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, D. D., Bishop of Sioux Falls, S. D., attended by the Very Rev. L. F. Dumont, S. S., D. D., Catholic University, Washington, D. C., and the Rev. T. J. Driscoll, Fonda, N. Y.; Rt. Rev. J. E. Fitzmaurice, D. D., Bishop of Erie, Pa., attended by the Very Rev. George Deshon, C. S. P., New York City, and the Very Rev. James A. Burns, C. S. C., President of Holy Cross College, Washington, D. C.

The Monsignori included the Rt. Rev. Mgrs. Thomas Griffin, D. D., Worcester; Denis O'Callaghan, D. D., P. R., Boston; G. Brochu, Southbridge, Mass.; James Lynch, D. D., Utica, N. Y.; George H. Doane, Newark, N. J.; Thomas Magennis, Boston, Mass.; John J. Kennedy, V. G., Syracuse, N. Y.

There were also present the heads of several religious orders and institutes, and many representatives of the diocesan clergy. Among them were the following: The Very Revs. J. A. Fedigan, O. S. A., Provincial of the Augustinians; John J. Gannon, S. J., Provincial of the Jesuits; C. Emory, O. M. I., President Ottawa University, Ottawa, Canada; George Deshon, C. S. P., Superior General of the Paulists, New York City; Stephen Kealy, C. P., Provincial of the Passionists, Cincinnati; A. L. Magnien, D. D., S. S., President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; William Stang, D. D., Providence, R. I.; Frank A. O'Brien, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Joseph F. Hanselmann, S. J., President of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.; W. A. Hehir, C. S. S., President Holy Ghost College, Pittsburg, Pa.; E. R. Dyer, S. S., D. D., President St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y.; James F. Driscoll, S. S., D. D., President St. Austin's College, Washington, D. C.; James A. Burns, C. S. C., President Holy Cross College, Washington, D. C.; Walter Elliot, C. S. P., President St. Thomas' College, Washington, D. C.; W. L. O'Hara, A. M., President Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.; Vincent Huber, O. S. B., President St. Bede's College, Peru, Ill.; the Revs. Joseph Amrhein, O. P., Baltimore; Timothy Brosnahan, S. J., Woodstock, Md.; Revs. George F. Brown, Newark, N. J.; M. P. Cassidy, Valley Falls, R. I.; James F. Clark, New Bedford, Mass.; John E. Cronley, Hopkinton, Mass.; P. J. Daly, Boston, Mass.; J. J. Fallon, Ware, Mass.; W. J. Fitzgerald, Millville, N. J.; W. A. Fletcher, D. D., Baltimore, Md.; J. H. Gavin, Amherst, Mass.; John Harty, Pawtucket, R. I.; P. P. Keating, Norfolk, Conn.; James J. Keegan, Woburn, Mass.; P. M. Kennedy, New Haven, Conn.; M. J. Lavelle, New York; John F. Lehy, S. J., Woodstock, Md.; C. H. McKenna, O. P., New York; Fidelis Stone, C. P., West Hoboken, N. J.; A. P. Doyle, C. S. P., New York; Thomas McMillan, C. S. P., New York; Maurice J. Dorney, Chicago, Ill.; John Kenny, Northampton, Mass.; Thomas W. Wallace, Lewiston, Me.; John T. Madden, Webster, Mass.; M. J. Masterson, Peabody, Mass.; James F. X. Mulvaney, S. J., Washington, D. C.; John J. Murray, Sparrow's Point, Md.; Bernard S. Conaty, Worcester, Mass.; William E. Foley Worcester, Mass.; E. J. Conaty, Grand Forks, N. D.; P. D. Stone, Chicopee, Mass.; R. Neagle, P. R., Malden, Mass.; B. M. O'Boylan, Newark, Ohio; John O'Brien, Chicago, Ill.; Thomas J. O'Brien, Brooklyn; Louis O'Donovan, Baltimore; J. J. O'Keeffe, Clinton, Mass.; Father Tormey, Brookfield, Mo.; M. Hassett, Harrisburg, Pa.; M. O'Brien, Chicago; W. H. Rogers, Hartford, Conn.; W. Kieran, Philadelphia; P. J. O'Donnell, Boston, Mass.; René J. Holaind, S. J., Washington, T. Smyth, Springfield, Mass.; P. E. Gill, Chicago; F. Ward, C. P., Louisville; J. O'Doherty, Haverhill, Mass.; D. Duehmig, Avilla, Ind.; B. F. McCahill, Fall River, Mass.; J. T. O'Reilly, O. S. A., Lawrence, Mass.; F. Donahue, Baltimore; J. J. McCoy, Chicopee, Mass.; D. F. Feehan, Fitchburg, Mass.; Gabriel Healy, New York; D. F. McGillicuddy, Worcester; Fred Rholeder, Toronto, Canada; E. X. Fink, S. J., Washington, D. C.; John A. Conway, S. J., Washington, D. C.; the Rev. John W. McDermott, Clinton, N. Y.; P. H. Phelan, P. R., Holyoke, Mass.; J. J. Quinn, Collinsville, Mass.; J. F. Redican, Leicester, Mass.; James N. Supple, Charlestown, Mass.; J. P. Tuite, Worcester, Mass.; James Fitzsimmon, Yonkers, N. Y.; John B. Daly, Springfield, Mass.; Joseph F. Foley, Baltimore; M. F. Foley, Baltimore; J. J. Healy, Gloucester, Mass.; Michael T. McManus, Brookline, Mass.; M. J. Whelan, Ottawa, Canada; J. F. O'Keefe, Philadelphia; John F. Dolphin, St. Paul, Minn.; Joseph Brouillet, Worcester, Mass.; Thomas F. Carroll, Providence, R. I.; J. S. Cullen, Watertown, Mass.; J. W. Cummings, Arlington, Ill.; J. A. Cunningham, Baltimore;

George W. Devine, Baltimore; J. A. Donnelly, North Adams, Mass.; J. C. Kent, O. P., Washington, D. C.; H. J. Lynch, Danbury, Conn.; J. F. Mackin, Washington, D. C.; A. Murphy, Rome, N. Y.; P. S. O'Reilly, Whitinsville, Mass.; W. A. Ryan, Utica, N. Y.; R. F. Walshe, Easthampton, Mass.; F. H. Wall, D. D., New York; J. P. Fagan, S. J., New York; M. Dolan, Newton; J. J. Tyrrell, Florence, Mass.; P. H. McClean, Milford, Conn.; Hugh McGuire, Chicago; Michael O'Brien, Chicago; O. F. Clarke, Providence; P. Griffith, Washington, D. C.; D. J. Stafford, Washington, D. C.; M. C. McEnroe, Philadelphia; D. F. Cronin, Hinsdale, Mass.; J. T. Driscoll, Fonda, N. Y.; J. S. Colbert, Boston; P. P. Conaty, Yonkers, N. Y.; C. Crevier, Holyoke, Mass.; W. H. Ketcham, Washington, D. C.; E. McSweeney, Bangor, Me.; W. A. Reardon, Baltimore; J. T. Sheehan, Ware, Mass.; W. Duckett, S. S., Montreal, Canada; P. J. Dooley, S. J., Baltimore; J. F. Hallissey, Hudson, Mich.; M. J. Cooke, Fall River, Mass.; L. S. Walsh, Salem, Mass.; C. F. Kelly, S. J., Philadelphia; J. P. Bodfish, Canton, Mass.; J. E. Millerick, Wakefield, Mass.; J. H. O'Neill, Philadelphia; J. C. McGovern, Emmittsburg, Md.; J. T. Canavan, Milford, Mass.; J. Donohoe, Westfield, Mass.; J. J. Donlon, Brooklyn; E. S. Fitzgerald, Springfield, Mass.; W. Maher, D. D., South Norwalk, Conn.; R. A. McAndrews, Wilkesbarre, Pa.; J. O'Connell, Attleboro, Mass.; H. J. Shandelle, S. J., Washington, D. C.; H. R. O'Donnell, East Boston, Mass.; T. P. Grace, Providence, R. I.; J. F. Mullaney, LL. D., Syracuse, N. Y.; J. Lefevre, S. S., Montreal, Can.; C. Emory, O. M. I., President Ottawa University; J. Dougherty, New York.

The professors of the various faculties of the University assisted in their academic robes. The students of the University, both clerical and lay, were also present, as well as the authorities of the affiliated colleges, and many of their students.

Besides the venerable father of the new Bishop there were present several members of his family and near relatives. From the city of Washington there came to the ceremony several distinguished gentlemen and ladies, as follows :

Senor and Madame Aspiroz, of the Mexican Embassy; Senator and Mrs. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. T. P. Moran, Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey, Mr. W. J. Hughes, of the Department of Justice; Hon. Terence V. Powderly, United States Immigration Commissioner; Hon. Maurice D. O'Connell, Solicitor of the Treasury, and Mrs. O'Connell, Mr. P. J. Haltigan, Mr. Richard Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Sullivan, Dr. and Mrs. Wm. J. Byrne, the Misses Roach, Mr. and Mrs. Peter C. Treanor, Professor and Mrs. Frank E. Cameron, Mrs. Maurice Francis Egan, Mrs. Adele Douglas Hillyer, and a delegation of fifteen young lady students from Trinity College in the neighborhood of the University.

From the new Bishop's former parish in Worcester, Mass., were noticed Mr. and Mrs. M. B. Lamb, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Healy, Dr. Mary V. O'Callaghan, Dr. Clara Fitzgerald, Mr. Francis P. McKeon, Mr. Frank Carr, Miss M. Rourke, Miss Teresa Timon, Miss Catherine Redican, Miss Mary Purcell.

Other special friends of the new Bishop were Major John and Miss E. M. Byrne, New York; the Hon. and Mrs. Martin Glynn, Albany; Mr. and Mrs. James P. Bree, New Haven, Conn.; Judge Joseph D. Fallon, of Boston; Dr. and Mrs. James E. Sullivan, of Providence; John H. and Mrs. Lynch, Albany; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Sullivan Smith, Miss Birmingham and Miss Murray, New York; Mr. Frank C. Travers, New York; Mr. and Mrs. James Clarke, New York; Miss Katherine E. Conway, Boston; Warren E. Mosher, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Jeremiah Dunlevy, Pittsburg; Mrs. Mary and Miss Nellie Conaty, of Springfield; Miss Mary Magennis, Boston; Mrs. K. Powers, Philadelphia; Miss Phelan, Holyoke, Mass.; Mrs. Burns, Minneapolis.

At the conclusion of the ceremony the new Bishop gave a dinner at St. Mary's Seminary, to which all the numerous clergy present were invited. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons presided, having Bishop Conaty on his right hand. Cardinal Gibbons made a brief address, dwelling on the dignity just bestowed on Bishop Conaty as a proof of the Holy Father's favor alike to him and to the great institution which he has governed so well. His Eminence expressed his prayerful hope that Pope Leo XIII. might be spared to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his Pontificate.

In reply, Bishop Conaty spoke in grateful acknowledgment of all greetings and good wishes, but chiefly of the momentous work of The Catholic University.

The sermon was preached by the Very Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shahan, Professor of Church History. The text was I. Tim. v, 17, "Let the priests that rule well be esteemed worthy of double honor; especially they who labor in the word and doctrine." The discourse bore chiefly "On the Great Need of a Catholic University."

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Conaty spent the eve of his consecration with the Sulpitian Fathers at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, as the guest of the President, the Very Rev. Dr. Magnien. An entertainment in honor of the Bishop-elect was given by the seminarians. Musical and literary selections were rendered and a congratulatory address was delivered by Mr. Patrick Burke, a seminarian from the Diocese of Springfield, Mass., to which Monsignor Conaty has belonged for a number of years. Dr. Magnien presided.

The gratitude of the Right Reverend Rector and the University is owing to His Eminence the Chancellor for all the noble courtesies extended during the preparation for this important event. It goes out likewise to all those numerous prelates of our hierarchy who graced the occasion with their presence and to all the others who signified to the Right Reverend Rector their sincere satisfaction with this gracious favor of our Holy Father, Leo XIII. The religious orders and communities present by their representatives, and the large body of the diocesan clergy, have placed the Right Reverend Rector and the University under life-long obligations for the good-will and sympathy that their presence manifested. Similarly thanks are due to the Reverend Rector of the Cathedral and his assistants for their willing co-operation in all that pertained to the ceremony. The reverend gentlemen of St. Sulpice added to many others a new title of gratitude for their kindness in entertaining the visiting clergy and their affectionate welcome of the new bishop. Nowhere is the genuine ancient hospitality of the Catholic faith more steadily observed than in the oldest of our theological seminaries. A word of praise is due to the Cathedral choir for the exquisite music which added so much to the pleasure of the occasion.

On the day of the consecration a telegram of congratulation was received from Cardinal Rampolla, couched in the following terms:

ROME, Nov. 24, 1901.

MONSEIGNEUR CONATY, Recteur de l'Université Catholique de Washington, U. S.

En ce jour où le Saint Esprit descend sur vous pour vous sacrer evêque le Saint Père agrée l' hommage renouvellé par votre lettre du 12 courant et vous envoie de coeur sa bénédiction Apostolique.

M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Sulpitian College of St. Austin.—The Sulpitian Fathers have opened a house of studies in the vicinity of the University to be known as St. Austin's College. The aim of this establishment is the training, in special lines, of priests who are preparing for the work of the seminary. At present the Sulpitians have charge of the seminaries in Baltimore, New York, Boston, San Francisco and Montreal. For more than two centuries, they have rendered excellent service to the Church in Canada and the United States. Their new foundation, which brings them more closely in touch with the work of the University, is a noteworthy advance in the direction of thorough and systematic education for those who aspire to the priesthood.

The college is post-graduate in character and is affiliated with the University. Very Rev. James Driscoll, D. D., S. S., formerly a professor at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, is its first president. We wish the new enterprise all the success that the Fathers of Saint Sulpice have a right to look for from its students in the years to come.

The Patronal Feast of the University.—The Feast of the Immaculate Conception was duly observed at the University. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Rector and the sermon was preached by Rev. Austin Dowling, of Providence, a former student of the University.

Reception to the New Bishop.—Several well attended receptions were tendered to the Right Reverend Rector since his consecration, by the University Club, the University itself, the Carroll Institute, and the young ladies of Trinity College.

Schools of Law.—The Schools of Law opened on the first Tuesday of October, 1901, with 32 students, 15 in the University School and 17 in the Professional School. The allotment to the Faculty of two additional rooms in McMahon Hall has made it practicable to organize the work of the students on an improved basis and require from them better results than have heretofore been possible. Each class now has its own academy, equipped with all the books necessary for its current work, where every student is expected to spend a minimum of thirty hours per week in legal research along lines laid down by his instructors, exclusive of the hours occupied by his class exercises. The courses thus far given during the present year in the Professional School are those of

Dr. W. C. Robinson on Real Property, of Rev. Dr. Rooker on Natural Law, and of Dr. A. J. Robinson on Elementary Law, Jurisprudence, and Elementary Conveyancing. In the University School two graduate students are preparing their dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, several others are following research courses in Corporations, Admiralty, etc., with Dr. W. C. Robinson, and still others in Commercial Law with Dr. A. J. Robinson. Although smaller in numbers than during some previous years, the tone of the schools is excellent; all the students are apparently devoted to their work and bid fair to maintain the high reputation which these schools have already acquired.

During the summer vacation two of the former instructors (Dr. E. B. Briggs and Mr. C. H. Goddard) received appointments from the Federal Government in the educational department at Manila and started for their future field of labor. Their places in the Law Schools have not yet been filled, but a distribution of their work among those remaining has been made, awaiting the advent of their successors.

At the session of the Plattsburg Summer School in July and August, 1901, Dr. W. C. Robinson delivered three lectures,—on "Prehistoric Law," "Religion as a Social Force," and "Capital Punishment."

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, *c. 6*.

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THE ROMANCE OF THE LANGUE D'OC.

On September 12, 1213, near the little town of Muret, not far from Toulouse, Simon de Montfort, signally routed the forces under the command of Pedro II., King of Aragon. As the deciding victory of Catholicism over a relatively obscure sect it possesses little interest outside the limits of religious controversy, and that interest chiefly one of horror at the barbarities practised by both sides, barbarities which strikingly recall the judgment of Sherman that "War is Hell." From a purely military point of view it is more interesting as being one of the very few battles of the early middle ages wherein any attempts at strategy were made, thereby ranking De Montfort as one of the really original generals in the history of military science. But above all it is of interest in marking the passing of a brilliant civilization, which, had it been allowed to exist, would have greatly altered the trend of modern thought. It therefore belongs among the decisive battles of the world, Waterloo, Lepanto, Crécy, Poitiers, and the like. The reason? It gave the death-blow to the Langue d'Oc and the culture of the Midi, on the ruins of which it built up that of the Langue d'Oïl, the parent of modern French.

The passing of any civilization, of any language, has for the living a peculiarly sad interest. In such catastrophes we read often our own fate, and sigh over that seemingly fundamental law by which nations accomplish their mission and then, surely though slowly, perish of old age, even if a stronger and newer people does not sooner exterminate them. And when even the language of that civilization perishes, then the story becomes inexpressibly sad, more absorbing than the romance of any Romeo and Juliet. Languages seem to acquire a personality in their misfortunes, and thereby to follow the general laws which seem to preside over the conflicts of human beings. From time immemorial the lamb has been a symbol of the sacrifice which the harmless must suffer for the sins of the stronger.

The Kelt, at whose door so few historical sins can be laid, seems to continue on as the living proof of this rule; his tongue, his genius, are ever saddened with the thought of undeserved wrong, though ever hopeful of well-deserved reward.

Equally well does this principle hold true of a civilization and language not unlike the Keltic in spirit—of the Provençal, that ray of sunlight in a dim age of literary obscurity, that premature grasping after gentleness of manner in an age of iron, that seeking after the hidden beauty of lyric rhythm in an epic age, that bit of modernism in the twelfth century; born with the very germs of corruption in its system, gifted with a hectic beauty all the more fatal because of its lack of strength; doomed by the circumstances of its time and position to go down before the irresistible advance of a rougher and more virile civilization; nor yet quietly, but amidst the din of the bloodiest kind of war, with the exultant cries of its victors ringing in its ears and upon its own dying lips the bitterest of curses, bitter even in that age and well called the "testament vengeur de la poésie Provençale."[1] Veritably a romance this, for it is a story with all that makes up what we call by that name—love, treachery, sin, poetry, music, joy, tears, tragedy—they are all there: the Troubadours will supply the "dramatis personæ."

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[1] "La Littérature au Moyen Age," by Villemain, vol. I, p. 178. On Provençal in general see "Littérature Française au Moyen Age," by Gaston Paris; "Poésie du Moyen Age" by the same. The handiest work in English (and to which the present article acknowledges its indebtedness) is "The Troubadours at Home," by Justin H. Smith (New York, 1900). Less valuable, because out of date is the "Literature of the South of Europe," by Sismondi. Harriet W. Preston's "Troubadours and Trouvères" is an interesting though ill-arranged, study of some modern Provençal poets. Léon Gautier's "Epopées Françaises" and "La Chevalerie" give the best description of the epic poetry and civilization of the Trouvères, who are such a contrast in make-up to the Troubadours. Cf. also "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises," by Charles Aubertin.

The Langue d'Oc or so-called Provençal was the first-born of the Latin. By the close of the fourth century the tongue of the Roman conquerors had become universal throughout what are now Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, still called for that reason "Latin" countries. So completely had the languages of the conquered peoples been absorbed that St. Augustine could say with justice "Qui jam cognoscit gentes in imperio romano quae quid erant, quando omnes romani facti sunt et omnes romani dicuntur": thoughts which his contemporary, Prudentius, expressed in verse:

> Deus undique gentes
> Inclinare caput docuit sub legibus îsdem
> Romanosque omnes fieri, quos Rhenus et Ister
> Quos Tagus aurifluus, quos magnus inundat Iberus.
> Jus fecit commune pares et nomine eodem
> Nexuit et domitos fraterna in vincla recepit."
> (Contra Symmachum, V. 501.)

But with the decadence of the empire a number of other languages were introduced by the Frankish, Visigothic, Burgundian and other Teutonic invaders. A process of fusion then set in, continuing for four or five centuries, until about the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century certain definite tongues emerge from this linguistic chaos, all having as a common basis Latin, but differentiated by the diverse elements introduced by the invaders. These tongues were the Provençal, French, Spanish Portuguese and Italian in the order named. But when it is said that they all have a Latin base, it should be carefully borne in mind what kind of Latin is referred to. There were various kinds of Latin spoken even in Imperial Rome itself. There were the classic literary speech of the Æneid and the Ars Poetica; then the social idiom of the cultivated people; finally the homely tongue of the common folk, the masses—*sermo plebeius*—with its various dialects and slangs. Now the two former were well nigh obliterated by the barbaric invasions. But the third still lived on as the speech of the conquered masses, amalgamated with that of the invaders, so that from their union were formed the above-mentioned Romance languages.

Provençal, as above stated, was born in time. That is, it reached its highest degree of perfection earlier than any other, and as a literary medium was superior in elegance to any other tongue up to the thirteenth century, although its great rival and destroyer, French (the Langue d'Oïl), was equally as old in point of view of time merely. By first therefore is meant priority not of birth but of growth.

What were the causes which gave such a powerful impulse to the literary growth in that particular locality and age? To ask why anything wonderful happened at the close of the eleventh century is like asking why nature grows in the spring, for that was verily an historical spring time. Christian humanity seemed all of a sudden to awake from a winter torpor, to spring up into enthusiastic movement, to apply its genius to all departments of thought and action. Hence we see the origins of the University, the gild, the free-city, the Gothic cathedral, chivalry, the Crusades—of all that characterizes medieval civilization. A spirit of freedom, of youth, of freshness, of enthusiasm was everywhere and in everything, like the rising sap in the tree. The movement was, however, one despite its diverse effects, and thus the sudden rise of the gay Provençal literature was but the literary expression in Southern France of the same movement which produced the University in the north. It has been picturesquely said by one of its historians that "all the higher faculties of man were in motion, and our Troubadours played the march."

But why should Southern France, and, in particular, one of its petty provinces, have been the birth-place of this, the first of all Romance literatures? Before answering this question let us determine the exact nature, birth-place and geographical limits of the Provençal tongue. Strictly speaking, the correct name probably is Limousinian, because in the first place there never was such a thing as a Provençal language, only a Provençal dialect spoken by the people of little Provence in the southeast corner of France. The Troubadours themselves called their tongue "Roman" or "Lengua Romana"—a vague term at best; by Dante and many others after him it was somewhat arbitrarily termed "Langue d'Oc" in contradistinction to the "Langue d'Oïl" of Northern France, the venerable parent of modern French. In some way or other, however, the name "Provençal" because most popular, just as the name of Provence itself came to be extended to the whole of southern France. But the correct name should be Limousinian, because the language of the Troubadours was most probably the dialect spoken in Limousin. Somehow or other this idiom became well developed and attained a high reputation for elegance at an early period; then too many of the earliest and best of the Troubadours were natives of that region (for example, Bernard de Ventadorn). Finally its smoothness, flexibility, melody and gentleness peculiarly fitted it for the kind of amorous poetry of which, as we shall see, the Troubadours were the masters. From Limousin then Provençal literature took its rise; from thence it spread over all France, broadly speaking, south of Poitiers and Lyons, northern Italy, northeastern Spain, chiefly Catalonia and Aragon; exerting also an indirect influence upon German, English and north French literature.

Southern France thus became in a way the cradle of modern literary culture; to this many causes contributed. As one of the most Roman of all the provinces of the Empire, being called "Provincia Romana" par excellence, it preserved the traditions of the ancient culture which even the barbaric invaders failed to destroy. Again it was, far more than now, an unusually rich country owing partly to its climate and to its position as a natural highway for travel and commerce: Because in an age when the sailing ship feared the sea no less than the pirate, when no railroad sped into and through the heart of the mountain, most travellers and merchants preferred the southern routes, the pleasant, thickly populated and relatively peaceful valleys of the Garonne and the Rhône. So also, unlike Italy or Spain, political prosperity blessed this region or at least that part of it which for over two hundred years came under the jurisdiction of the wise successors of Bozon, the first king of Arles and Provence,—another fact by the way which might account for the eventual supremacy of the name "Provençal." Lastly the early formation of a rich language, as above described, contributed towards making of Southern France the soil best adapted to the growth of this most musical of Romance literatures.

So then in Southern France in the closing years of the eleventh century we see suddenly arise a luxuriant literature which for two centuries was to play a very brilliant rôle in European history. What was it like in form and spirit?

To say what racial elements entered into its composition would necessitate a disquisition on the ethnology of Southern France,—settled diversely by Greeks, Kelts, Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians and other peoples. We will leave all that to the specialists. Whatever be the source, there is one mark distinguishing all Provençal poetry[1]—that is the love of woman and all that it implies in the way of a gentleman's bearing towards her. "Dante held that poetry was first made in the vernacular for the sake of a lady who could not understand[2] Latin"; and so the first of the Troubadours, Duke Guilhelm of Poitiers, said:—

"Now to singing I'll apply me
E'er new storms and frosts defy me;
For my lady loves to try me
Proving if I hold her dear."

Love of woman then—that is the key-note of Troubadour verse. A proper understanding, therefore, of Provençal literature is impossible until that other and more interesting and apparently insoluble problem be correctly stated.

What men of to-day mean by love of woman is simple enough; it means generally courtship and marriage, mixed in with moonlight, soda water, house-rent and baby carriages. But in the days of the Troubadour love had a far more extended meaning, filled up a much larger space in everybody's life. Around it grew up a code of ideas and a system of conduct by which the feudal nobility sought to soften the harshness of their troubled lives. Love was the starting point, so to speak, of all culture: from it flowed first "Joi"—a gladness and lightness of heart, illuminating the inner world and prompting to all noble, beautiful and self-denying acts, especially generosity; also love of social intercourse, witty conversation, gallantry; all of which were summed up in the word "joven"—youngness or young-heartedness. Over all was thrown the bond of self-control and moderation expressed by another word always on the lips—"Mesura," measure. The fruit of so much striving was known as "Cortesia," courtliness, the finish of a perfect knight and his corresponding fame in the world of so-called chivalry.

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[1] "Les compositions lyriques des Troubadours forment la plus célèbre et la plus florissante partie de la littérature du Midi . . . mais il s'en faut qu'elles constituent dans son entier développement cette littérature . . . Des oeuvres nombreuses en vers et en prose ont précédé, accompagné ou suivi l'épanouissement et le déclin de la poésie chantée."—Aubertin, op. cit., p. 385.

[1] "It was for *her* sake" (his sweetheart) "that I first tried to make verses in the sweet patois which she talked so well." Words of the modern (Gascon) Troubadour poet Jacques Jasmin. "Troubadours and Trouvères" by Harriet W. Preston, p. 108. There are exceptions. of course, to every rule. And so we meet with some very able women Troubadours who, it need hardly be added, did not address their verses to their own sex. See "Troubadours at Home," I, pp. 75, 111–112, 115–116; II, 207; also Aubertin, p. 405.

For such a peculiar condition two main causes were responsible; first, the few avenues for enjoyment under a feudal régime; and, second, the position of married women. We might differ regarding the amount of respect paid the married state among the only half-civilized Northmen, some of whom had come down with customs very nearly approaching polygamy, but there is no doubt concerning the restraint enforced upon women by the very unrest of the age. A lady would hardly care, for instance, to venture very frequently or very far from her lord's strong castle in days when every man's sword so often was his law. On the contrary, the lord might canter about at his pleasure on purposes of war or gallantry. And so the poor lady was left in the dismal old castle to amuse herself as best she could in the absence of a husband, who even when present might have been only too often uncongenial, one forced upon her, say for political reasons.[1] Now the second case. With what was the lonely lady to amuse herself? Very little. At least in the beginning of the Troubadour age there were no theaters, no novels, no newspapers, no books at all in the modern acceptance of the term; religion was not discussed since all were Catholics; philosophy hardly existed outside the ranks of the clergy; there were little science, painting, sculpture, invention, discoveries; music hardly rose above the dignity of a tinkle—so that home amusements for woman meant little more than embroidering, talking, village scandal, occasional visits to a neighboring lady, the eternal chess, or a hunt with the falcon—always practically under strong military guard. Even the knights when at home must have found life intolerably dull in spite of occasional tournaments and more frequent carousals.

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[1] For the evil effects of Feudalism upon marriage see Gautier's "Chevalerie" at chapter on "Marriage du Chevalier."

Into such a dull world stepped the Troubadour—handsome, well-dressed, polished, singing his melodious love songs, so softly that the modern ear would catch the music with difficulty. Would such a man lack an audience? Above all would not the gentler sex find in him just what they wanted most but found least in their rougher spouses, *i. e.,* courtesy? And so the Troubadour became the novel, the newspaper, the drama, the "progressive euchre" of that age: and since he sang chiefly of love of woman, why! love became, as above stated, all that we nowadays comprise under the name "culture."

All this sounds very peculiar to the modern ear, for love means such a different thing to us. It sounds even shocking when we realize that well-nigh all of these love-poems were addressed to married women. A still further explanation is therefore necessary.

That married women should be the objects of these effusions is readily enough comprehended when we realize that the Troubadour, in default of another lady, almost invariably addressed the lady of the castle, no matter what her age or appearance. He did so to make money or obtain some other like consideration by gaining the esteem of her and her lord, whose fame was spread abroad by the renown of his verse. For, be it remembered, most of the Troubadours were poor wandering knights, making a living by their talent. And so we run across the seeming incongruity of a gay Troubadour addressing a love-song often to a fair dame of over sixty years of age, or to a really charming wife of a lord with the very consent and approbation of his lordship. In principle they were compliments, and not intended as anything serious. For the present let us be content with the theory; we shall see later that the practice only too often went against theory. Yet in spite of abuses, the theory had some good effects, for it served at least to hold up a high ideal before the rough men of the day. Out of the almost animal feudal warrior it sometimes made a polished gentleman and out of barbarism it evolved the germs of much modern culture. And so not altogether without reason did one of our Troubadours assert that when a man made a failure in life, all said: "It is evident that he did not care for the ladies."

Love, however, though the absorbing, was not the only inspiration of the Troubadour. This is apparent from a consideration of the various kinds of Provençal verse. Roughly speaking there were four general divisions known as the "song" (canson), the "sirvente," the "tenso" or "partimen," and the "vers."

The "song" was devoted mainly to love such as we have described. Here is an example which I select mainly because it illustrates two fundamental characteristics of Provençal verse.[1] Notice first the peculiar rhyming of the lines of the first stanza with the corresponding ones of the second. Again notice the reference to May, to the spring-time, which prefaces almost all such songs, for upon it will depend much of our understanding of them. We have seen above how the closing years of the eleventh century were in a sense an historical spring-time, when man's energies were as if putting forth new shoots in all directions. See now how all this Provençal verse bears the imprint of the age. It is dominated by this idea of spring, of fresh young love which in theory at least was as fine as the morning dew on the flower. It is the singing of gay men who felt the buoyancy of new life all around them, who lived in a veritable perpetual spring-time and built cathedrals, jousted, crusaded, and sang out of the very joy of living. Associated with it was naturally the feeling of love, the ideal respect for woman as the embodiment of all worldly beauty and purity.

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[1] Fair days and sweet and rich in love
Are these when verdure springs anew,
And light of step and blithe I view
With gladness every opening flower,
And sing of love with hopefulness and cheer;
For morn or eve no care or though comes near
Save thoughts of love, my joyous bosom thronging.

For I adore one far above
The fairest that I ever knew—
So noble, too, so good, so true,
Her virtues e'en her charms o'ertower;
And this is why I tremble and I fear;
I cannot win her; yet, the more 'tis clear,
The more I love, the keener is my longing.
—From Arnaut de Maruelh ap. Justin Smith, op. cit., I, p. 155.

Next to the "song" came the "sirvente"—a poem of praise or censure, public or private; personal, moral, religious or political; and in form not so restricted as others: special kinds of it being the "lament" and the "crusading-song."

Here is one for instance:

> "In heat and cold to come and go,
> To trot, to gallop, run and leap,
> To toil and suffer, scarce to sleep,
> This is the life I'm now to know;
> My inn the roadside or the grove at best;
> With iron and steel and ashen spear oppressed,
> With stern sirvente instead of love and song,
> The weak will I defend against the strong."

Nor was this an idle boast when we recall that the sirvente was verily the newspaper of the day. Old Henry II. could ascribe much of the troubles of the latter part of his reign in his French possessions to the famous Troubadour, Bertran de Born. Hardly any important event in southern France from 1150 to 1300 passed without leaving its mark on them. In fact they were in a way more powerful organs of opinion than a mere newspaper, simply because they were recited aloud before a critical audience, not read privately by the victim of a newspaper attack. Imagine the effect which must have been produced by the recitation of a keen satire before a courtly crowd of Provençal nobles, keen, passionate, abnormally sensitive to public opinion; recited moreover in no dull way but by "Jongleurs" trained to the task. For the Troubadours did not always recite their pieces. Under them and occupying an inferior social position were the jongleurs, strolling musicians so to speak, to whom the former taught their verses and then sent them abroad to sing or recite as one would distribute a newspaper. The Troubadours themselves were as a rule men of social position, knights, in spite of depending upon their wits for a livelihood and spending most of their time in wandering about after the manner described in the above poem.

A third and most peculiar form of verse was the "tenso" or "partimen," a species of poetical debate or ball-room tournament. In choice of subject the contestants were untrammelled. They might discuss serious questions of politics, but generally preferred those bearing upon social life, nice points of etiquette, more profound questions of courtship and love. For instance, they would discuss: "Which is better, a young and pretty woman unversed in love, or a mature woman of experience?" "Which is the harder to bear, debt or love-sickness?" "Would it be sensible to give up a kingdom for the greatest love?" "Should one prefer to lose one's life in consequence of enjoying love, or to love on forever without hope?" etc. Earlier writers maintained that decisions were rendered by a regularly organized "Court of Love" composed chiefly of ladies, but that view is not sustained by more modern authorities.

Besides these three forms of Provençal poetry there were many others of more special character varying according to the subject matter or the style. For instance the morning-song (alba), even-song (serena), dancing-song (balada), the news (novas), salute or letter (letra, salut), the comte or narrative poem, pastoral (pastorela, etc.). The "vers" above mentioned was much like the "canson" and was the oldest name for a poem.

We can now study the art of Troubadour verse, *i. e.*, the secret of its wonderful melody. The basis of Provençal versification was, first, the number of syllables, secondly, line accent: its distinctive marks were tri-partition, the carrying of rhymes from stanza to stanza, and the principle that every new song should wear a new form: added to which were a true artistic consciousness, earnest æsthetic study, a love of art as art, a subtle striving for effect —qualities then quite new in the modern world, however much familiar to us.

The vital point, therefore, was the number of syllables in a line. Classical prosody was, as we know, based on "quantity," *i. e.*, the length of vowels; English verse on accent; but Provençal on the *number* of *syllables*. At first hearing such a system of rhythm might seem loose and inexact, but it was perhaps more flexible, emotional and musical in the mouth of a Troubadour than Tennyson would be in ours.

Second in importance was the line-accent, *i. e.*, the accenting of every last syllable (or next to last in double rhymes like daily—gayly) of every line; added to which was another accent or pause near the middle of lines with more than seven syllables.

But the chief originality and great artistic triumph of Troubadour verse lay in the construction of the stanza, due to their almost marvelous powers of rhyming by which they could construct stanzas of an almost infinite variety of form. Whether owing to constant labor or the richness of their tongue, the Troubadours rhymed with an ease never before or since equalled. They were positively bewildering. Not content with one or two rhymes, they would carry the same sound all through a long poem somewhat like the "motif" of a piece of music, interlacing it round and round the thought like ivy leaves around an oak; whether in the middle, beginning or end of a line; making one stanza agree with the preceding, and so on till the eye loses the track and only a delicate ear can longer follow the music of the rhyme. One Troubadour was credited with the power of inventing 840 lines ending with the same sound. From this marvelous gift of rhyming followed the next characteristic—namely—the principle that every new song should wear a new form. Being so accommodating as to rhyme, number of lines and number of syllables, Provençal required compensation from its artists on the score of inventive combination; hence we get the name of "Troubadour" from "trouver" (to find), or to invent—for he was supposed to invent or find new poems in new forms. One authority has estimated 817 distinct patterns in the works of the Troubadours.

The following well illustrates the above remarks written by one of the earliest and best of the Troubadours, Bernard de Ventadorn, a great poet not only for his own, but for all time:—

"Whene'er the lark's glad wings I see
Beat sunward 'gainst the radiant sky
Till, lost in joy so sweet and free
She drops, forgetful how to fly,
Ah! when I view such happiness
My bosom feels so deep an ache,
Meseems for pain and sore distress
My longing heart will straightway break!

"Alas! I thought I held the key
To love! How ignorant am I!
For her that ne'er will pity me
I am not able to defy:
My loving heart, my faithfulness
Myself, my world, she deigns to take,
Then leaves me bare and comfortless
To longing thoughts that ever wake.

"Henceforth all ladies I will flee,
No more in hope or trust I'll sigh:
Oft have I been their guarantee,
But now for champion let them hie
Where'er they will; for one could bless
My life, yet binds me to the stake;
They're all alike, and I profess
That all alike I now forsake!"

So much for their technique. Behind it lay, as we said, a keen æsthetic sense and love of art, in which respects they were the pioneers of modern poetry. In fact these very excellencies were pushed so far that they became vices: Troubadour verse became too artistic, too artificial, too formal. It bore within itself the very principle of corruption, which prepared the way for the tragic end which was meted out to Provençal language, poetry and civilization in the thirteenth century.

Before describing that overthrow let us summarize a little. Born from a union of Latin and the Teutonic languages of the barbarian invaders, Provençal as a language begins to appear about the ninth or tenth century, its proper name being most likely Limousinian. During the last quarter of the eleventh century it begins to develop a literature, chiefly in the poetry of the Troubadours, the first of whom is reckoned as Guilhelm of Poitiers, Count of Aquitaine, grandfather of the famous Queen Eleanor, thereby great grandfather of Richard the Lion-hearted, contemporaneous with the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux and of the yet greater Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. It flourishes all through the twelfth century and good time during the thirteenth. During that period it was the only language common to the cultivated nobility of southern France and held in other courts pretty much the same position of honor now held by its rival and destroyer, French.[1] All the lyric poetry of Europe was "penetrated, pervaded and transformed by its actions"; the literature of Spain was a direct outgrowth; that of Portugal was stimulated by, and almost two-thirds modeled upon it; that of Italy in its early days leaned upon it; that of Northern France received a strong coloring from it,[2] and the same can be said both of German and English: it produced some five hundred or more poets, among whom we count nine rich lords, six great barons, five viscounts, five marquises, ten powerful counts, two princes and five kings (Richard I.?)—truly an aristocracy of genius such as can be matched in no other time, place or literature. And yet in spite of all this it perished as a language, as a literature, nay! even as a civilization, before the close of that same thirteenth century. The language itself either split up into a number of dialects, some of which are yet spoken as in Catalonia, or lingered on as the plaything of the literary few, there being poets who still compose in it, not to mention various reviews dedicated to the resuscitation of its dead past. But broadly speaking it had perished, been effaced by the close of the thirteenth century, its last poet, Guiraut Riquier, composing his last poem in the year 1294.

What were the causes of this strange, pitiful and tragic catastrophe—for catastrophe it was? They are three—literary, social, political. And first as to the literary causes.

Provençal poetry bore in itself, as we saw, the germ of corruption. Delicate, almost abnormally artistic, it had not the strength or depth to save itself from monotonous formalism. Love, its supreme theme, meant much for them, but it was not a broad enough sentiment to serve as the basis of a literature. Hence Provençal poetry lacked a creative energy so far as ideas went; it seldom looked above a lady's eyebrows, and thereby remained insipid; we look all through it in vain for profundity, or even romantic fancy. None of these—only the same, eternal harping on love, done, we grant, most delicately and musically. But, after all, there is much in this world besides love and fine dressing and dancing and gallantry—there are sickness, poverty, death and beyond death that terrifying world of the departed soul. Yet upon all these grave issues and before the psychological problems suggested by them the Troubadour was generally silent, allowing for the occasional seriousness of the sirvente. He was a gay butterfly in the summer world of literature and the court, and so perished in the coming of the winter. Even nature was a closed book to him so far as its hidden suggestiveness ran. True, he enjoyed nature keenly, more keenly perhaps than we do; for who has not read how Francis, the gentle Troubadour-saint of Assisi, loved to call the flowers his sisters and the birds his little brothers? But it was the enjoyment of a child that loves to romp in the sunshine, not of the mature artist who looks upon it as the seeming expression of a moral and intellectual beauty behind. In the song first quoted, notice how the lover, though noticing how the "lark's glad wings beat sunward 'gainst the radiant sky," nevertheless has his real thoughts upon the same eternal love. We are eight hundred years before Wordsworth. Moreover the Troubadour was, in a way, uneducated according to our standards—he was bereft of the artistic influences of classical literature, prose or poetic. As a result of these causes Provençal literature remained sterile. Perhaps it might have fared better had a great genius like Dante or Shakespeare arisen at the lucky moment; but, strange as it seems, we cannot find amongst four or five hundred Troubadours one superior genius or one single poem which deserves the title of masterpiece.

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[1] In the North, however, French held its own. "Dès le XII^e siècle le Français avait le pressentiment orgueilleux de sa suprématie future; la cour de Philippe Auguste prétendait donner le ton aux gens d'esprit et aux poétes;

Roman ne histoire ne plait
Aus François, se ils ne l'ont fait."—Aubertin, p. 166.

[2] Political antagonism would explain why French lyric poetry was less influenced than that of Italy or Spain by Provençal. It is, however, still a disputed point. M. Gaston Paris in his "Litterature Française au Moyen Age" (p. 187), calls French lyric poetry an imitation of Provençal: "Sortie de l'imitation des Provençaux, la poésie française exerça a son tour de l'influence sur l'Allemagne," etc. But M. Aubertin replies (ib., p. 471): "Mais sans prétendre que le lyrisme provençal ait été inutile aux chansonniers du Nord, nous croyons que ce secours étranger n'était pas nécessaire et qu'il a peu servi."

Two other less remote causes completed this ruin. They were social and political, both inextricably mixed up with each other. Provençal literature and language perished largely because Provençal civilization, though brilliant, had not sufficient moral strength to resist the attacks of the rougher and more sturdy civilization of the north. We have seen that its poetry was based upon the sentiment of love of woman, and we have given fairly its good side. But now let us look with equal fairness at the other and darker. In the first place let us disabuse our minds of the idea that chivalry, such as described in the novel was all noble.[1] True, it did, above all in the true chivalry of the north, touch at times the summit of heroism, but even there it was only too often debased by cruelty and immorality to such an extent as to warrant us in terming it in the twelfth century as little more than semi-civilized. And so when we study more closely the poems and lives of those incarnations of the chivalry of the South, the Troubadours, we find that alongside of or underneath all their seemingly exalted idea of love and woman, there lies a moral deformity, at times shocking even in that age. It is true that many a lord was tickled by the praises of his lady when sung throughout the length of gay Provence by some illustrious Troubadour. It is equally true that those same lords only too often paid for their vanity with wrecked homes; the Troubadours were human and so were the ladies. Here is an instance. One Guilhelm de Cabestaing was wont, in the fashion of his time and class, to address fine songs to one Margarida, lady of my Lord of Rossillon. All went well until from too much talking of love the poor Troubadour fell into it, likewise the lady; whereupon my lord fell out with both. Well! one day the lord goes out riding with the destroyer of his home, but returns alone. "Was it a stab? says the historian, was it a duel? Did a mountain brook, sparkling in the sunlight, catch his life and bear it on to dye the blossoms along its brink?" We know not: we only know that the Lord of Rossillon rode back alone with his terrified servant carrying something wrapped up in his mantle. Then the lord and his lady sat down to supper, and when it was finished the former asked his wife if she knew what she had eaten. No! she answered, except that it was good meat and savory. Whereupon he told her that she had eaten the very heart of her lover. This is but an instance; there are a host of others. Often in keeping too with such accounts is the language itself of some of the poems. True! we have our Swinburne, but we at least read him to ourselves and do not address to our lady or gentlemen friends letters written in his phrasing.

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[1] Sismondi (op. cit., pp. 77–79) almost would have us believe that chivalry never existed at all outside of the imaginations of the poets. Happily, both for history and our feelings, his view is out of date—so much out of date that present authorities see in its epic poems a more faithful picture of feudal manners than in the actual histories of the time, the histories of Joinville, Froissart, Villehardouin.—Aubertin, op. cit., p. 275, and "La Chevalerie" passim.

If there was a dark side to Troubadour life, so was there a ridiculous. One Peire Vidal is its classic example. A sweet singer, but a fool, who imagined himself the conqueror of all knights in battle or of all hearts in love, though his vanity met with that lack of success usually meted out to such men by the objects of their devotion. This Peire Vidal loved a lady named Loba. Now as Loba means "wolf," he bethought to gain her by calling himself also a wolf, even assuming the skin of one and wandering as such in the mountains near by. Unfortunately some shepherds and dogs, not skilled in the niceties of Troubadour love, mistook him for a real wolf, attacked and nearly killed him. And the lady—well! we cannot blame her. She laughed outright at the poor poet, who in disgust resolved to give up writing love songs.

Such a civilization must have been frivolous, in spite of its brilliancy, too frivolous, too soft for that age of iron. When the great struggle came, it naturally succumbed after a brief and bitter contest. This brings us to the final act—to another well-known but little understood episode in history, the Albigensian Crusade, because it was this Crusade which gave Provençal literature its death-blow. Simon de Montfort was the destroyer of the Troubadours.

It is a pity that religious prejudice so largely interferes with a just estimate of that momentous struggle, because it blinds most readers to the real causes, which were not so much religious as political, or at most social.

True! there was a religious cause. The Albigensians, under which name we can include pretty much all Southern Frenchmen of the time, were (and so far as we can see justly) accused of heresy, not to say gross immorality. But a broader view of the whole war will look upon such charges, even if true, as pretexts; the real cause lay in the old and deep-seated antagonism between Southern and Northern French civilizations. This would have brought on a conflict even if Simon de Montfort and the heretics of Albi had never lived. We have a parallel in our own country. Our fathers some forty years ago imagined they were fighting over states' rights and slavery. They were, but they would in all likelihood have fought even if states' rights never were in dispute and Rhode Island had never imported the first negroes. They would have clashed because the civilization south of Mason-Dixon line was essentially different from and in many ways antagonistic to that north of it. The war brought the two sections closer together, and we hope, to a better understanding. Even now, between the Frenchmen south of the Loire and the Frenchmen north of it there is pretty much the same likeness as there is between a Georgia "cracker" and a Massachusetts "school-marm." At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was much less.[1] To begin with, southern French civilization was unreligious.[2] It had always been so. Even a pagan like Cicero spoke of the ancient Gauls as the enemies of all religion. So, too, in our period their descendants were at least indifferent, if not enemies to religion. Their poetry supplies ample proof. It contains few religious pieces; none which display enthusiasm; nowhere does Christianity form part of the sentiment or of the action. Compare this with the north or north-central part of France whence issued most of the great religious reformers of the age—Clairvaux, Citeaux, Clugny for instance. The difference is more apparent in the world of thought. The South, poetic, delicately sensitive to musical impressions, but shallow, generally frivolous: the North, equally poetic but in a sterner fashion, profound, serious, the home of the Trouvère and the University master.

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[1] "Un notaire d'Albi en 1229 s'excuse dans un compte municipal de n'avoir su lire la légende d'un sceau parce qu'elle est, dit'il, soit en français, soit dans *quelque autre idiome étranger et inconnu;* les *Leys d'Amour* rangent le français avec l'anglais, l'espagnol et l'italien parmi les langues que ne sont pas du pays." —Aubertin, p. 162.

[2] The common defence of the Albigensians is that we know them only through the statements of their adversaries. This is but partly true. Certainly, if the Troubadours represented the best thought of their country, then we can justly put that country down as one where faith had long since paled. What could be more out of harmony with what we call faith than that blasphemous poem of Peire Cardinal who addresses God in language that recalls Shelly's Prometheus Unbound, concluding

> "To damn me now for this fair proposition
> Were wrong and wicked—such is my contrition!
> And I could well return you (God) blow for blow:
> With each small good a thousand ills you strow."
> —Justin Smith, op. cit., I, p. 47.

Compare this with the faith of the knight so eloquently set forth in "La Chevalerie," by Léon Gautier, a study based on the epic poetry of the North. "L'idée de l'athéisme n'était pas faite pour entrer dans l'esprit du baron féodal . . . et c'est à peine si dans toute notre vieille épopée, nous rencontrons quelques figures d'athées," p. 35. M. Villemain in his "Littérature au Moyen Age," I, p. 167, unconsciously gives testimony to this thesis when he speaks of the "esprit de libre examen et de conscience individuelle," which was so characteristic of the Albigensians. That he is not prejudiced *against* them is evident from his comparison (p. 166) of this same spirit with Protestantism. The same author further (p. 174) admits definitely that the Midi was pretty generally uncatholic: "L'hérésie même des Albigeois n'en fut pas la cause unique. *Il régnait depuis longtemps dans le Midi une lutte* entre las pensée libre et le pouvoir de l'église, entre la poésie et la prédication." The reader who has any doubt upon this question is recommended to read that savage arraignment of Rome in the famous *sirvente* of Guillaume de Figueras, which Villemain (I, p. 178) calls the "testament vengeur de la poésie Provençale." This note is written with full knowledge and horror of the cruelties inflicted upon the unfortunate people of the Midi by the forces under De Montfort—cruelties which called forth condemnation from his own friends, accustomed as they were to the savage character of war in that age of iron.

The cleavage extends down even to morals. Perhaps the Norman knight was as corrupt as his gay brother from Aquitaine; he certainly was as cruel but he was not effeminate, nor did he lie forever indolently basking in his sin. His ideal Launcelot did, it is true, prove false to his king, but unwillingly and repenting. Among our Troubadours we find nothing to indicate a like struggle between a brave man and his great temptation. No! they tripped lightly into sin and lived with it as long as youth remained—then they threw to God the husk of a superstitious and tardy repentance. In a word Provençal civilization was effeminate, therefore no match for the more vigorous civilization north of the Loire. Add to this the unrelenting ambition of the French monarchy to subjugate the proud princes of Toulouse, and we can hardly deny that a clash must have necessarily occurred at some time or other. Heresy supplied the pretext, Simon de Montfort the military genius. The struggle was short and bloody.

On September 12, 1213, the hostile armies met on the plain of Muret, a little hamlet twenty-two miles southwest of Toulouse. De Montfort with but nine hundred cavalry routed his enemies composed of about three thousand cavalry and forty thousand foot. We have already stated that as a battle it was one of the most decisive in modern history, for upon its result depended not merely the fate of an obscure religious sect, but the fate of Provençal civilization, literature, nay, even its very language. De Montfort's victory made France one, consolidated the French kingship for five hundred years and established the supremacy of modern French language and literature. As if history had its irony, the man who most aided him on the non-military side was no less a person than the famous and much abused Folquet of Marseilla, Bishop of Toulouse—who ranks as "the most intellectual of the Troubadours."

Provençal lingered a little longer, until about the end of the century. Then it passed away as a living literature or language, notwithstanding the spasmodic attempts, not yet abandoned, to awaken a widespread interest in it.

Thus, amidst the shock of mailed soldiers in the bitterest kind of wars—religious—this romance found its tragic termination. Unfortunate both for it and for us was such an ending, because the passions of religious hatred engendered by that war are still too fierce to allow the majority of students to pass an unbiased judgment. But the intellectual atmosphere is gradually clearing. A few are beginning to estimate correctly the relative merit of that strange civilization as well as of the conflict in which it perished. Above all we can allow it the praise of having served to uphold a spiritual ideal of life in an age of force, veiled though it was in the physical love of woman. "A great thing is love," says A'Kempis in language worthy of the bard of Avon, "a great good every way—it can achieve anything, and it doth perform and effect many things, where he that loveth not fainteth and falleth away—nothing is sweeter than love, nothing stronger, nothing higher, nothing wider—nothing better in heaven or on earth; for love is born of God and cannot rest but in God." And so the Troubadour's love was essentially a grasping in a dull way after an indefinable something spiritual, higher, personified in his eyes in woman. As such it was good in principle, and needed only the touch of a master genius to lift the veil and let his gaze pierce on up to the source itself of love and beauty eternal. Italy furnished the man—Dante, who is the Troubadour spiritualized. For, just as the Troubadour composed his verses in praise of his lady, so Dante wrote the Divina Commedia to celebrate a spiritual mistress with homage such as but one woman ever knew before. "His love for her (Beatrice) was wholly ideal—through her he raised himself above the common herd—

she taught him to love virtue and from slavery to freedom brought him. All his higher life fastens itself on Beatrice; she is to him the symbol of the Divine wisdom and love; she leads him into Paradise; Love is the keynote of his life; its sustaining hand raises him even to the vision of God." She suggests to him the idea of the Divina Commedia, for he himself says: "Wherefore if it be His pleasure through Whom is the life of all things that my life continue with me a few more years, it is my hope that I shall write concerning her what hath not before been written of any woman. After the which may it seem good unto Him who is the master of grace that my spirit should go hence to behold the glory of its lady—Blessed Beatrice, who ever gazeth continually on His countenance."[1] This is the climax, the perfection of Provençal poetry. Dante is the greatest of Troubadours, the one great genius of Provençal culture. Seen in this light its tragic end seems almost a good. Perhaps, being so frivolous, so sunny, so childish in the days of prosperity, it needed the chastening touch of sorrow to develop the real seriousness and spiritual vigor that lay in the depths of its being. In its blood were washed away and forgiven its many weaknesses, both intellectual and moral. Through the grim portal of Death it entered into a new life. By the wonderful alchemy of time the poetry of Duke Guilhelm of Poitiers passes into and lives preserved, as in amber, in the Divina Commedia of Dante. Nothing of it that did fade but hath suffered

"a sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

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[1] Dante's "Divina Commedia," by Hettinger, p. 15.

THE LABORER'S RIGHT TO A LIVING WAGE.

All Catholic writers on the ethics of wages now maintain that if the laborer does not receive at least a living wage he receives less than his due. They do not all, however, reach this conclusion by the same process of reasoning. The right to a living wage is derived by some from the necessity of repairing the labor-energy expended; by others, from the "common estimate" of a just price for labor; by still others, from the personal dignity of the laborer, or his right to live a decent human life.

Father Antoine, S.J. holds that there ought to be an "objective equivalence" between the labor performed and the pay received.[1] In order that this objective equivalence may be had, the laborer must receive a wage sufficient to replace the energy that he has expended in the service of his employer. Although this formula makes a certain show of exact and rigorous justice, it can be interpreted reasonably, and applied in such a way that the "equivalent" compensation will be less than a living wage. "Restoring expended labor force" can have no other intelligible meaning than paying a man sufficient to enable him to continue at his work. Indeed, this is the sense in which it is understod by the author himself. But any wage that reaches the level of bare subsistence fulfills this requirement. A laborer who has no other means of livelihood than his wages, and who does his work day after day, is "ex hypothesi," getting sufficient compensation to keep up the energy required for that work; yet his wage may be the very lowest. His habitual subsistence may not be capable of repairing a great amount of energy, but it repairs all that he actually expends.

The truth of the matter is that the energy which the laborer puts forth is always *determined* by and furnished by his wages, be they ever so meager. The men and women in the "sweating" trades get enough wages to maintain them continuously at work, and consequently to replace their daily output of labor-force. Hence the rule that Father Antoine lays down is even now enforced throughout the world of industry. Therefore it can afford no rational basis for more just conditions. It would work very well side by side with the "iron law of wages." It demands a subsistence wage for the laborer, but says nothing concerning the quality of the subsistence.

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[1] "Cours d'Economie Sociale," Paris, 1899, p. 601.

Other authors base the right to a living wage on the principle of just price.[1] Following the Schoolmen, they maintain that every purchasable commodity, whether goods or labor, has a certain price that is just. This is merely a particular application of the general principle that in an onerous contract, *i. e.*, one in which neither party intends to confer a favor on the other, there must be equality between the things exchanged. This is of the very essence of the idea of justice.[2] Now equality between the thing given and the thing received, means in the case of economic goods equal gain for each side. Both parties reap an advantage from the transaction; and each wishes to gain at least as much as the other. If the gains are equal, the contract will be just; if not, one of the parties will be treated unjustly. For he is unwillingly deprived of something to which he has a right, namely, an equal share of the advantage arising from the contract.

Now, since economic goods can be exchanged and measured only by means of what is called their *value*, equality of gain must be expressed in terms of value. Therefore, if an exchange is to be just the goods exchanged must be so valued as to bring the same amount of advantage to both sides. The value that is attributed to the goods must be determined and formulated in strict accordance with this purpose. Evidently, the value of goods in this sense is before all else an *ethical* quality. It is measured and assessed by reference, not merely to economic facts, but to an objective ethical standard. This standard is equality of gain.[1] If for example, one coat is exchanged for two pairs of shoes, and if the resulting gains are unequal, the goods have not been rightly valued, and the contract is not in accordance with ideal justice. Consequently justice is not had by exchanging goods at any valuation that the contracting parties see fit to attribute to them, nor at any other valuation whatever, except the valuation that is just, the just price.

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[1] Cf. Vermeersch, S.J., "Questiones de Justitia," Bruges, 1901, Theses 25, 28, 29.

[2] St. Thomas, "Summa," 2a, 2ae, q. 77, a, I.

[1] Although he criticises the scholastic doctrine of just price, because he incorrectly assumes that it took no account of the fact of human desire, M. Tarde adopts in so many words the scholastic standard of determining contractual justice. That price, he says, will be just, "qui donnerait une satisfaction égale aux deux." "Psychologie Economique, Paris, 1902, II, p. 44.

But who is to decide in any exchange the valuation that will allow both parties to obtain the same amount of gain? In other words, who is to fix the just value or just price in the concrete? It cannot be the parties themselves; for they are likely to be biased in their estimates; and the stronger bargainer will be tempted to use his power at the expense of the weaker. On the other hand, no general rule of valuation can be devised that will enable each contracting pair to gain equally from the exchange of any given kind of goods. Different men may purchase the same goods from the same merchant at the same rate, and yet the personal advantage accruing to the buyers may not, in fact, most probably will not, be equal in any two cases.[1] The Schoolmen had this fact in mind when they declared that the just price of goods was incapable of exact determination, but consisted in a "certain estimate" (quadam æstimatione). The just price, they said, had three grades, lowest, medium and highest. This approximately just valuation of goods could, in their opinion, be most reasonably and fairly made by the community as a whole. In this way individual bias and individual selfishness (against which the whole doctrine of just price was chiefly directed) would exert a minimum of influence, since they would be subject to so many counteracting forces. True, there were certain objective elements that the community was morally bound to consider in forming its judgment regarding the price of material goods. These were chiefly the cost of production, the general utility, and the scarcity of the goods estimated. Still the proximate determinant of the just price of either goods or labor was always the "communis æstimatio hominum."

This exposition represents correctly, I think, the main features of the doctrine of just price, and the rational basis on which it was founded. The modern writers whom we are now considering employ this doctrine to establish the laborer's right to a living wage. Their argument runs thus: the laborer should always receive a just price for his labor; the just price of any kind of labor is the price fixed by the common estimate, or the social judgment, of what is fair; but the social judgment holds that a man's wages should never be insufficient to afford him a decent livelihood; consequently the just price of labor is never less than a living wage.

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[1] Cf. Hobson, The Economics of Distribution, New York, 1900, Chap. I; Tarde, op. cit., II, pp. 10–22.

The champions of this argument are careful to point out that this ethical social estimate is not identical with the economic social estimate of value. In the latter sense the social estimate of the value of anything, for example, labor, is merely an unconscious resultant of the strife of bargaining. It is formed by the "higgling of market," and is always expressed in market wages. On the other hand, the ethical estimate is a conscious pronouncement of the social judgment, or social conscience. It declares the wages that ought to exist, not the wages that do exist. Thus understood, the social estimate, we are told, holds that whatever wages men may be paid in fact, they ought not to receive less than a living wage. And since the social estimate is the proximate criterion of contractual justice, its decision concerning a living wage must be accepted as final.

Theoretically, this rule of pay according to the true, or just, value of labor performed is a very comprehensive and obvious ethical standard. It is comprehensive because it fits the case of every wage worker of whatever condition, and because it gives a general answer to the question, what is a just wage? It is obvious because—on the supposition that labor has a just value—it is merely an ethical truism. By itself it says no more than "give the laborer his due."

Practically, this standard is inadequate either as a justification or as a measure of a living wage. The laborer's due, the just value of his labor, is determined, we are told, by the social estimate, and the social estimate, it is asserted, always appraises labor as worth at least a living wage. Now, the "social estimate" is a rather vague criterion. It is capable of several different interpretations. Is it the unanimous, or morally unanimous, judgment of the community—what the older writers called the "sensus communis"? or is it what is known in this country as public opinion? Is it custom? or again, is it the deliberate judgment of a body of men chosen from the various classes, social, industrial, and religious, of the community? With the exception of the last named, none of these "social estimates" is adequate to serve as a satisfactory practical measure of just or unjust wages. The pronouncements concerning a living wage made by these authorities are necessarily either uncertain or untrustworthy, or both.

First, the "sensus communis," it may be conceded, sanctions the *principle* of a living wage. Our knowledge of the average man's sense of right and wrong entitles us, perhaps, to assume this much. Further than this, however, the "sensus communis" can give us nothing definite. As to the amount of subsistence-goods comprised in the idea of a decent livelihood—the precise content of a living wage—its decision will lack unity. The only conclusion that can be derived from it will be some sort of compromise of a multitude of individual or class estimates. Assuming, however, that an average or compromise estimate is objectively deducible, how can it be brought to our knowledge? The "sensus communis" is not a deliberative body, promulgating formal rulings on matters of this kind. While therefore we admit that the "sensus communis," or social conscience, does adjudge the laborer as worthy of a living wage, we deny that it can provide us with any definite and specific concept of what it means by a living wage. And even if it could, we have no satisfactory assurance that its estimate would be in harmony with right reason. In judging of the more general questions of moral conduct, the "sensus communis" is sufficiently trustworthy; but in details, in regard to particular human actions, its judgment is easily perverted by the influence of bad and long established custom.

Second, that somewhat capricious form of the social estimate called *public opinion* is vitiated by defects similar to those just enumerated. Its verdict as to the content of a living wage must necessarily be general and not knowable. Moreover, public opinion is essentially variable and therefore untrustworthy. Indeed, if we accept the press as its mouthpiece it has not declared in favor of even the principle of a living wage.

Third, *custom* may be acknowledged to furnish a fairly definite standard of right and wrong in this matter of wages. But it is not a reliable standard. Custom to-day sanctions wages that are insufficient to afford the conditions of a decent livelihood—witness the remuneration of the "sweated" classes. The canonist Reiffenstuel accepted custom as the practical criterion of justice, and arrived at the conclusion that a just wage need not rise to the level of a living wage.

Fourth, the pronouncement of a carefully selected representative congress or committee would, no doubt, be sufficiently definite and trustworthy. If the social estimate, thus understood, declared that every laborer should have a living wage, and defined what it meant by a living wage, its decision would probably satisfy all reasonable minds. However, as no such judicial body exists, no argument can be drawn from its assumed decisions.

To sum up, the standard of pay according to the true value of labor as determined by the social estimate, affords no valid basis for the living wage doctrine, because it gives no satisfactory answer to the following questions: What is meant by the social estimate? How can it give decisions sufficiently precise to be of any value? How can its decisions be known? Assuming that they are known, what assurance have we that they conform to the objective requirements of justice?

This argument from just price and the "communis æstimatio" has been dwelt on at some length because these concepts and formulas played a great part in medieval thought and industry, and because they are quite common in the Catholic ethical literature of to-day. For centuries the Schoolmen, one after another, asserted and expounded the doctrine that every commodity, be it labor or material goods, that men buy and sell had one just price. Accordingly, they maintained that individuals did wrong when they attempted to take advantage of their fellows to buy or sell at any other price. The doctrine is incontestable. For when we assert that it is possible for a commodity to be sold at an unjust price, we tacitly assume that it has some other price that is just. An action can not be adjudged wrong or unfair except by reference to some ethical standard. The ideal just price of a thing may be impossible of determination, but it exists if only as an ideal.

So much is clear concerning the doctrine. The method of determining just price, the "communis æstimatio," served very well for the small communities and simple economic relations of the Middle Ages.[1] When masters and workmen lived together in relations "like unto that between fathers and sons"; when the whole body of consumers and producers interested in the fixing of any scale of wages or prices, was grouped within the limits of a small town; when the classes of goods and services that were to be appraised were few in number and simple in character; and when the standard of living was nearly uniform for all,—under these circumstances the "communis æstimatio" of the just price of labor was apt to be more or less precise, and could easily be made manifest to all concerned. Besides, the "communis æstimatio" quickly became crystallized in custom. Thus, it was not only definite and patent, but more or less constant during long periods of time. It was likewise in fairly close conformity with ethical ideals, since it was formed under the direct and powerful influence of moral and religious teaching. "No such sustained and far-reaching attempt is now being made," says Professor Ashley, "either from the side of theology or of ethics, to impress upon the public mind principles immediately applicable to practical life."[2]

In the highly complex industrial life of our own time, the criterion of "communis æstimatio," seems, for the reasons above given, to have outlived its usefulness.[3] The "doctrine" of just price is as true and vital as ever, because it is a fundamental principle of justice. What is required is a new method or formula for applying it to modern conditions. And if some of the present-day disciples of the Schoolmen would but imitate the example of their masters by trying to find such a formula, they would do a greater service to the memory of the Schoolmen, as well as to the needs of the present generation, than by clinging to an outworn criterion which the Schoolmen, were they with us, would probably be the first to reject. To transplant the Scholastic formula of "communis æstimatio" into an environment for which it was never intended, and to give it an interpretation that is so elastic as to be unmeaning, is to bring discredit upon the doctrine of just price and involve the whole question in confusion.

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[1] Cf. Ashley, "Economic History," London, 1894, 3d ed., I, p. 138.

[2] Op. cit., II, p. 388.

[3] Cf. Castelein, S.J., "Institutiones Philosophiæ Moralis et Socialis," Brussels, 1899, p. 369.

Finally, we come to the third argument, which deduces the laborer's right to a living wage from his personal dignity and his right to a decent livelihood.[1] In common with all other men, the laborer is endowed with the right to a decent livelihood in the abstract. In the concrete, this right must conform to the usages and possibilities of the industrial organization in which he lives. In order to make his right effectual, valid here and now, he must do all that is reasonably within his power towards acquiring for himself the goods that are essential to subsistence. This he does by expending his labor power under the direction and employment of others. To the general work of production, therefore, he has contributed all that can reasonably be asked of him, and his claim against his fellows for a decent livelihood, from being abstract, negative, and potential, has become concrete, positive, and actual. In return his fellow men (whether "fellow men" in the concrete means his employer or his employer plus society, need not be discussed now) must, by putting the requisite amount of subsistence goods practically within his reach, enable him to realize this right. According to the usages and institutions of our industrial society, these goods can come to him only in the form of wages. In order that his right may become effectual, therefore, in order that he may come into actual enjoyment of it, his wages must be sufficient for a decent livelihood. No other way of realizing his right is open to him. Humanly speaking, there are no unappropriated goods within his reach, and if there were his duties as a wageworker leave him no opportunity of securing them. To sum up the argument in the form of a syllogism: the laborer has a right to a decent livelihood; but in the present industrial order his sole means of realizing this right lies in his wage; therefore he has a right to a living wage.

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[1] Pottier, "De Jure et Justitia," Liège, 1900, pp. 220–265; Verhaegen, "Le Minimum de Salaire," Ghent, p. 21. Pope Leo XIII in "Rerum Novarum": "The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than by their wages."

If it be objected that, as matter of fact, some laborers have other resources of living besides their labor power, the answer must be that such laborers are quite exceptional. Whether they also have a right to a living wage is, after all, of comparatively little importance. Still it may be observed that the question would seem to merit an answer in the affirmative. In the first place, these men, it is assumed, put in the same amount of time as their less fortunate fellows: distributive justice, then, would seem to require that they should obtain the same remuneration. In the second place, the continued payment of smaller wages to certain individuals in any occupation tends to lower the wages of the whole group. Finally, the unquestionable advantages arising from a more general diffusion of wealth, furnish a very strong social reason why the persons whom we are considering should be paid a living wage, even if it be conceded that they have no strict individual right thereto. Other considerations drawn from social utility, such as the wisdom of rewarding individual initiative and thrift, point to the same conclusion.

The laborer's right to a living wage stands out in clearest light once we lay firm hold of two fundamental facts concerning man's nature and his essential relation to the earth's resources. The first of these is the fact that the laborer is by nature—prior, consequently, to any contract—a person, a being endowed with certain indestructible rights. "Indestructible" by other men, be it always understood. While the precise matter of his wage-contract is a certain amount of labor-force, this labor-force is not something standing apart with an existence of its own. It is inseparable from the subject in which it inheres, and that subject is a person. It cannot possibly be dealt with, contracted for, without affecting the personality of the laborer. It must be dealt with, then, in such a way as not to violate this personality. In other words, the labor-contract must be so framed as to conserve and safeguard the laborer's dignity. The latter is a fact anterior to the contract, a previous condition that the contract must take into account if it is just and reasonable. The subject of the labor force must be dealt with, not as a thing, but as a person. As a person he has an indestructible right to a decent livelihood.[1]

The other important fact to be kept in mind is that the earth is intended by the Creator for the common use and enjoyment of all his children. "Nature," says St. Ambrose, "made all things common" (De Officiis, I, 28). There is nothing in the nature of the earth to show that any portion belongs to one man rather than to another. Nor is there anything in the nature of men to indicate any difference in their primary claims upon the earth's resources. On the contrary, as persons, all men are equal, and have by nature equal rights of access to the means of subsistence. This common right of property is, it cannot be too often repeated, the *primary* right of property. To enable men to realize in the most convenient way this primary right is the sole purpose of the right and institution of *private* property. The private right is, therefore, only a means to the common right. It is consequently always subordinate to, and limited by, the latter. Private rights of property must always be exercised in such a way that the common right of no individual will be infringed upon. Now, the common right of property includes in the case of every individual at least a decent livelihood. In the case of the laborer this means a living wage. Hence private rights of property must be so interpreted and exercised as to conserve and safeguard this particular common right. When they are not so exercised; when they are interpreted in such a way as to withhold from the laborer his living wage, the true order of rights is violated. The order established by nature and reason is reversed, since an attempt is made to place private and secondary rights above common and primary rights. In this way men are treated as unequal in the field in which nature made them equal. Men are not equal in all respects, nor is it reasonable that they should possess equal amounts of property. But they are equal as persons, and as such have equal rights to a certain reasonable minimum of property—the means of a decent livelihood.[2]

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[1] Cf. Antoine, op. cit., pp. 317, 318, 319.

[2] It is perhaps worth while to point out that the whole doctrine of just price rests ultimately on this equality of rights to the use of the world's goods. The right to equality of gain from an exchange is derived from the equality of men as persons, and their consequent equal rights to the conditions of personal development; namely, the bounty of the earth. Cf. Castelein, op. cit., p. 208.

A word concerning the wage-rights of women and children. From the principles above laid down it is evident that those women who are obliged by circumstances to earn their own living have a right to what is for them a living wage. Since their sole means of living is their wages, the latter should be sufficiently large to enable them to live decently. Women who can live without working for hire, and women who receive a partial support from other sources, form a comparatively small proportion of the whole number of female wage workers. For the reasons advanced above regarding men who have outside sources of income, these similarly-placed women would seem to be entitled to receive a living wage.

Women doing the same work with the same degree of efficiency as men in occupations where men are employed in considerable numbers, have a right not merely to a woman's living wage, but to the same wage as their male fellow workers. Distributive justice would suggest that equally efficient workers should be treated equally in the matter of wages. Besides, if the women receive less pay than the men the latter are gradually driven out of that particular occupation.[1] Unless we are prepared to admit that an increase in the proportion of women workers is desirable, we must acknowledge that the evil seems serious enough to require the remedy of uniform wages for the two sexes in occupations where they are equally efficient.[2]

Children of either sex who have reached the age at which they may, without detriment to themselves or society, become wage-earners, but who cannot perform the work of adults, have a right to a wage sufficient to afford them a decent living. The time of life which may be regarded as normal for children to begin working for wages is another question; for the present it will suffice to note that there is such a normal starting point, and that it is considerably above the age of many children now employed. As the case of the latter, that is, of all working children under the proper age, is abnormal, a discussion of their wage rights would be unprofitable and productive of confusion. Children who have arrived at the normal working age are entitled to a living wage because their wage, generally speaking, is their only source of living.

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[1] Cf. Smart, "Studies in Economics," London, 1895, chapter on Women's Wages.

[2] Cf. Fairbank's "Introduction to Sociology," New York, 1896, p. 148.

A living wage for children means compensation sufficient to enable them to live decently as members of a family. It does not mean the requisites of boarding-house life, for this is not the average condition in which working children are found.

Finally, children of either sex who perform the work of adults ought to receive the wage of adults of the corresponding sex engaged in that work. The reasons for this statement are similar to those given in connection with women who are equally efficient with men.[1]

Thus far I have treated of the right of every wage-worker, man, woman, and child, to a wage sufficient for his reasonable *personal* needs. It is evident that one class of laborers, namely, married men, ought to earn something more than the equivalent of personal subsistence. If they do not their wives and young children will be unprovided for. Again, if the adult male laborer who is not married receives only a personal living wage he is precluded from entering the conjugal state. Hence, it would seem that the wage of an adult male should be large enough to supply not only his own reasonable needs, but also the reasonable needs of his wife and children. Such remuneration is called a family living-wage.

Catholic ethical writers of to-day are practically unanimous in the belief that the adult male laborer ought to receive a wage capable of maintaining decently himself and his family. This much they hold is due him by a title of justice. But, just as in the question of a personal living wage, they arrive at a common conclusion by different roads. According to some of them the laborer's claim to a family wage is not based on strict or commutative justice, but on legal or social justice; or, again on general justice or equity. Others, on the contrary, contend that the question involved is one of commutative justice, as defined by the "social estimate"; while still others start from the concept of man's personal dignity and natural rights.

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[1] In speaking of a living wage, whether for men, women, or children, it is assumed that they are employed, or, at least, are in a condition to be employed, during the whole of the working time of the year. Hence women who are obliged to devote all their attention to household duties for a considerable portion of the year, and children who attend school, are not entitled to a year's living wage. Their right to a decent livelihood, as we shall see, must be secured in another way.

Father Antoine argues thus:[1] In any rightly ordered society, the father is the family's natural provider. Since the laborer's ability to discharge this duty depends upon his wage, social welfare requires that his wage should be adequate for this purpose. If it is not, the inevitable result is social confusion and social injury. Hence the rights and obligations involved in the payment of a family wage lie within the field of social justice. They have no direct concern with strict or commutative justice. That is to say, the laborer's claim to a family wage is not founded on an equality between the things exchanged—the labor and compensation. Such equality does not necessarily exist in a labor-contract stipulating the payment of a family wage; for the labor may not be worth that much. We know that the value of labor is always equivalent to at least a subsistence capable of replacing the energy expended; that it may, indeed, rise above this minimum—but we cannot say that it is necessarily commensurate with a family wage. The family does not figure in the contract directly. Its needs therefore, are not the true measure, either of labor's value, or of the wage equivalent to that value. Hence the laborer's claim to a living wage does not rest upon the principles of commutative justice.

The positive part of this argument is sound. Considerations of social utility and consequently of social justice, do make it imperative that the laborer's wage should be capable of properly maintaining his family. The contention that these are the only considerations that are pertinent is based on a false assumption. This assumption is that the minimum wage should be measured solely by the standard of labor-force. The writer gives as an expression of the relations of justice involved in the wage-contract, this formula: minimum wage=labor-force=personal subsistence. Now, it has already been pointed out that the labor-force of a human being cannot in reason and justice be regarded in this abstract way. Human labor-force must be dealt with as the attribute of a person. The human dignity of the laborer gives rise to certain rights and obligations that must be secured and assumed in the wage contract; and these as we shall see presently, have a direct bearing on the sustenance of his family.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 606.

It is the view of Father Castelein that the laborer's right to a *personal* living wage is based on commutative justice, while his right to a *family* wage is sanctioned merely by general justice or equity.[1] The value of a man's labor, he holds, is always equivalent to the former, but not necessarily to the latter. After the laborer has received this just equivalent, and after the other factors of production have been fairly remunerated, there will remain, in the normal conditions of industry, a certain gross profit which ought to be divided between himself and his employers. Such division is demanded by the principles of general justice, or equity. If this rule is fairly carried out the result will be, generally speaking, proper provision for the laborer's family.

This opinion, it will be observed, is very similar to Father Antoine's, the only difference being that "general" is substituted for "social" justice. It is likewise true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. "General justice or equity," is a very insecure basis for a prerogative so important as the right to a family-wage. That the profits from an industry in excess of fair personal wages for employes and fair returns to employers, ought to be shared by both classes is a valid principle; but that the family's natural right to a livelihood should be wholly dependent upon a contingency of this kind, seems inconsistent with the moral dignity of human beings. The sustenance rights of wives and children, and the family-wage rights of the father, rest upon a broader and more enduring foundation. As a matter of fact, when the writer turns from his perplexing and ineffective discussion of the kind of justice involved, and engages in the formulation of positive arguments, he appeals to more solid principles. In the order established by Divine Providence, he says, a family wage is due the laborer because of his dignity as a man (p. 388).

According to Father Vermeersch, the right to a family living wage is derived from the principles of commutative justice. He maintains that the social estimate, which is the proximate determinant of the just price of labor, regards the labor of the head of the family as worth at least a family living-wage.[2]

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 376 sq.

[2] Op. cit., thesis 29.

Father Vermeersch, conscious that there are objections to this teaching, does not content himself with this particular line of argument. Like Father Castelein, he has recourse to the proof drawn from the order of nature, or of Divine Providence.[2] If the laborer (the adult male, it is always understood) does not get a family-wage his personal independence, or personal dignity, is ignored; the exercise of some of his most essential powers and faculties is hindered; his common right to the use of the world's goods is violated.

The latter argument, which starts from considerations of the laborer's personal dignity, is the only one that rests securely on the fundamental principles of natural justice. It may be stated, thus, as a sort of double syllogism: Every man has a natural right to all the external conditions of normal and reasonable self-development; but one of these conditions is the effective opportunity of marrying; therefore every man has a natural right to the effective opportunity of marrying. Now the effective opportunity of marrying means, in the case of the laborer, a family wage; therefore, the laborer has a natural right to a family wage.

The first proposition, that man has a natural right to all the external conditions of reasonable self-development may be taken for granted. Since rights are at bottom human actions, or opportunities of human action, they are always measured and determined by the rational end of human action. This principle is admitted by all schools of ethical writers. The rational end (earthly) of human action, we saw, is the normal and reasonable development of the individual. The individual is not a mere means to the welfare of the social organism. Nor is any particular individual a mere means to the end of other individuals. All human individuals are ends in themselves. They are specifically equal in the end toward which they move —the normal and reasonable development of a human person— and in the human faculties by whose exercise this end is attained. They are therefore of equal dignity and importance as pursuers of this end. *In se* and in the sight of the Creator, it is as important that one man should have the means of attaining his end as that another should. It follows therefore

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[1] Ibid., pp. 560–563.

that if men are to act reasonably toward one another, if they are to treat one another in accordance with nature and reason, they must recognize this supreme fact that men have equal claims to the conditions of normal, reasonable self-development. They must so act towards one another, and so use the resources of the earth, the common inheritance of all, that all shall have effective access to the minimum amount of freedom and material goods required for this purpose.

Now, among the conditions—to repeat the second proposition—required for normal and reasonable self-development, is the effective opportunity of marrying. Humanly speaking, this is true of all men. And "effective opportunity" means not merely absence of legal restraint, but positive, immediate access to the material goods necessary for the marriage state. It means for the head of the family the possession of the goods that will properly maintain his family. Every man has a natural right to that much, at least, of the world's bounty.

A "natural right," that is, a claim upon his fellows, springing from his nature as man, and conditioned only by his willingness to contribute all that can reasonably be asked of him toward supplying the general needs of society. A right to "at least" the means of maintaining a family, because this much of the earth's resources is indispensable for normal human life.

To live a normal human life is to exercise one's essential faculties, supply one's essential needs, and develop one's personality—all in a reasonable and moral way. Now, among man's faculties, one of the foremost is that of propagating his kind. Among his needs one of the greatest is the longing for the permanent love and companionship of a person of the opposite sex. The marriage state is not, indeed, so imperatively necessary for right living as is security of life and a decent personal livelihood, but it is nevertheless of primary importance. Abstracting from a supernatural vocation, the average man cannot properly develop his personality outside of conjugal life. This does not mean that the man without a religious vocation cannot be celibate and at the same time chaste—only the foul of mind or the cowardly of will assert or believe this infamous doctrine—but it does mean that for the average man, celibacy is not the normal condition. The man whom poverty forces to accept it supports an unnatural and unjustifiable burden, and is deprived of one of the chief means of normal self-development. Outside of the religious life, the man who deliberately embraces celibacy from lofty and generous motives is somewhat exceptional; while the man who does so from any other kind of motives goes through life with, at least, an egotistic and stunted personality. We may conclude then that, in whatever circumstances the average man may find himself or place himself, conjugal life is, humanly speaking, one of his most primary and persistent needs, and an essential condition of right human life.

So much for the positive side of the right to the material goods needed for family life. Under its negative aspect, the right of one man morally restrains all other men from hindering its realization. Consequently when a man is prevented by his fellows, whether through social institutions or individual selfishness, from enjoying this right he is the victim of injustice. The adult man, therefore, who is willing to contribute his reasonable share to the service of society, has a natural right, an unconditional claim upon his fellows, to the means of properly maintaining a family, because this is an essential condition of normal and reasonable self-development.

Now, in the case of the laborer, "the means of properly maintaining his family," can be nothing else than the family-wage. In the existing industrial order there are morally speaking, no other resources within his reach. In his wage, if anywhere, his right to the effective opportunity of marrying must be realized. In his wages it *will* be realized if justice and social order are observed; for it is a claim that is conditioned only by his readiness to contribute his reasonable share to the service of society. This condition he fulfills by his daily labor. To resume the entire argument: the laborer has a natural right to a family wage because this is the only way in which he can exercise his right to the means of maintaining his family, and he has a natural right to the means of maintaining his family because this is an essential condition of normal human life.

It has been objected that according to this reasoning the laborer has also the right to a wage sufficient to support his infirm and needy parents. Since he is in duty bound to care for them, and since he has an unquestioned right to accept that duty, it follows that he has a right to the one means available for this purpose, an increased wage. But there is no true parallel between these cases. In the first place, the right to a family wage is not derived from the duty, as such, of maintaining a family. This duty occasions the right to a family wage, not simply because it is *a* duty, but because it is this particular duty, that is, because it is necessarily involved in the exercise of the right to marry. The right to marry, not the duty of maintaining a family, is therefore the true *cause* of the moral claim to a family wage. Now the right to marry is essentially different from the right to support infirm parents. The former is necessary for normal and reasonable self-development, and thence creates the right to the material goods required for its exercise. The latter responds to no such necessity and carries with it no such resultant claim. In the normal relations of life the laborer is not as a rule called upon to provide for his parents during their later years. Generally speaking, they will have, or should have, themselves taken precautions against such a contingency. To be sure, occasions may arise in which the laborer ought to forego marriage rather than allow his parents to suffer. This course may in the circumstances be the one most consistent with right living. However, this is not according to the normal order of things; it is not what usually happens or ought to happen. It is not therefore to be taken as the standard and cause of natural rights and natural justice.

Some have thought that, since the immediate purpose of the family wage is the maintenance of the laborer's family, it should vary with the size of the family. The conclusion does not follow. For the sake of convenience in reckoning, and for the reason that the laborer's daily or monthly wage is more or less uniform while he remains in full vigor, the cost of bringing up his family should be considered as a unit. The total life needs of the family divided by the total working time of the father during the adult period of his life, gives the family living-wage.

In accordance with this rule, the laborer who is not yet married has a right to the average family wage, and not merely to remuneration for his present needs. The excess is assumed to be put by as a provision for marriage. It is to be reckoned, therefore, as furnishing a part of the total resources needed for family maintenance.

The right to a family living-wage is the prerogative of every adult male laborer, married or unmarried. Rights must be interpreted according to the average, normal conditions of human life, and the average, normal conditions of the laborer is that of the head of the family. If individuals wish to remain unmarried they are privileged to do so, but they should not be compelled to make such a choice.

Moreover, there is a strong social reason for treating the married and the unmarried alike in this respect. If employers were morally free to pay single laborers less than a family wage, they would as far as possible try to engage these only. And they would be strongly tempted to insist upon non-marriage classes in labor contracts. Thus a premium would be placed upon a very undesirable kind of celibacy.

Although the argument for a family living-wage has in the foregoing pages been drawn solely from the natural rights of the individual, there has been no intention to ignore the validity of social considerations. The latter are evident at a glance. Without a family wage, the laborer can neither be a good citizen, contribute his normal share to the increase of population, nor properly rear such children as he does cause to be born. In each of these respects the damage to society is very great. Our chief concern in this place, however, is to define the indestructible rights of the individual. It is in the incontestable facts of man's nature—man's personal dignity and his essential needs—that we have found the right of the laborer to a family wage if he is to live a normal and reasonable human life.

John A. Ryan.

THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN MONUMENT OF HSI-AN FU.[1]

The northern portion of the Chinese Empire is drained by a mighty stream, famous in Chinese annals for its destructive inundations. It is the Hoang-ho, the Yellow River, whose turbid waters are borne for several thousand miles, now with impetuous rush and deafening roar, now in silent majestic flood, till they are finally poured into the great ocean on the east, discoloring for miles around its natural shade of blue, and suggesting the name by which it is known to navigators, the Yellow Sea. If we follow this giant stream from its mouth towards its source, we shall find ourselves pursuing a westerly direction for many hundred miles, through fertile, well cultivated and densely inhabited plains, when the river, taking us into the hill-country, bends abruptly at right angles and leads us due north beyond the Great Wall. Along this portion of the river on the western side extends the province of Shen-hsi, running north to the Great Wall and terminated on the south by a range of hills known as the Pe-ling Mountains.

Like other provinces of China, Shen-hsi is divided into a number of departments called *fus*. Of these the most important is the one in the southern extremity, known as Hsi-an Fu. Its chief city, also called Hsi-an, is situated on a small river that flows from the west along the northern base of the Pe-ling range and empties into the Hoang-ho at the very spot where it makes the abrupt bend of which I have just spoken.

Hsi-an,[2] or as it was formally called, Ch'ang-an, was in ancient times the foremost city of the Chinese Empire. Here reigned in Oriental splendor the emperors of the first Han dynasty during the two centuries preceding the birth of Christ. In the T'ang dynasty, which lasted from 618 to 906 A. D., it far outshone in magnificence and importance the rival capital in the east, Pekin. When Marco Polo saw it in the thirteenth century it was still in a flourishing condition. In his book of travels he describes it as follows: "It is a great and fine city and the capital of the kingdom of Kenjan-fu (Hsi-an Fu), which in old times was a noble, rich and powerful realm and had many great and puissant kings. . . . It is a city of great trade and industry. They have a great abundance of silk, from which they weave cloths of silk and gold of divers kinds."[1]

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[1] Lecture delivered before the Catholic University, February 12, 1902.

[2] To the Syrians and Arabs of the Middle Ages it was known as Kumdan.

Of late, Hsi-an Fu has again come into prominence as the place of retreat in which the royal court took refuge when Pekin opened its gates to the invading European forces.

But what invests this oriental city with a peculiar interest for us is the ancient Christian monument which was discovered there nearly three centuries ago, and which has been carefully preserved by the authorities of the city down to the present day.

In the year 1623, some workmen were engaged in digging a trench beyond the city walls, when they unearthed a large stone slab. Its symmetrical form excited their curiosity, and having removed the dirt that adhered to it, they found on its smooth face a long inscription in Chinese characters, supplemented with others that to them were utterly strange and meaningless. The Chinese inscription told of the introduction of a new and excellent religion from the distant West, in the reign of T'ai Tsung (A. D. 627–649) and of its rapid spread under succeeding monarchs down to the reign of Chien Chung (A. D. 780–783), when the monument was inscribed and erected.

The discovery of this monument naturally aroused a great deal of interest. The governor took it in charge, and having assured himself of its genuineness, had it placed in a Buddhist temple near by for safe keeping. Thither scholars were allowed to come and study the monument to their heart's content.

The only Europeans then in China were Catholic missionaries. They were the worthy successors of the intrepid pioneers that Pope Nicholas IV had sent in the thirteenth century to the court of Kublai Khan. But at this period the royal favor under which the Cross of Christ had been steadily making conquests for over three centuries, had been withdrawn.

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[1] "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," translated by Col. H. Yule. London, 1875, Vol. II, p. 18.

Religious persecution had set in. The Jesuit missionaries had to flee to obscure country places and evangelize in secret, at the peril of their lives, at the very time that their heroic confrères in the New World, Brebeuf and Lallemant and Masse, were facing the severest of hardships to implant in the stony hearts of the American Indians the knowledge and the love of Christ.

Among the Jesuits hiding from the Chinese persecutors was Alvarez Semedo, procurator of the provinces of China and Japan. A copy of the newly discovered inscription was sent to him by a Christian mandarin. In his history of China, he tells of the great joy with which it was received by himself and his fellow-missionaries. They lost no time in having copies of it distributed through the empire, for they knew that the cause of Christianity would be promoted by a general knowledge of its contents.

In 1628 Semedo went to Hsi-an Fu and had the satisfaction of inspecting the monument. He could not make out what the strange characters were that accompanied the Chinese text, but afterwards learned from a fellow-missionary that they were a specimen of Syriac writing.

The Chinese inscription was turned into Portuguese and sent to Lisbon. An Italian translation was made in 1631. The distinguished Jesuit, Fr. Kircher, brought out an improved version in his "Prodromus Coptus," published at Rome in 1636. But the copy which he made use of reproduced very imperfectly the Syriac text, so that this part of his work was necessarily incomplete. Accordingly, he secured through a Chinese convert a manuscript of the whole text, Syriac as well as Chinese, and in 1667 published it, with two Latin versions, one literal, the other free, in his "China Illustrata."

Much light was thrown on obscure portions of the inscription by the eminent oriental scholar and Maronite priest, J. S. Assemani. In the year 1719–1728, he published at Rome his monumental work "Bibliotheca Orientalis," in which he reviewed the chief Syriac documents belonging to the churches of Asia and pointed out in Nestorian annals the verification of statements and illusions made in the inscription of Hsi-an Fu.

Nevertheless, outside of Catholic circles the genuineness of the monument was stoutly denied. La Croze, Voltaire, Bishop Horne and others, declared it a Jesuit fabrication. Even in the early part of the last century, there were not wanting scholars who viewed it with suspicion. But their objections were not allowed to go unanswered. The foremost scholars of Chinese antiquities—Abel Rémusat, Stanislaus Julien, Georges Pauthier—turned their talents to a vindication of its authenticity. Since the publication of Pauthier's erudite work "De l'authenticité de l'inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan Fou," in 1857, the monument had been accorded a place of honor among the genuine relics of the past.

The interest awakened by the labors of these and other prominent writers, in behalf of the genuineness of the inscription led to the publication of new translations. Of these the most important were the English version by A. Wylie, which appeared in the "Journal of the American Oriental Society" in 1856, and the two French versions, the one by the Abbé Huc, incorporated in the well-known work, "Christianity in China, Tartary and Tibet," which he brought out in 1857, the other by George Pauthier, published the year after under the title "L'inscription syro-chinoise de Si-ngan Fou."

Since Pauthier's time, the Chinese and Syriac texts have been more carefully reproduced by means of photographs and "squeezes," that is impressions made with moist paper pulp, which being allowed to harden while in place, faithfully brings out in relief all the incisions of the surface. On the basis of these improved copies, two notable translations have been made in recent years. One is the work of the distinguished scholar of Chinese, Professor James Legge, entitled, "The Nestorian Monument of Hsi-an Fu," London, 1888. The other is the joint work of two Belgian priests, Professor Lamy of Louvain, who has translated and elucidated the Syriac text, and Abbé Gueluy, formerly a Chinese missionary, who has treated in like manner the Chinese portion of the inscription. The work is entitled, "Le Monument Chrétien de Si-ngan Fou," Bruxelles, 1897. It is mainly from these two publications that the matter of this essay has been drawn.

The stone slab which contains the inscription is about seven and a half feet high, three feet wide, and nearly a foot thick.

Its top, now badly damaged, was once round after the fashion of many tombstones. The inscription takes up the middle portion of the slab, leaving a wide margin on either side. At the top is incised a Maltese cross resting on an ornamental scroll, and directly beneath, in three columns are nine large Chinese characters forming the superscription and signifying: "Stone Monument Commemorating the Spread of the Illustrious Religion of the West in the Middle Kingdom."[1]

Then follows the main body of the inscription in Chinese characters, beautifully and clearly incised, 1787 in number. Below the Chinese text, in vertical columns, are nineteen lines of Syriac in the so-called Estrangelo letters, a large bold character of writing used in ancient times down to the tenth century. In style, the letters of the inscription are similar to those found in Syriac manuscripts of the eighth century. In addition to these, there is a single line of Syriac running vertically along either side of the inscription. Two lists of names in Syriac are also to be read, cut on the margins of the slab.

The character of the contents of the inscription is fairly well indicated by the nine Chinese ideograms forming the subscription: "Stone Monument Commemorating the Spread of the Illustrious Religion of the West in the Middle Kingdom."

The contents fall naturally into three sections. The first section is dogmatic and sets forth the nature of the new religion. The second is historic, narrating the manner in which it was introduced from the West into China in the reign of T'ai Tsung and the influence which he and his successors, with but one exception, exerted in favor of its propagation. The third section is a résumé in verse of what has gone before.

A cursory glance over the dogmatic section is enough to convince the reader that it is the Christian religion that is described. It tells of the spiritual incomprehensible being, Aloha, existing from all eternity, who created the heaven and the earth, and all things visible and who, having made man and endowed him with a nature well balanced, set him over created things to be their lord and master. The inscription next refers to the fall of man through Satan's wiles whence arose a multitude of false religions, confusing men's minds and causing them to stray from the path of truth and virtue. It then goes on to tell how the Messiah, one of the Blessed Trinity, veiled His divine majesty, and through the power of the Holy Spirit, was born of a woman of royal lineage in the land of the West, and how the Persians, following His star, came to Him and did Him homage. It is through the religion which He founded that man has been restored to life and truth, and that the empire of darkness has been overthrown. Its doctrines are contained in twenty-seven books.[1] By its baptism of water and the Holy Spirit, the soul is cleansed of its defilement and restored to perfect purity. Its sign is the cross, the effulgence of which extending to the four quarters of the horizon, symbolizes the universal range of its spiritual power. It refrains from the practice of domestic slavery, and thereby maintains the dignity of man through an equal esteem of rich and poor. It prescribes fasting with a view to wisdom and perfection. The precept by which it sets most store is that of self-control. Its seven canonical prayers are of great benefit to the living and the dead. Its bloodless sacrifice, offered weekly, purifies and renews the soul.

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[1] That is, China, which the Chinese geographies always put in the middle of the inhabited world.

This admirable religion, bringing the soul into constant communication with the great Spirit, is not easy to name. By its intrinsic excellence, and its admirable laws of conduct it stands forth as a shining light, and hence may be called the Illustrious Religion.

Such in brief is the dogmatic portion of the inscription. It is plain that the religion here described is a form of Christianity known to the ancient Syrians. The name given to the supreme Creator is Aloha, the Syriac name of God, corresponding to the Hebrew word, Elohim.

As far as the doctrinal exposition goes, it might apply to the Catholic religion. The creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the redemption, the New Testament and Scriptures, baptism, the sign of the cross, fasting, the canonical office, prayer for the dead, the sacrifice of the Mass—all these are characteristic of Catholic belief and worship. We look in vain for any mark specific enough to betray an heretical tendency.

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[1] 27=Oriental Canon of the New Testament books.

It is only from the historic portion of the inscription that we recognize the authors to have been Nestorians.[1]

The chief value of the inscription lies in the historic part of the Chinese text and its Syriac supplement.

We read on the monument that the religion just described was introduced into China in the reign of the Emperor T'ai Tsung. In the ninth year of his reign, that is 635 A. D., a venerable priest Olopun, undaunted by the hardships and perils of the tedious journey, came from the distant land of Ta Ts'in, bringing with him the sacred Scriptures. By Ta Ts'in the Chinese understood the inhabited country in the far west beyond the Tibet. It is in the land of Ta Ts'in that the birth of the Messiah, mentioned in the dogmatic portion, is placed. How vague was the conception of it in the minds of the early Chinese, appears from the description of Ta Ts'in, drawn from Chinese sources and given a little further on in this very inscription. "The Kingdom of Ta Ts'in extends southward to the sea of Coral, on the north it runs up to the Mountains of Precious Stones. On the west it borders on the flowery city of the Solitary Country. On the east it stretches out to the river of Sluggish Water in the Land of Winds. The country exports asbestos cloth, the exhilarating balsam (incense), the night-shining gems and the moon-colored pearls. The manners of the people are not vitiated with habits of plunder and theft. They live in happiness and peace. The only religion recognized is the Illustrious Religion. None but men of virtue are in authority. The country is of vast extent. Perfect order reigns everywhere.

Olopun was kindly received at the royal court in Hsi-an.[2] The sacred writings he brought with him were translated. Three years later the emperor issued the following proclamation:

"Religious systems have not all the same name. Sages have not all the same character. Every country has its appropriate doctrines. The reverend Olopun of the distant kingdom of Ta Ts'in has brought his scriptures and images from afar and has presented them at our sovereign court. A careful examination has shown that this religion is in nature and scope admirable, heavenly and mysterious. Its origin is enough to convince one that it has for its aim the perfection of life. . . . We ordain that there be established in our capital, in the Ward of Virtue and Peace a Monastery of Ta Ts'in accommodating twenty-one monks."

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[1] An excessive zeal has led a few Catholic writers into the glaring error of attributing this monument to the agency of early Catholic missionaries. Such are Dabry de Tiersant, "Monument Catholique de Si-ngan Fou," Paris, 1878; Père Gaillard, "Croix et Swastika," Shanghai, 1893.

[2] In the inscription the city is called by its ancient name Ch'ang-an.

Kao Tsung, the son and successor of T'ai Tsung, showed himself an equally liberal patron of the new religion. Under his protection Christian churches were erected in all the ten provinces of the empire. It was a period of prosperity for both religion and state.

But not long after his death there came a reverse. The Buddhists in one part of the empire and the Confucianists in another persecuted the Christian converts. The author of the inscription likens the religion (of Ta Ts'in) to a broken net which was saved from ruin and repaired by the zealous efforts of a few persons of influence.

The advent of Hsüan Tsung to the throne in 714 ushered in again a period of prosperous growth. He gave orders to his five brothers, ruling princes, to provide for the restoration of the churches and the rebuilding of the altars. Likenesses of the emperor and his four illustrious predecessors were set up in the original monastery, to which were added one hundred pieces of silk for purposes of decoration.

In the reign of this same monarch, seventeen priests assembled in the royal palace to perform a "service of merit." In honor of this event memorial tablets were placed on the wall of the monastery. To use the language of the inscription as interpreted by Professor Legge: "The precious lines (of the tablets) were like the shining feathers of the kingfisher and splendid as the ruby lines of the clouds about the sun. The tablets of wisdom filled each empty space, and their radiance rose up as if to provoke the sun. The gifts of favor were immense as the vast height of the southern hill; and the flood of rich benevolence like the depth of the eastern sea."[1]

In these works of benevolence toward the Illustrious Religion of the West, Hsüan Tsung had worthy imitators in his three successors Su Tsung (756–762), T'ai Tsung (763–779) and Chien Chung (780–783) in whose reign the monument was erected. Owing to the bounty and protection of I-tse, the chief minister of Chien Chung, the monasteries were thoroughly equipped and embellished so that they rivalled the pheasant in beauty. The hungry were fed. The cold were clothed. The sick were treated and restored to health. The dead were fittingly buried. Never had the most charitable of the Buddhists heard of such beneficence.

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[1] Legge, op. cit., p. 19.

Of the brave missionaries who, during this period seem to have toiled with unflagging zeal in behalf of the Christian faith they held so dear, the monument is provokingly silent. Even the courageous pioneer is mentioned without a qualifying phrase, without a word as to his origin or personal history; his name alone is given in Chinese form, Olopun[1] and forthwith he sinks back into the obscurity from which he emerged. Of those who carried on his work to larger and more fruitful results not even the names are given. Fortunately, the inscription contains a list of the missionaries who were in active service in China at the time the monument was erected. From this and from the words indicating the date of the monument we are able to draw some meager but interesting details concerning the origin and faith of these early missionaries.

The date is indicated both in Chinese and in Syriac. The Chinese characters read: "Erected in the second year of (the emperor) Chien Chung, of the great T'ang (dynasty) . . . in the month Tai-tsu, on the seventh day, the day of celebration of the Great Hosannas, at which time the head of the Religion was the monk Nang-Shu, having charge of the Illustrious Church of the Eastern Countries."

According to Chinese historians the emperor Chien Chung began his reign in the year 780. His second year would thus correspond with the year 781. The month Tai-tsu is the month of spring, coinciding with the latter part of March and the first part of April. "The day of the Celebration of the Grand Hosannas" is the expression used by Nestorians to designate Palm Sunday. In the year 781 Palm Sunday fell on the eighth day of April.

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[1] The Chinese form, possibly, of the Syriac name, Yabh-Aloha (God-given).

With this indication of the Chinese, that of the Syriac perfectly agrees. The Syriac text reads: "In the year 1092 of the Greeks, Mar Izdbuzid, priest and chorepiscopus of the royal city of Kumdan,[1] son of blessed Milis, a priest of Balkh, a city in Turkestan, has set up this stone tablet whereon are engraved the acts of our Savior, and the preaching of our fathers, before the Chinese king."

The Syrians like the Greeks, used to reckon their years from the era of the Seleucidæ, which began October 1, 312 B. C. Hence the year 1092 given in the Syriac text corresponds to the twelve months beginning October 1, 780, and ending September 30, 781.

With this date the style of the Syriac writing is in perfect accord. We have already remarked that the Syriac text of the inscription is in the ancient form of writing known as the Estrangelo, and that in style it is strikingly similar to the letters found in Syriac manuscripts of the eighth century.

This evidence alone, together with the use in the inscription of the Nestorian designation of Palm Sunday, *the day of the Great Hosannas,* would justify us in concluding that the monument is a genuine product of the eighth century and was set up by Nestorian missionaries.

But our view has still more striking evidence to confirm it. In the Syriac text there is a line reading thus: "In the days of the father of fathers, Anan-Jesus, Catholicos-patriarch." This plainly corresponds with the Chinese text already quoted, which tells that at the time the monument was erected, the supreme head of the Illustrious Religion was the monk, Nang-Shu. Nang Shu is the Chinese for Anan-Jesus.

Who then was the Anan-Jesus, styled Catholicos-patriarch, whom these missionaries in China acknowledged as their supreme religious guide and ruler?

For the satisfactory answer to this question we are indebted chiefly to the oriental scholar already mentioned, J. S. Assemani. In the third volume of his "Bibliotheca Orientalis" he showed that the spiritual ruler referred to in the inscription of Hsi-an Fu could be none other than the Nestorian patriarch Anan-Jesus II., who was promoted to the chief Nestorian see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and thus made the head of the Nestorian Church only a few years before the monument was erected. The title of Catholicos-patriarch which is given to him in the inscription is the distinctive and peculiar title of the head of the Nestorian Church.[1] It was assumed in the sixth century when the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, having become the chief center of Nestorianism, broke away from its allegiance to the patriarch of Antioch. Then the primate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon who, in virtue of his universal jurisdiction over the churches of Persia and Assyria, had hitherto been honored with the peculiar titles of Catholicos, arrogated to himself the still higher title of patriarch which belonged to the bishop of Antioch. And so, henceforth, the Nestorian primate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon styled himself Catholicos-patriarch. The Nestorian synod held under Sabar-Jesus in 596 opens with the following words: "Under the wise government of the father of fathers . . . Sabar-Jesus, Catholicos-patriarch." It is the identical language applied to Anan-Jesus in the inscription under review. In the rite of ordination contained in the Nestorian pontifical, the title of Catholicos-patriarch is still conferred on the bishop who is made primate of the Nestorian Church.

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[1] *I. e.,* Hsi-an.

The monument thus bears many marks of authenticity. It purports to have been erected in 781 by missionaries who owned allegiance to Anan-Jesus, Catholicos-patriarch. History bears witness to the existence at that time of a certain Anan-Jesus who was primate of the Nestorian Church. The expressions *Catholicos-patriarch* and the *day of the Great Hosannas* are peculiar to the Nestorians. Again, the very style of the Syriac letters employed in the inscription is the one characteristic of the eighth century manuscripts. There is every reason then to believe that the monument was erected in the year 781, as indicated in the inscription, and that the missionaries whose labors it commemorates were Nestorians.

Here we may pause for a moment to note the chief objection put forward by skeptics against the authenticity of the monument. It is based on the very point which tells most strongly in favor of the veracity of the inscription, namely the patriarchate of Anan-Jesus during the few years preceding the erection of the monument.

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[1] This point brought out by Assemani is still further illustrated by Professor Lamy. Cf. "Monument Chrétien de Si-ngan Fou," pp. 90–94.

As we have already seen, both the Chinese and the Syriac texts declare that at the time the monument was set up, in 781, Anan-Jesus was exercising spiritual authority as head of the religious system to which the authors of the inscription belonged. Assemani, following conscientiously the sources at his command, made out that Anan-Jesus occupied the primatial see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon from 774 to 778 and that consequently he died three years before the date of the inscription.

The critics were not slow to seize upon this apparent discrepancy and to declare it a convincing proof that the monument was a forgery. It is incredible, they argued, that after the lapse of three years, missionaries even in China could have failed to learn of so important an event as the death of their patriarch.

It needs, however, but a moment's reflection to see that the difficulty is greatly exaggerated. Even granting the accuracy of Assemani's judgment that Anan-Jesus died in 778, why should we find it so hard to believe that even three years afterward the news had not yet reached the ears of the Nestorian missionaries in distant China. The immense difficulties and perils of the journey, in which whole caravans not infrequently perished, would easily explain how for long intervals of time intercourse between the Church in Syria and its distant offshoot in China could be suspended.

Thus the discrepancy of three years between the date of the monument and the time of Anan-Jesus' death, as given by Assemani, does not offer any reasonable ground for questioning the veracity of the inscription. But there is reason to believe that the death of Anan-Jesus occurred two years later than the date ordinarily assigned. Professor Lamy[1] has shown from four documents recently brought to light, notably the "Annals of the Metropolitans of Nisibis," written by the painstaking historian Elias of Nisibis, that in all probability, Anan-Jesus held the primacy till 780, not 778 as Assemani and others had reckoned. The successor of Anan-Jesus was Timothy, who took possession of the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon

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[1] Op. cit., p. 96.

April 11, 780. That one year later the Nestorians in distant China should still be ignorant of the change is not in the least extraordinary.

Of the seventy odd missionaries whose names are recorded on the monument, we find one designated as bishop, three as chorepiscopi, and twenty-five others as priests.

In the ancient church the chorepiscopus was a priest charged with functions corresponding to those of the vicar-general and rural dean of modern times. His chief duty was to make visitations of the remote country parishes of the diocese. Hence, the name *chor*episcopus or country bishop. It was the law that only a single chorepiscopus could be attached to a diocesan see. And so the enumeration on the monument of three chorepiscopi points to the existence in China at that time of several dioceses. This conclusion is borne out by the testimony of Ebed-Jesus, the learned Syrian antiquarian, that in the patriarchate of Saliba-Zacha, who was head of the Nestorian Church from 714 to 728—that is, more than half a century before the monument was set up—China was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see.[1]

The inscription contains another detail which suggests the locality of the far West from which these missionaries came. It is the statement that the chorepiscopus, Izdbuzid was a native of Balkh, in Turkestan. Balkh is the modern representative of the ancient capital of Bactria, situated on the river Oxus in the eastern extremity of Khorasan. At the time the monument was erected, Bakh was an important center of Christian activity and the seat of a bishop. It was one of the great commercial cities of Khorasan having from time immemorial kept up trade relations with the remote East. The carriers of commerce seem to have been chiefly men of Semitic stock, Syrians, Chaldeans, Arabs and Jews. Once or twice a year they would fit out great caravans freighted with the incense and spices and tapestries of Western Asia, and exchange them in distant China for silks, porcelain, tea and other objects of value.

The route from Balkh over-land to China was the very one which Marco Polo traversed in the thirteenth century and of which he gives so interesting an account in his famous book of travels. It led the traveller through the wild mountain scenery of Badakshan; along the valley of the upper Oxus; over the lofty plateau of Pamir; through Kashgar, famous for its beautiful gardens, vineyards and fields of cotton; Yarkand, also a great center of cotton cultivation; Khotan, rich in wines, fruits and the mineral called jade, which the Chinese prize so highly; across the dread desert of Gobi, that the fancy of travellers peopled with malignant goblins and where the course of transit, which lasted four long weeks, was marked by the bleached bones of men and beasts; thence through the vast territory of the Tanguts, nomad Mongol tribes, to the western province of China known as Kan-suh.[1]

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[1] Cf. Lamy et Gueluy, op. cit., p. 105.

Formidable were the hardships and perils of this journey, which under the most favorable conditions consumed a period of at least six months. Yet to the restless natives of Syria, Palestine and Arabia it offered powerful attractions on account of the great profits that lay in the successful exchange of merchandise. The great Arab historian, Masudi, whose life-time covers the first half of the tenth century, tells of having met in Balkh an old man who had made a number of overland journeys to China.

Missionary enterprise has ever followed, where it has not preceded, the course of trade. We recall the words of St. Francis Xavier when the thought of evangelizing Malacca and Japan took possession of his soul. "If aromatic groves and mines of gold were the prize, there would not be wanting men ready to face any danger. Should missionaries yield to merchants in courage?" And so it is quite natural that the project of Christianizing China should have suggested itself to the priests and monks who were constant witnesses of the caravans fitted out in Balkh for distant China for purposes of material gain.

Nor were they the only natives of the distant West to introduce into China a few form of worship. They found spirited rivals in the Mohammedan Arabs who, having conquered the Persian empire at the very time that Olopun was laying the foundation of his Christian mission, arrived that same century in Hsi-an Fu and sought to propagate the teachings of Mohammed.

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[1] The Nestorian monk Jabalaha, afterwards patriarch of Seleucia (1281–1317) made the journey from Pekin to Tuz in Khorasan by this same route. His interesting narrative has been made accessible to readers of French by J. B. Chabot, "Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III, patriarche des Nestoriens et du moine Rabban auma," Paris, 1895.

Of much earlier date still seems to have been the coming of Jews into China. In the "Lettres Edifiantes" of the seventeenth century is an interesting account of a Jewish synagogue which the early Jesuit missionaries of China found existing in the city of Kai-fung, the sole surviving settlement of several that had formerly existed in China, and which a venerable tradition of theirs traced back to a Jewish immigration in the first century in the reign of Ming Ti.[1]

Be this as it may, in the century following that which saw the erection of the monument of Hsi-an Fu, we find that Jews, as well as Moslem Arabs and Christian Chaldeans, formed part of the foreign population of China.

The Arabian historian Abu-Zeyd, describing the voyages to India and China made by Arabs and Persians in the ninth century, tells how, in the year 878 the city of Kan-fu near Hang-chau was sacked by a rebel army and 120,000 Mussulmans, Jews, Persians and Christians were put to the sword.[2]

The spread of Nestorianism over Asia to the remote districts of China offers a very easy and natural explanation of a phenomenon which some hostile writers have vainly sought to turn to the disadvantage of the Catholic Church. It is the striking resemblance in certain points of ritual and discipline that Tibetan Buddhism, generally known as Lamaism, offers to Catholic Christianity. The Abbé Huc, after witnessing Tibetan ceremonies, made note of those features that reminded him most strongly of Catholic customs. "The cross," he says, in his captivating book of travels, "the miter, the dalmatic, the cope which the Grand Lamas wear on their journeys or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple, the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer suspended from five chains, and which one can open or close at pleasure, the benedictions given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, the veneration of saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves."[1]

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[1] Cf. W. I. Kipp, "Historic Scenes from the Old Jesuit Missions," New York, 1875, Ch. I.

[2] Reinaud, "Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine" dans le IX^e siècle, Paris, 1845, I, p. 234. It was by the sea-route around India and Malacca, that merchants of the West were wont to reach these cities on the coast of China.

To account for this resemblance not a few writers have suggested that Lamaism is the source from which much of Catholic ritual and discipline has been drawn. How utterly superficial and ridiculous this explanation is may be readily seen when we consider that these points of Catholic ritual go back, with but one exception, to the earliest ages of Christianity, and are the common possession of the Oriental Churches as well, whereas Lamaism did not take form till long after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the seventh century.[2] The wide diffusion of Nestorianism over central and eastern Asia at a much earlier period is sufficient to account for the liturgical resemblances which Lamaism offers to the traditional forms of Christianity.

Of the subsequent history of Nestorianism in China not much is known. It must have suffered severe reverses in the reign of Wu Tsung, who, in the interest of Taoism, issued a decree in the year 845 ordering the suppression of Buddhism and all other foreign religions. After proclaiming that the monasteries and temples of Buddhists are to be razed to the ground, and their statues and bells melted and coined into money, the edict goes on to read: "As to the religions of foreign nations, let the men who teach them, both those of Ta Ts'in and those of Mu-hu-pi, in number more than three thousand persons, be required to resume the ways of ordinary life and let their unsubstantial talkings be no longer heard."[3]

This edict, however, did not effect the extermination of the Nestorian Church in the Chinese Empire. There is extant a decree of the Nestorian patriarch Theodosius, who held the primacy from 852 to 868, that owing to the journeys, the metropolitans of China, India and Sarmacand need communicate with the patriarchal see but once every six years.[1]

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[1] M. Huc, "Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China," Chicago, 1898, II, p. 44.

[2] W. W. Rockhill, in his "Life of Buddha," p. 221, gives evidence that in the middle of the eighth century, Buddhism was still an insignificant factor in the religious life of Tibet. Lamaism in its present form dates from the thirteenth century.

[3] J. Legge, op. cit., p. 57.

In a Chinese work entitled "Description of Hsi-an Fu" composed in the year 1060, there is a reference to the Christian temple of Olopun, showing that it was then still in existence. "In the Street of Justice may be seen the temple of Po-Sse. It was built in the twelfth year of the period of Cheng Kuan (638) by order of the emperor T'ai Tsung in favor of O-lo-Sse (Olopun) a religious stranger from the kingdom of Ta-Ts'in."[2]

The last testimony to the existence of Nestorian missions in China comes from Jabalaha, Nestorian patriarch from 1281 to 1317. In his history he refers to the custom in vogue in his day of sending at stated intervals a visitor-general to the Churches of China.[3]

Some time within the next two centuries the Nestorian missions in China became extinct. Since then no attempt has been made to revive them.

In reviewing the former missionary activity of the Nestorians, we wonder why the Oriental Orthodox Church did not win the glory of extending to distant China the knowledge and love of Christ, but allowed itself, instead, to be eclipsed by the heresy it had so recently condemned. In asking ourselves this question, we are not doing justice to the early orthodox Church. Expansive growth was eminently characteristic of the Eastern Syriac Church before the blight of Nestorianism fastened upon it. It had made its way into India, to the Punjab and the coast of Malabar. It had spread over the greater part of Khorasan. Herat, Merv, Farsistan, Tuz and Sistan were thriving episcopal sees. Balkh, too, was fast rising to importance as a center of Christian activity when the seductive teaching of Nestorius about the personality of the Incarnate Word rent the Syrian Church in twain. His cause was espoused by the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesophon, who as Catholicos exercised jurisdiction over the churches of Persia, India and other remote countries to the east. When he renounced all further allegiance to the orthodox patriarch of Antioch, all the suffragan sees slavishly followed in his train. His action partook more of the nature of a schism than a heresy and was accomplished with very little internal disturbance. The missionary zeal which in orthodox days had been so generously put forth, was likewise kept in active exercise under the new order of things. The Nestorian missions to the distant regions of Asia were carried on quite in the spirit and manner of the once orthodox Church of the far East. Had Nestorianism never taken form, the cross of Christ would have been planted in due season on Chinese soil. With the sympathy and support of Byzantine Catholicism, it would probably have made more brilliant and lasting conquests than resulted from Nestorian activity alone.

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[1] Lamy et Gueluy, op. cit., p. 106.

[2] M. Huc, op. cit., I, p. 70. The Chinese words for "The Street of Justice" are I-Ning, the same used by T'ai Tsung in the decree quoted on the monument and translated above, "The Ward of Virtue and Peace."

[3] Chabot, op. cit., p. 35.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

ATOMS AND IONS, A CENTURY OF CHEMICAL THEORY.

Exactly one hundred years have elapsed since John Dalton began those speculations and experiments which gave to chemistry its first connected, enduring theory.

Man's earliest observations must necessarily have included the ever-changing aspect of things about him. The phenomena of growth and decay, the dyes which colored his garments, the essences and perfumes which he extracted from plants, the production of metals from minerals, the leavening of bread and the discovery that the juices of some fruits, exposed to the air, acquired the property of "making glad the heart" were all the object of his notice.

All the great industries which effect the transformation of matter, since that early day of which Pliny tells us, when some Phœnician merchants discovered that the heat of their campfires had melted together the blocks of soda, which supported their cooking utensils, and the sand beneath so as to form the substance which we now call glass, united in bringing together a vast heap of facts bearing upon material change. To these empirical and technical processes of the crude practice of early handicraft must be added the accumulation of alchemical notions acquired during the ages of search for the philosopher's stone and an elixir of life. No common, objective theory pervaded this mingled mass of fact and fancy, no general, well-defined principle differentiated it into co-related groups; it was indeed a *rudis indigestaque moles.*

During the last century of this period of chaos the doctrine of phlogiston prevailed as an attempt to marshall this vast array of manifold expressions of material changes into some sort of order. This theory essayed to explain the facts of combustion, and was based on the alterations which bodies undergo when subjected to heat.

All combustible bodies were compounds of at least two constituents, one of which escaped when a body burned or was heated. This volatible principle was called phlogiston.[1] Incombustible bodies were such because they had been deprived of their phlogiston.

This idea, erroneous though it was, contributed greatly to the development of chemistry, for it gave to investigators a common viewpoint from which to observe chemical changes, and it formed a bond which connected together a large number of analogous phenomena. Under its influence chemical work entered more closely into touch with the true character of the science, and the discovery of the composition of bodies and the building up of these from their components were carried on with an ever-increasing activity, which culminated in producing a correct idea of the inspiration which gave it birth.

Quantitative relations between the elements and constituents of compounds were recognized, the balance became a necessary piece of laboratory apparatus, chemical compounds were shown to be composed of definite, fixed proportions of elements and the doctrine of phlogiston was discredited.

This is, in brief, what little there was of chemical theory at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when John Dalton began his chemical investigations. This philosopher was a private tutor in Manchester, giving lessons in mathematics and natural philosophy.

The study of nature was his predominant inclination. From his earliest youth he was an observer and a teacher, constantly inquiring into the various phenomena of the world about him and fond of imparting his impressions to others.

Naturally he was a close student of the works of the great Newton, and was an ardent adherent to the corpuscular theories of the latter. Like Newton, he believed in the atomic structure of matter, the idea that had been expressed ages before by Greek and Roman philosophers and the sages of Egypt and India, which considered matter as an aggregation of minute, indivisible, indestructible particles known as atoms. Dalton gave much of his time to the observation of meteorological phenomena and it was to his efforts to understand how the atmosphere, composed of gases and watery vapor of different weights, could present a homogeneous mixture throughout,

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[1] φλογιστος, burned.

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that we owe the application of the atomic theory to chemistry. These attempts to reconcile the homogeneous character of the atmosphere with its constituents have only recently been brought to light by the discovery in Manchester of a number of Dalton's note books. Many pages of these are filled with graphic schemes, which show atoms of oxygen, nitrogen and watery vapor joined in the various combinations then known, but without satisfactory results, until Dalton concluded that the particles of the atmosphere are not chemically combined; that the sizes of the atoms must be different, and these relative sizes must be determined.

In his studies of the combinations of nitrogen and oxygen, early in 1803, Dalton had found that oxygen and nitrogen unite to form compounds which contain their constituents in very simple proportions: in one case one part of nitrogen to one of oxygen, in the other case two parts of nitrogen to one of oxygen.

These were two definite, easily distinguishable substances. Why was it that the nitrogen combined with the oxygen in just these two, and no intermediate proportions? Why was it that the amount of nitrogen in the second substance increased by a single leap to double the quantity contained in the first? Because all bodies are made up of small indivisible particles, and chemical combination consists in the approximation of these particles. Furthermore when the elementary bodies combine the simplest form of the compound is that produced by the union of one atom of each, and if a second combination takes place it is due to the addition of another atom of one of the combining bodies.

These simple statements of John Dalton formed the first quantitative expression of the constitution of bodies, and the after-results amply justified the confidence with which their author propounded them.

A number of substances are analyzed and the relative weights of their constituents determined. The lightest of these, hydrogen, was taken as unity, the other combining weights were compared with it, and the results published in 1803 in Dalton's first "Table of the Relative Weights of the Ultimate Particles of Gaseous and other Bodies."

The analytical methods of these early days were crude and beset with many sources of error, and these rude approximations of Dalton show great discrepancies with the figures which hold at the present time. They were sufficient, however, to establish a principle about which chemical science began to crystallize with wonderful rapidity, growing more and more complete as discovery after discovery drew light from, and perfected it. The chemists of all lands welcomed the new ideas and developed them. In France, Gay Lussac showed that under like conditions of temperature and pressure gases combine in simple proportions to form other compounds. For example, one volume of oxygen combines with two volumes of hydrogen to form two volumes of water vapor, and one volume of hydrogen unites with one volume of chlorine to form two volumes of hydrochloric acid. As Dr. Thomson expressed it, writing to Dalton in 1809, "all unite in equal bulks of one to one of another, or two bulks of one to one of another, or three bulks of one to one of another." The relation of this law of volumes to Dalton's combining weights was expressed in the further deduction from Gay Lussac's researches that the weights of equal volumes of both simple and compound gases, and therefore their densities, are proportional to their empirically found combining weights, or the rational multiples of the latter. These researches of the eminent French savant were published in 1808, and were followed three years later by the assumption of Amadeo Avogadro, professor of physics at Turin, that equal volumes of different gases contained equal numbers of smallest particles, and in the case of simple gases, these smallest particles are still further decomposable into atoms. From this it follows that the weights of equal volumes of elementary gases exhibited the identical ratio expressed between their combining weights, and the molecular weights of gases were proportional to their densities. Little attention was paid to Avogadro's work until many years later, but now it forms the basis of several of the standard methods for the determination of molecular weights.

The most ardent promoter of the atomic theory was the Swede, Berzelius, undoubtedly the greatest chemist of his day. He saw in the law of volumes a confirmation of Dalton's work, he recognized also the probability that the combining numbers then in use were full of errors, and took upon himself the determination of more correct figures. This meant a laborious long-enduring task, but Berzelius had exceptional talents, both for empirical and speculative research, and he attacked the problem of the chemical constitution of bodies with remarkable zeal. He devised new methods of analysis, and made critical examinations of the work of other chemists, working with restless activity during ten years at the end of which time he was able to publish the atomic weights of 2,000 simple and compound substances.[1] These weights were calculated on the basis of that of oxygen as unity, and many of the numbers given vary but slightly from the accepted values of to-day.

In 1819 two important principles were announced which proved of great assistance to Berzelius. The physicists Dulong and Petit made known their researches on the specific heats of a number of elements and deduced therefrom that the atoms of simple substances have equal capacities for heat.

The quantity of heat contained in a body is measured by noting the rise in temperature it communicates to a quantity of water in which it was immersed. A piece of copper heated to a certain temperature and plunged into a vessel of cold water rapidly parts with its heat, which the water absorbs until both water and copper are at the same temperature. A hotter or larger piece of copper, or a smaller quantity of water results in a higher final temperature. By comparing the weight of the copper to that of the water, and its drop in temperature to the rise in that of the water we can readily calculate the ratio between the amounts of heat required to impart a given rise in temperature to equal weights of water and a metal. If we raise a piece of iron weighing four ounces to the temperature of boiling water, 100°, and immerse it in four ounces of water at a temperature of 22°, both iron and water will soon come to a uniform temperature, that of 30°. The iron has lost 70°, the water has gained 8°; the heat given off by a piece of iron in falling through 70° is only sufficient to raise an equal weight of water through a range of 8°. The ratio of 8 to 7 or 0.114 denotes the specific heat of iron. In a similar manner Dulong and Petit found the specific heat of a number of elementary substances, and found that in a great number of cases the specific heats were inversely proportional to the atomic combining weights as expressed by Berzelius. This gave the latter a corrective method which he applied with good results.

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[1] This great work was accomplished in that imperfectly equipped laboratory thus described by Wöhler, a pupil of Berzelius. "Next to the living room were two ordinary rooms furnished in the simplest way: neither ovens nor hoods, neither water nor gas. In one of these rooms were two ordinary pine tables. At one of these was Berzelius' seat, at the other I had mine. On the walls were several cupboards containing reagents of which there was no great variety, for when I wanted potassium ferrocyanide for my experiments, I had to send to a neighboring town for it. In the middle of the room stood the mercury trough and the blow-pipe table. In the other room were the balances and other instruments, and adjoining this was a small workshop with a lathe. In the kitchen in which old Anna the cook prepared the meals, stood an oven and a sand bath, the latter always kept hot."

About the same time another physical phenomenon showed a connection with these weights. Mitscherlich observed that a number of salts exhibited decided similarity in crystalline form, and this was noticeable in those salts of similar constitution; sodium chloride was isomorphous with potassium chloride, magnesium sulphate with zinc sulphate, sodium phosphate with sodium arsenate. From these observations Mitscherlich made the statement that the same number of elementary atoms, combined in the same manner, produced the same crystalline form; and this form is independent of the chemical nature of the atoms and determined solely by their number and arrangement. This first expression of the law of isomorphism was too broad to last, and later underwent some restriction and exceptions, but it served a good purpose in giving to Berzelius a new method of checking and correcting which he used with good effect.

The system of notation introduced by Berzelius and which prevails to the present day, aided greatly in the development of the atomic theory. For the arbitrary symbols devised by Dalton were substituted the initial letters of the Latin names of the elements, and the number of atoms in a compound were indicated by the use of numeral subscripts. For example the symbol CuO indicated that copper oxide was composed of one atom of copper and one atom of oxygen; CO_2 that carbon dioxide is made up of one atom of carbon and two atoms of oxygen, or 12 parts of carbon and 32 parts of oxygen.

To follow closely the efforts of Berzelius in the establishment, broadening and perfection of the atomic theory would take us through many chapters of the history of chemistry and lead us through labyrinths of chemical technique. At the time of his death in 1848, the atomic theory, and its relations to the laws of constant, definite and multiple proportions were firmly established, and supported by the laws of volume, specific heat and isomorphism.

At this time, organic chemistry was coming into prominence, and naturally the application of the atomic theory to the phenomena of this domain of the science was followed with a great deal of interest.

Here, too, it proved an effective stimulus. The theories of types, radicals and substitution were based upon it, and these in turn, reacted on it to produce a sharp differentiation of the terms atom and molecule and a clear conception of the ideas of valency and saturation.

During this period of development the most fruitful methods for the determination of atomic and molecular weights were those based on Avogadro's law. For, if equal volumes of gas or vapor contain the same number of molecules under similar conditions of temperature and pressure, it is only necessary to compare the weights of a definite volume of vapor with the weight of an equal volume of hydrogen in order to determine the molecular weights of the former. The vapor density of a great number of substances may be obtained with ease and accuracy by several methods. Amongst the results observed when these methods were employed, there were several which showed such a wide divergence from the figures obtained by other methods that confidence in the law was shaken. There were those, however, who believed in the truth of the law, and these instituted a systematic study of vapor densities which led to the discovery that many compounds are decomposed at comparatively slight elevations of temperature. For example, sal-ammoniac, a compound of ammonia and chlorine, decomposes, when vaporized, into ammonia and chlorine, and its vapor density was that of a mixture of these two gases.

This phenomenon of decomposition is known as dissociation, a term of frequent occurrence in modern chemistry.

Shortly after the middle of the century had passed, chemistry was enriched by that wonderful generalization, the periodic law. It was found that when the elements were arranged in the order of their atomic weights, their properites, physical and chemical, varied in a recurrent or periodic manner. The existence of certain groups of metals possessing similar properties, such as chlorine, bromine and iodine; sodium, potassium and lithium; sulphur, selenium and tellurium, had long been recognized, but here was a law which embraced all the elements, and which looked upon their properties as periodic functions of their atomic weights. Various tables were prepared by different investigators, who arranged the elements according to their atomic weights in horizontal lines of such length that the elements of like properties were found in the same vertical columns. To obtain this latter result, some blanks had to be left, and these were said to represent the position in the scheme, of elements as yet undiscovered, but which possessed properties analogous to their neighbors. Mendelejeff, a Russian chemist, undertook an *à priori* detailed description of three of these missing elements, on the ground of their position in the periodic law. This was done in 1871, and before fifteen years had elapsed these three elements, gallium, scandium and germanium, had been isolated by three different chemists, whose patriotism suggested the names of the newly discovered bodies. This was one of the most accurate confirmations of a theory, one of the most brilliant achievements in the history of science, only equaled by Leverrier and Adams' discovery of Neptune.

On the other hand it must be admitted that the periodic law has its imperfections. The positions of some of the elements therein demanded by their atomic weights, are those in which a comparison of their properties would locate them. This is particularly true of the latest additions to the family of elements: the newly discovered gases of the atmosphere.

The law, however, has been fruitful, and is the best expression of the relations between the atomic weights of the elements and their properties which we possess.

Recent progress in chemistry has developed various sensational phenomena which, though they support the atomic ideas and are intelligible through them, seem to make imminent some modification of our views of the molecular structure of bodies. Contemporary chemical literature contains many words and phrases foreign to the chemist of some years ago, and many startling statements are made which seem diametrically opposed to his impressions of chemical action. The new departure was occasioned by the publication in 1877 of Pfeffer's researches in osmotic pressure.

Were we to perform the experiment of immersing, vertically in a vessel of pure water, a bladder filled with sweetened water, to the neck of which a glass tube had been attached, we would find after a time that the water had risen to a considerable height in the glass tube, an evidence that the pressure inside the bladder was greater than that without. This pressure was caused by the passage of pure water through the bladder into the solution of sugar contained in the latter, and has been termed osmotic pressure. Pfeffer, who was a botanist, measured the osmotic pressure of a number of solutions of various strength and at different temperatures, in order to obtain data bearing on some problems of vegetable physiology, and ten years elapsed before the chemical significance of his results were recognized. Van't Hoff, professor of physical chemistry at Amsterdam, was then engaged in the study of the nature of solutions, when the work of Pfeffer was brought to his notice by one of his colleagues. After a close examination of Pfeffer's work, supplemented by experiments of De Vries and himself, Van't Hoff was able to show the analogy that existed between the states of a substance in solution and in vapor.

The fact was established that equal changes in the strength or concentration of solutions exerted equal changes in their osmotic pressure. If we look upon the molecules of the substance dissolved and the volume of the solvent as those of a gas, we see at once that this statement is another enunciation of the law demonstrated over two centuries before by Robert Boyle, viz.: that the volume of a gas varied inversely as the pressure. In like manner, the fact that osmotic pressure increased with the temperature of the solution was in perfect analogy with the increase in pressure, which gases undergo when heated, expressed by Gay Lussac's law.

When further work along these lines showed that the law of Avogadro, by which equal volumes of gases under like conditions of temperature and pressure contained an equal number of molecules, could be applied to dilute solutions, intense astonishment prevailed in the chemical world. Here was additional, unlooked for evidence of the truth of the atomic theory.

Van't Hoff compared the osmotic pressure of a one per cent. solution of sugar with that of an equal volume of hydrogen of the same concentration, at various temperatures, and obtained practically identical figures. A solution of sugar at a given temperature exerts an osmotic pressure equal to the pressure of a like volume of gas containing as many molecules as there are sugar molecules in the solvent.

The kinetic theory of gases represents the pressure of a gas as the sum of the impacts or pressures of the individual particles of the gas. Similarly the osmotic pressure may be considered as the sum of the pressures of the individual particles in solution, and Avogadro's law may be read: The osmotic pressure of a dissolved particle is exactly equal to the gas pressure of a gaseous particle at the same temperature and concentration. Avogadro's law enables us to obtain the molecular weight of substances which may be vaporized, Van't Hoff's extension of it gives us methods of determining the molecular weights of substances which are soluble. A consequence and at the same time a confirmation of Van't Hoff's generalization was found in the fact that substances in solution lower the freezing point and elevate the boiling point of the solvent. The fact that salt water does not freeze so readily as fresh water has been known for ages. As early as 1788 it was known that the depression of the freezing point of a solution was proportional to the amount of the salt dissolved. In 1872 De Coppet proved that this lowering of the freezing point, or coefficient of depression, as it was called, was equal for similar substances when they were added to equivalent quantities of water in amount proportional to their molecular weights. The further researches of Raoult developed this idea into the general law which bears his name: the depression of the freezing point of a liquid, caused by the solution in it of a liquid or solid, is proportional to the absolute amount of dissolved substance, and is inversely proportional to its molecular weight. A similar law expresses the change in the boiling point of a liquid due to a substance in solution.

Various forms of apparatus have been devised in which these temperature changes due to the solution of determined quantities of substances in definite amounts of solvents may be noted on very accurate thermometers. These instruments are in daily use in chemical laboratories and are most valuable aids to research.

At the very outset of this practical application of Van't Hoff's law, numerous discordant results drew attention to the fact that there were a large number of exceptions to it; indeed these increased so rapidly in number and importance that they threatened to submerge the entire theory.

All acids, bases and salts showed a greater osmotic pressure than that demanded by the gas laws, and all these substances were conductors of electricity, or electrolytes. Why was this? Arrhenius came to Van't Hoff's assistance. He felt certain of the truth of the latter's deductions. If osmotic pressure be proportional to the number of particles in solution this increased osmotic pressure denotes that the solvent contains a greater number of parts than was supposed.

The anomalous behavior of sal-ammoniac and other substances when their vapor densities were examined in the light of of Avogadro's law was recalled to mind and the same explanation applied to this new phenomenon. In his theory of electrolysis, proposed in 1857, Clausius held that, in the presence of water, molecules of salt are decomposed into two part-molecules, charged with equal and opposite kinds of electricity. These electrified particles were identical with those which Faraday, some years before, supposed were produced by the action of the electric current in decomposing substances in solution, and to which he applied the name of ions.[1] According to Arrhenius, when one of these abnormally acting substances, sodium chloride for example, is dissolved in water, the solution contains besides a number of particles of sodium chloride other numbers of electrically charged particles of sodium and of chlorine; hence as the total number of particles in the solution is greater than it would be if no molecules were decomposed, the osmotic pressure of the solution is greater.

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[1] ἰών, going. "Compound bodies may be separated into two great classes, namely, those which are decomposable by the electric current and those which are not. Of the latter some are conductors, others non-conductors, of voltaic electricity. . . . I propose to call bodies of the decomposable class *electrolytes*. Then, again, the substances into which these divide, under the influence of the electric current, form an exceedingly important general class. They

The merit of Arrhenius' solution of the difficulty is not due to his application of the supposition of Clausius, but to his proof of the truth of it. Clausius found the germ of the electrolytic dissociation theory, but Arrhenius established it. He devised methods by which he was enabled to calculate just that fraction of the total number of molecules of an electrolyte which is dissociated into ions. He showed that the increased number of particles due to dissociation was just sufficient to account for the deviation from the normal depression or elevation of temperature called for by Van't Hoff's law, and thus established the general character of the latter.

Some of the evidence in favor of the dissociation theory is of interest in virtue of the violence which it does to preconceived notions of chemical activity, and some of its applications show hitherto unexplained phenomena in a new and clearer light.

One acquainted with the properties of the elements finds it difficult to reconcile those of chlorine and sodium with the possible existence of these elements as such in presence of water. Chlorine is a noxious, intensely disagreeable gas which attacks nearly everything else. Sodium is a metal which has such a strong affinity for water, alcohol and some other substances, that it can be preserved only by most carefully excluding it from all contact with these. Therefore, the statement that uncombined atoms or particles of these elements are present in every solution of table salt in water is, to say the least of it, paradoxical. It has come to be recognized, however, that the chemical activity of an element or its particles depends on the quantity of energy associated with it. As the amount of energy possessed by a particle in the ionic condition is different from

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are combining bodies, are directly associated with the fundamental parts of the doctrine of chemical affinity, and have each a definite proportion in which they are always evolved during electrolytic action. I have proposed to call these bodies generally *ions*, or particularly *anions* and *cations*, according as they appear at the *anode* or *cathode*, and the numbers representing the proportions in which they are evolved *electro-chemical equivalents*."

that associated with it in a free state, it must therefore possess different properties.

The essential difference between Clausius' theory of electrolysis, and the older one of Grotthuss to which it was opposed consists in the supposition of the latter that the molecules of the electrolyte held their atoms in rigid combination before the passage of the current which disrupted them into the particles which we now call ions, while the former claimed that the ions already exist in the solution and the work of the current is solely directive.

In proof of his theory Clausius called attention to the fact that the very weakest current effects electrolysis, and this increases proportionately with the strength of the current. If Gotthuss' contention that the molecule must first be decomposed were correct this gradual increase of decomposition with current intensity would not occur. It requires a certain intensity of current to decompose even one molecule, and until this degree of intensity is attained there can be no electrolysis. The moment that this is reached, however, a simultaneous decomposition of a large number of molecules will take place, for all exist in the same relation to each other and to the disruptive force.

Clausius could show no practical, determinative proof of his theory, and that of Grotthuss has prevailed in the text-books up to the present day. The champions of the dissociation theory saw the necessity of an experimental demonstration of the presence of charged particles in an electrolytic solution and essayed to obtain this valuable support of their views. Two of the most skillful workers in physico-chemical methods, Ostwald and Nernst, set themselves to the task and have devised a method, too intricate to describe here,[1] which seems to prove conclusively the fact that the ions really exist as such in all solutions of electrolytes.

Let us now consider the extremely simple explanation of the passage of electricity through an electrolyte afforded by the dissociation theory. In a solution of salt in water we have molecules of water, molecules of sodium chloride, ions of sodium bearing a charge of positive electricity, and ions of chlorine bearing an equal charge of negative electricity. If we now dip into the solution two pieces of platinum wire in connection with the two poles of some source of electricity, bubbles of hydrogen gas will appear at the negative platinum wire and chlorine gas will rise from the other. The positively charged sodium ions tend to move towards the negative pole, contact with which neutralizes their positive charges; they cease to exist as ions and become molecules of sodium. The sodium reacts chemically on the water liberating hydrogen. Were we to employ a solution of copper chloride, no gas would appear at the negative pole, but a deposit of metallic copper would take place on it. The negatively charged chlorine ions in the solution tend to the positive pole, are there neutralized and appear as chlorine. As the number of ions diminish, other molecules of sodium chloride pass into the ionic condition, and the process continues until all the sodium chloride disappears. The electric current neutralizes the charges at the electrodes, passing positive electricity into the solution and receiving negative charges therefrom. This neutralization of ionic charges and the movement of the ions, the latter phenomenon known as the migration of the ions, constitute the work of the current. In keeping with the theory are the facts that perfectly pure water does not conduct electricity,[1] nor do pure acids, yet the addition of a small quantity of acid to pure water makes an excellent conductor of it. This is taken to show that pure water is practically undissociated.

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[1] *Zeitschrift für physikalische Chemie,* III, 122.

The electrolytic dissociation theory has been very successfully applied by Nernst to the problem of the seat of electromotive force in primary batteries, and several eminent workers in physical science seem to find that the passage of the electric current through metals, or conductors of the first class, shows at least some analogy to the phenomena of conductivity in electrolytes.

The greater part of the reactions familiar to students of chemistry are reactions of ions, and not of atoms or molecules, as we have hitherto been taught. For example when hydrochloric acid and sodium hydroxide are brought together, sodium chloride and water are formed, a reaction expressed in chemical notation by the equation: $HCl + NaOH = NaCl + H_2O$. The dissociation theory tells us that the acid solution contains positive hydrogen and negative chlorine ions, and that of sodium hydroxide holds positive sodium and negative hydroxyl ions. The positive hydrogen unites with the negative hydroxyl to form water, the sodium and chlorine ion persist as such in the solution and *no sodium chloride is formed* until evaporation removes the water which sustains the dissociation. A modified notation represents this reaction:

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[1] Kohlrausch has obtained water so pure that a column of it one-tenth of an inch in height would oppose a greater resistance to the passage of a current than that of a copper wire of equal thickness stretched 750 times around the earth at the equator.

$$\overset{+}{H} + \overset{-}{Cl} + \overset{+}{Na} + O\overset{-}{H} = \overset{-}{Na} + \overset{+}{Cl} + H_2O.$$

There is much evidence in favor of this conception. A strong confirmation of it has been found in thermo-chemical investigations. The formation of every chemical compound is attended with the evolution of a specific measurable quantity of heat which has been determined for a great number of substances. The neutralization of equivalent quantities of acids and bases, analogous to the reaction given above, has resulted in a great number of cases in the evolution of a constant quantity of heat, and this amount is exactly that of the formation of water by the combination of hydrogen and hydroxyl. This would not be so if other compounds were formed.

Additional evidence to show that chemical reactions are reactions of ions is furnished by the behavior of many substances which ordinarily have great affinity for each other, when all moisture is excluded from them. Dry chlorine does not act on sodium, dry hydrochloric acid and dry ammonia do not combine, phosphorus and sulphur do not burn in perfectly dry air, dry acids do not corrode metals. The addition of the least trace of moisture establishes the ordinary vigorous reaction in all these cases. It must not be forgotten, however, that there are a great many chemical reactions which take place without dissociation and which the dissociation theory does not yet embrace. If such facts as the inactivity of dry hydrochloric acid and dry ammonia in presence of each other be taken as evidence in favor of the reactions of matter in the ionic condition, other facts, such as the immediate combination of these substances in presence of benzene vapor under conditions which preclude dissociation, tell another story.

However, though most of the reactions expressed in the textbooks of inorganic chemistry may be interpreted in the language of ions, there are yet no strong reasons for differentiating these from the great number of cases which do not permit such interpretation.

Water is not the only dissociating agent. Formic acid, alcohol and a number of their solvents possess this property, though in much lesser degree.

Physical studies of the behavior of gases under the influence of the Röntgen rays have brought to light the fact that here, too, dissociation occurs and the gases are decomposed into their ions. In this condition a gas conducts electricity like an electrolyte. A charged metal plate brought in contact with it will be discharged, though under ordinary conditions the gas may remain in contact with the charged plates without loss of electricity. The phenomena accompanying the discharge of electricity through gases have been for a long time under the observation of eminent physicists, whose deductions therefrom seem to call for a modification of the atomic theory.

Nearly twenty-five years ago, Sir William Crookes was led by his experiments with highly rarified gases to assume the existence of a fourth state of matter, the *ultra-gaseous* state, which he denominated "radiant matter."[1] He now finds in the dissociation theory an explanation of the phenomena he then observed. "What I then called 'Radiant Matter' now passes as 'Electrons,' a term coined by Dr. Johnstone Stoney, to represent the separate units of electricity, which is as atomic as matter. What was puzzling and unexplained on the 'Radiant Matter' theory is now precise and luminous on the 'Electron' theory. Thus my early hypotheses fall into order by the substitution of one expression for the other. A chemical ion consists of a material nucleus or atom of matter constituting by far the larger portion of the mass, and a few electrons or atoms of electricity. The electrons are the same as the satellites of Lord Kelvin and the corpuscles or particles of J. S. Thomson."[2]

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[1] *Chemical News*, XL, 91.

[2] *Chemical News*, LXXXV, 99.

It will be of interest to note that J. J. Thomson has estimated the mass of an electron to be about the 1/700th part of that of the hydrogen atom, and the distinguished investigator holds that the passage of a current through a gas at low pressure breaks off of one or more atoms an electron, or part carrying a unit charge of electricity.

After a service of nearly a century the minute indivisible, indestructible and unchangeable atom of John Dalton is now found to be too large and complicated.

No less sensational are the developments occasioned by the application of the dissociation theory to the study of physiological phenomena. Different solutions seem to cause muscular contractions to a degree proportional to the amount of their dissociation, or the number of ions which they contain. Different ions produce different effects. It has been shown that an excised heart may be set beating and its rhythm accelerated or retarded by varying the character of the solution in which it is placed.

It is further held that the transmission of sensations through the nerves is a simple case of electrolytic conductivity. It is unfortunate that the small measure of success obtained in these physiological experiments have been made the basis for the most extravagant claims and speculations bearing on vital phenomena. Such wild, romantic theories give a color and bias to investigations and conclusions which interfere greatly with their scientific value.

On the whole the dissociation theory, though wonderfully complete in some of its parts, presents great gaps in others, and is at the most an imperfect theory, a working hypothesis. It has been fruitful, its simple interpretation of a number of phenomena has brought it most powerful friends, many of the greatest minds which deal with physical and chemical problems are its adherents and these scientists have attacked the difficulties which beset it with an energy which prophesies for the century just commenced a more wonderful and comprehensive development of human knowledge than that witnessed by the hundred years which have just elapsed.

JOHN J. GRIFFIN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature and Customs of the Jewish People from the earliest times to the present day. Vol. I. (Aach-Apocalyptic Literature.) Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Pp. xxviii + 685 + xxxvii.

This is another of the important publications undertaken by the Funk and Wagnalls Company, and judging from the merits of the opening volume—to be followed by a dozen others—the enterprise deserves to meet with a full measure of success. The object of the publication, as indicated in the title, and more fully described in the preface, is to lay before the English reading public a compiled account, faithful and relatively complete, of everything pertaining to the Jewish race, from its historic beginnings down to the present day.

The materials for such a work could not be otherwise than abundant and interesting, since the Jews by their long, unique history and their wide dispersion have been connected with nearly all of the most important movements of the history of mankind. In the remote past we find them playing an active rôle on the stage of human civilization side by side with the principal empires of antiquity; during many ages their history was intimately bound up with that of the divine Revelation which culminated in Christianity; furthermore, the story, strange and unparalleled, of their existence ever since they ceased to form a nation exhibits phenomena of manifold and absorbing interest. A glance at the world's annals shows that the historic rôle of Judaism has often been misunderstood and misinterpreted; the promoters of the Encyclopedia, realizing this, desire to bring together and put in accessible form all the available evidence in the case. The result of their labors will consequently be a monumental record of the many-sided activity exercised in the world by the children of Israel, by that extraordinary people so strangely exclusive on the one hand and so closely attached to its national traditions, on the other so thoroughly cosmopolitan.

"Utilizing for this purpose all the resources of modern science and scholarship, the Encyclopedia endeavors to give in systematized, comprehensive and yet succinct form a full and accurate account of the history and the literature, the social and intellectual life of the Jewish people—of their ethical and religious views, their customs, rites and traditions in all ages and in all lands. It also offers detailed biographical information concerning representatives of the Jewish race who have achieved distinction in any of the walks of life."

To accomplish this huge task, the promoters have secured the coöperation of a numerous staff of competent writers on both sides of the Atlantic. Most of them, of course, are Jews; but the list contains also the names of a few distinguished Christian Semitic scholars. Thus among the members of the editorial board we find Dr. Toy of Harvard, and among the consulting editors, Dr. Hyvernat of the Catholic University.

It is well known that the Roman law in its Christian development assigned an exceptional position to the Jews. Throughout the Middle Ages, and almost down to modern times in the various Christian realms, they were persistently excluded from participating in the rights and privileges guaranteed by what may be termed common law. However difficult it may be to reconcile the status thus allotted to the Jew with the constitutional principles of the various Christian states, the ugly fact remains, and the struggle of the Jews to emancipate themselves from this peculiar position has made them prominent in the endeavors of modern peoples toward the assertion of human rights.

Such having been the long standing attitude of the Christian world towards Judaism, it is only natural that the purpose of the present work should be to a considerable extent apologetical. The opportuneness of this factor has been emphasized by the appearance within recent years of certain well known unfriendly publications, which though exhibiting an extravagant bias and a violent *parti pris,* have nevertheless been received in some quarters almost as a new Gospel. A very commendable feature of the work is that, notwithstanding these circumstances, the apologetic purpose does not betray the writers into a polemic attitude. True, in some of the historical articles bearing on the status of the Jews in the Christian world (v. g. in the one entitled "Alliance Israélite Universelle") expression is occasionally given to views and inferences which the Christian historian might contest; but on such points harmony of view and appreciation cannot of course be expected, and when one recalls the many persecutions, often cruel and fanatical, of which the Jews have been the object in various countries, it is an agreeable surprise to find so little in the volume that is bitter and aggressive. In this respect the Encyclopedia contrasts favorably with the current anti-Jewish literature. No fair-minded person can question the right of the contributors to present the cause of their race in its more favorable aspects, and let it be said to their credit that the tone of the work throughout is irenic and characterized by a praiseworthy moderation.

The subject matter of the Encyclopedia has been classified in three main divisions which in turn have been subdivided into departments each under the control of an editor directly responsible for the accuracy and thoroughness of the articles embraced in his department. These are (1) History, Biography, Sociology and Folk-lore; (2) Literature with its departments treating of Biblical, Hellenistic, Talmudical, Rabbinical, Medieval, and Neo-Hebraic Literatures, and including Jurisprudence, Philology and Bibliography; (3) Theology and Philosophy.

As in all such compilations, much of the matter which goes to make up the present volume can be found in one form or another elsewhere, in Encyclopedias, Biblical Dictionaries, etc.—in fact, the editors acknowledge in the preface their indebtedness to such sources, in particular to the "Dictionnaire de la Bible" published by Father Vigouroux—but there is also a great deal of useful and curious information drawn from documents hitherto accessible only to specialists; and even as regards the matter which the volume has in common with other available sources, it is not a little interesting to find it compiled and treated from the particular standpoint of this publication. Thus, though practically all of the topics discussed in Biblical Dictionaries and commentaries find a place here, there is in connection with each something new, viz., the Jewish aspect of the point in question, and by a happy arrangement of the material this factor can be readily discerned. The mode of treatment is simple and uniform. First the Biblical data are briefly summarized, next the Jewish traditions, both Rabbinical and popular, pertaining to the subject are given with some detail, and lastly the conclusions of modern science, if any, are briefly stated. The most original, and in some respects the most interesting element in the work, is that which sets forth the inner life of Judaism, its peculiar rites, customs, etc., together with the luxuriant growth of legends and folklore which sprang up even at an early date around the memories of the nation's heroes and the various events narrated in the Old Testament.

These legends are particularly interesting because of their connection with the historic growth and progress of divine revelation, and their importance as shedding an indirect light not only on the contents of the Jewish scriptures, but also on the New Testament and early Christian tradition is being more and more recognized by Biblical scholars. Popular beliefs and received ideas are always reflected more or less in the literature of any time or country, and to this rule the inspired writings do not form an exception; whence it follows that a correct, adequate appreciation of the New Testament writings cannot be formed without taking into due account not only the fundamental religious beliefs, but also the current legends and traditions, however childish they may seem in this age, of the time and the people to which these writings belong. In this connection let it be added that the Encyclopedia will render an indirect service to the cause of contemporary science by helping the ordinary reader to form a correct estimate of the value to be attached to the so-called "Jewish traditions," and thus contribute to remove one of the obstacles in the way of serious Biblical criticism. It has been generally supposed that with regard to such questions as the date and authorship of the Old Testament Books, the formation of the Canon, etc., the Hebrews were in possession of definite, reliable traditions, an assumption due in part to the influence of certain Protestant writers who through their desire to justify everything in, or connected with the Hebrew Canon of Scripture, are known to have fallen into absurd exaggerations. The incorrectness of the assumption has more than once been pointed out, but it persists, nevertheless, in many minds, and in not a few, even modern, books, it is made the basis of a sweeping prescriptive argument. The truth is that in most cases with respect to such matters no trustworthy Jewish tradition exists, but rather a collection of vague, incoherent reminiscences, based on the most superficial data, and often mingled with idle, puerile speculations. This, of course, ought to be sufficiently plain from the direct evidence furnished by the Talmud, the Fourth Book of Ezra, etc., but nothing can be better calculated to confirm and emphasize it than a perusal of the Jewish traditional lore concerning Biblical facts and personages as set forth in various articles of the Encyclopedia. Several of the articles, *e. g.*, the one on the Hebrew Alphabet, are treated in a thorough, scholarly manner, and in general the work seems to embody the results of modern scientific research as far as is demanded by the subject matter and the character of a work intended chiefly as a popularizing medium.

The numerous biographical notices of obscure medieval and other personages will doubtless be of minor interest to the average reader, Jew as well as Christian; but inasmuch as reference to such persons is becoming more frequent in the literature of an age so strongly imbued with the spirit of detailed historic research, many a student will find even this collection of biographies a real convenience. The typography and material make-up of the book leaves little, if anything, to be desired; graphic illustrations of various kinds abound; a complete musical notation is given in connection with the Hebrew liturgical and other songs, and finally the whole is rendered clear and easy of consultation by a judicious use of heavy type not only for the titles of the articles, but also for the marginal sub-titles.

Such being the content and general tone of the work, its dissemination can hardly fail to do good by helping to bring about a better understanding between Jews and Christians. On this ground, if for nothing else, the publication deserves the encouragement and support of the clergy, and it is therefore not surprising to find it endorsed and patronized by several distinguished prelates. Experience has long since made it plain that if the Jews are ever to be converted to Christianity, it can only be through the removal of those prejudices and misunderstandings which for so many centuries have formed an almost insuperable barrier to salutary Christian influences. The conversion of the Jews can only be approached through a better understanding on the part of Christians of their ideas, customs and history, through a more tolerant and sympathetic appreciation of what is good in that remarkable race, often more sinned against than sinning. That Christians in the past have often been unfaithful in this respect to the principles of their Founder no impartial student of history will venture to deny; neither will he claim that the attitude of the Jews, in refusing to accept the religious belief of those whom they so long considered as their enemies and oppressors, was totally unjustifiable. It is to be hoped that the Encyclopedia will contribute its share toward a better and more charitable understanding between Jew and Christian; thus it will be a welcome help to the zealous pastors who have at heart the salvation of those who are still outside the fold. They will be glad to discover in its pages some avenues of friendly approach towards that strange isolated element of modern society which has at various epochs not only produced great men in every sphere of action, but also furnished some of the most earnest converts to the faith. JAMES F. DRISCOLL.

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Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Von Dr. Johannes Belser, Professor an der Universität zu Tübingen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1901. 8°, pp. 852.

This splendid volume of 852 very large, closely printed pages has been prepared by a learned and experienced Biblical scholar. His patient research and his close attention to the details, of which such works largely consist, are evident in the carefully digested and methodically arranged materials of which this bulky book is composed. The work is intended for theological students during their course in the

Seminary, as well as for the clergy generally, and for the educated laity.

After a few preliminary chapters on the nature, scope and methods of New Testament Introduction, the author divides the work into two parts, the first of which discusses the "Origin of the New Testament Books," and the second gives the "History of the Canon of the New Testament," followed by an "Appendix of the New Testament Apocrypha."

In the first part, which extends from page 24 to page 721, the author examines one by one the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, and gives his conclusions as to the authorship, place and date of composition, destination, occasion, and purpose of each book, together with an analysis of its contents, and the peculiarities of each. The books are handled, not in the order in which they are found either in the "Codices" or in the printed editions of the New Testament, nor yet in the order in which they were written, but in the order that best suits the convenience of the author and that best lends itself to a systematic treatment. Accordingly, after the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, come the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles; then all the Johannine writings, Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse; next all the Pauline writings; and finally the remaining Catholic Epistles.

As Dr. Belser's work is the result of independent, personal research, it may be interesting to our readers to note how, on a variety of topics, he holds views that differ, as well they may, from the conclusions of many of the critics of the day.

The Gospel of Matthew was written in Palestine about A. D. 41 or 42, and before the Apostles set out on their missions to the Gentiles. It was written originally, not, as is generally supposed, in Aramaic, but in Hebrew, from which it was translated into its present Greek form about A. D. 80. Dr. Belser is also of opinion that the *Λόγοι* mentioned by Papias was the same as our present Canonical Gospel of Matthew, that Papias was an immediate disciple of John the Apostle, and that the *Πρεσβύτεροι* were Apostles and not mere disciples of Apostles.

The Gospel of Mark was written about A. D. at the urgent request of the Christians of Rome, but was not published in its present form till about A. D. 63 or 64. The concluding verses of this Gospel (16, 9–20), which are wanting in some of the more ancient manuscripts, were added about the time of its final reduction, and by the hand of St. Mark himself. The purpose of this Gospel was not to relate in chronological order all the events of Our Lord's life, but to relate in any order that best suited the purpose, such facts of His life as tended to prove that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and the Founder of the Church.

Luke, the disciple and companion of Paul, wrote the third Gospel about A. D. 61 or 62, and the Acts of the Apostles about 62 or 63. Both books were written at Rome, and both were addressed to a distinguished Gentile convert named Theophilus, though intended for a much wider circle of readers—all Pauline Christians. The third Gospel is written more or less in chronological order. Its purpose is to show that Jesus is the Savior of all men, both Jews and Gentiles. The Acts was written hurriedly and in an apologetic spirit, for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of St. Paul towards the Roman civil authorities. In composing this work, Luke depended on personal reminiscences and on oral Petrine traditions, rather than on written records. We possess the Acts in two forms or recensions, both of which, however, came originally from Luke himself.

As to the "Synoptic Problem," Dr. Belser's conclusion is that Mark used the original Hebrew of Matthew; the Greek translator of the Hebrew Matthew used Mark; and Luke used both the Hebrew and the Greek form of Matthew, together with Mark and some oral Petrine traditions.

All the writings usually ascribed to the Apostle John are the genuine works, not of John the Presbyter of Ephesus, but of John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. The Epistles were composed after the Gospel, and the Apocalypse was written on the Isle of Patmos, A. D. 93. Dr. Belser combats with energy the critics who maintain that there exists, between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, such a difference in style and thought, in matter and form, as to amount to a manifest contradiction, and that, consequently, one and the same man could not possibly have been the author of both books.

Paul is the author of thirteen Epistles. As to the Epistle to the Hebrews, though inspired by Paul and Pauline in spirit, it was written by the hand of Apollos somewhere in Italy, and was intended for the Jewish converts in Palestine. The Epistle to the Ephesians is a circular letter addressed by Paul to the Churches of Proconsular Asia, including the Church of Ephesus.

The Epistle of James was written A. D. 49, Jude in 65, I. Peter in 64, and 2 Peter in 67.

In the second part of the work, the author discusses the "History of the Canon of the New Testament" from the earliest times to the beginning of the fifth century.

This is followed by an Appendix of unusual interest, in which the author describes the Apocryphal Gospels, the Apocryphal Acts and the Apocryphal Apocalypses of the New Testament; such as the

Didaché of the Apostles, the Gospel of the Infancy, the Acts of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Peregrinations of Paul and Thecla.

Dr. Belser's work is a welcome addition to Catholic literature on the science of New Testament criticism. He has kept himself abreast of the times, and shows an intimate acquaintance with contemporary Biblical literature, both conservative and progressive, and this volume contains the results of his personal researches into the minutest details of the science of higher criticism. Many of the topics handled in this work the author had already discussed much more exhaustively in a series of able articles published at intervals in the years gone by in the Tübingen "Theologische Quartalschrift."

The present volume contains a much greater amount of matter than would at first sight appear. For every chapter is followed by a lengthy Appendix in which the author handles a multitude of interesting details of a grammatical, lexical, critical or historical character. Disposing thus of much subsidiary matter, the author enables us to obtain a more firm and comprehensive grasp of the chief outlines of the subject.

Dr. Belser's style is clear and simple. His manner of exposition is lucid and sufficiently condensed. His treatment of some topics is exhaustive, even in detail. At no other period in the history of the Church has so keen an interest been taken in the critical study of sacred Scripture, as at the present day, and the work before us is one of the proofs and one of the results of that interest. The author has done a splendid service to Biblical science by writing this volume. By its composition he has also disposed of the baseless assertion that the defense of the traditional view of Scripture is possible only on the supposition of an avoidance of all discussion of the many problems connected with the subject.

As to the material volume, its appearance is unusually attractive; the paper is firm; the type, even where it is the smallest, is bold and clean cut, and can be read with pleasure. The use of Latin characters, rather a new thing among Catholic Germans, will surely meet with general approval. We have no hesitation in recommending this volume to the attention of our German-reading friends.

CHARLES P. GRANNAN.

Die Wiederherstellung des Jüdischen Gemeinwesens nach dem Babylonischen Exil. Von Dr. Johannes Nickel. Freiburg: Herder, 1900. Pp. vii + 227. (Biblische Studien, V, 2 and 3.)

Barhebraeus und seine Scholien zur Heiligen Schrift. Von Dr. Johann Göttsberger. Freiburg: Herder, 1900. Pp. x+181. (Biblische Studien, V, 4 and 5.)

Die Griechischen Danielzusätze und ihre kanonische Geltung. Von Dr. Caspar Julius. Freiburg: Herder, 1901. Pp. vii+183. (Biblische Studien, VI, 3 and 4.)

1. All the "Studien" are scholarly, but by no means of equal value. In this work we have one of the most important, dealing as it does with that interesting turning-point in Israel's life, the Exile and Restoration. The author with a fullness of erudition, examines feature by feature, all the main aspects and events of this epoch. Dr. Nikel has performed his task conscientiously, and in a spirit of enlightened conservatism. He disagrees with Van Hoonacker as to the sequence of Esdras' expedition and Nehemias' first governorship, holding that the former preceded the latter. The most living issue which the author touches concerns the promulgating of the law by Esdras. Without giving an absolute date for the origin of the Torah, Dr. Nikel concludes from the circumstances of the assembly described in Nehemias, 10, that the body of the Mosaic Code had been long familiar to the Jewish people, antedating Esdras. Esdras' relation to the Law consisted in an emphasis on it, the adoption of some prescriptions to new conditions, the determination how others were to be put in practice. According to the author's view, then, the Torah was not such a hard and fast system that it could not be modified and expanded to answer changing conditions.

2. The average reader who will be repelled by the dry and technical character of the body of this treatise, will find something of human interest in its first pages, where the author makes us acquainted with an ornament of a little-known literature and people, one, who in the thirteenth century, held up a glowing torch of science and letters in Syria, shortly before their cultivation expired in the struggle with the Mongol invaders. A many-sided genius was Barhebraeus, a Jacobite bishop at twenty, later the "maphrian" of the East, that is the vicar of the Antioch patriarch in Mesopotamia; who while building churches, preaching and zealously exercising his episcopal duties, found time and energy to write works embracing philosophy, theology, history, medicine, grammar and poetry—thirty-seven in all. Dr. Göttsberger's monograph deals especially with Barhebraeus' exegetical work, the "Storehouse of Mysteries," composed of critical and interpretative notes or scholia on nearly all the books of Holy Writ, and which to-day is the Biblical hand-book of Syrian theologians. Barhebraeus laid much stress on what is known now as textual

criticism, and the practical value of his work, at the present day, is the light it throws on the Peschito and Syrohexaplar text. Dr. Gottsberger's book is chiefly taken up by a discussion of this side of the Scholia, and it is done with that patient attention to details and authorities for which German scholarship is noted.

3. This is a learned and thorough contribution to Old Testament Canonics. The author follows the history of the Greek additions to Daniel through all their fortunes from pre-Christian times to the Council of Trent. In proving the acceptance of these portions by the early Church, as inspired, Dr. Julius makes full use of the archæological argument, showing how artists of the catacombs used Susanna, and Daniel among the lions, as sacred types of Christian truths. It seems to the reviewer that the learned author puts an unwarrantably favorable construction on St. Jerome's "Apocrypha," when he suggests that there is scarcely any essential difference between the idea represented by that term as used by the holy Doctor Maximus, and Rufinus' concept of "libri ecclesiastici." The latter treated these books as inspired and berated Jerome for his attitude towards them, an attitude which is not always consistent, but which in his private utterances, voicing his intimate views, was decidedly adverse to their inspiration. George J. Reid.

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Summa Theologica — IV. Tractatus de Deo-Homine Sive de Verbo Incarnato. Auctore L. Janssens, S.T.D., O.S.B. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1901. 8°, pp. xxviii + 831. $3.60 net.

This volume of Summa Theologica, the fourth in the series which the learned rector of St. Anselm's in Urbe is publishing, bears out the reputation established by its predecessors.

The author departs from the beaten course of most commentators by treating the Incarnation immediately after his exposition of the Trinity. In so doing he has secured for himself and his readers a distinct pedagogical advantage and brought into closer proximity and more direct relationship these kindred and allied doctrines, usually separated in the lecture-hall as in manuals of theology by a discussion of the question of creation.

The introduction to this volume is devoted to a brief review of the heretical and erroneous interpretations of the person, nature and redemptive work of Christ that have appeared in the course of history. Fuller treatment follows in the body of the discussion and is made more pertinent by being thus deferred. A detailed indication of sources accompanied by a select bibliography add noteworthy features to this introduction and help to cast the entire volume in a scientific mould.

The general order of exposition is that of the twenty-six questions in the Summa of St. Thomas. Each question opens with an analysis of the subject-matter and closes with a brief synopsis of the results established. The history of the dogma is well set forth, and the statement of counter-views is such that the student is enabled to grasp the traditional idea in its manifold critical relations and historical setting. The appendices, over twenty in number and scattered through the volume at the end of articles, contain suggestive considerations of dogmatic formulæ, moot points of textual interpretation, the terminology of modern theosophy, and criticism of the views of Günther and Schell. In these as elsewhere the author reveals himself as a fair-minded and mild-mannered critic, "ein mildurtheilender Denker," as Von Ihering styles St. Thomas.

The question of the fitness of the Incarnation, commonly slurred over by those who fail to see its bearing on the theories of Atonement and Satisfaction, receives ample treatment at the author's hands. Likewise, the question of the relationship between the Incarnation and the Fall of Man. Would the Incarnation have taken place independently of man's fall and consequent need of redemption? The affirmative view seems to be gaining ground because of the tendency to make the Incarnation the primary, and the Atonement the secondary fact in the divine world-plan, it being deemed excessive to regard the Incarnation as an after-thought, or to consider satisfaction for sin its primary, if not sole, motive. So far as Scripture texts are concerned, a good case can be made out for either the negative or affirmative view. So far as reason attempts with the aid of Revelation to reconstruct for systematic purposes the relation between the two facts of the Incarnation and the Atonement, the affirmative view would seem to many to be preferable.

Of course, in the last analysis, it is a question of purely logical priority which can easily be pushed too far and made too much of. The author endeavors to reconcile the discordant views by regarding the Incarnation and Redemption as an economy that was simultaneously planned and simultaneously put into execution. This way of looking at the question is very satisfactory. It not only saves the facts and the arguments of the Thomist and Scotist views respectively, but in addition suggests a sound principle which can be applied with good effect to the entire problem of predestination, in the discussion of which the difference between the order of intention and the order of execution is ordinarily lost sight of. It is to be regretted that the author was forced, because of the bulk to which this volume grew under his facile pen, to omit a fuller treatment of this topic in a final appendix.

All the questions treated in this volume contain much valuable material which the author has collected, disposed, and compressed into serviceable compass. The chapters on the case of Honorius and on the formal constituent of the hypostatic union are fine samples of condensation. The author has mastered the art of being brief and clear at the same time. Special attention is called to the distinct pedagogical features which pervade the entire work. Footnotes, analytic and synoptic tables, abundant references to modern literature, canons of criticism and principles of patristic interpretation make the volume of decided value to professors as well as students. The synoptic table (pp. 764, 765) exhibiting the christological systems is illuminating. The treatment throughout is never jejune, and, even when brief, is always suggestive. Perhaps the author might have shown himself "seipso maiorem" and enhanced the pedagogical as well as expository features of the work, if instead of presenting principles of interpretation as regards the early Fathers, he had briefly sketched the vicissitudes of the "ransom theory" (corollarium, p. 43), and shown that the varying interpretations, which belong to the element of reason, do not affect the constant element of fact and faith in the course of Catholic theology.

This latest product of the author's pen we recommend most highly to professors and students. The author has chosen for his device the "Nova et Vetera" of St. Matthew, which has been the ideal of the present Pontiff. One has but to read this tome to see how much the author has contributed to the realization of this ideal.

Edmund T. Shanahan.

Denys D'Halicarnasse, Essai sur la critique littéraire et la rhétorique chez les Grecs au siècle d'Auguste. Par Max Egger. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. xiii + 298.

In the literary remains of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (B. C. 694?–749) grammarian, rhetorician, critic, and historian, the son of Emile Egger, the famous French hellenist, has found a charming theme. In his treatment he reveals many of the qualities that made his distinguished parent's writings so attractive and useful—sobriety of erudition and succinctness of exposition, joined to a fresh and vigorous style. One rises from the perusal of this scholarly criticoliterary sketch with clear and definite notions of the scope, temper, limitations, and powers of the active and ambitious "Graeculus" from Caria whose influence on all subsequent historians of Rome has been surpassed only by that of Livy himself. M. Egger examines in considerable, yet not overwhelming detail, the extant critical labors of Dionysius on the principal Greek orators of antiquity—Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Hyperides, Aeschines, and especially Demosthenes. This Greek of the Augustan age was a profound student of his own glorious tongue, and no mean professor of it among the thousands of ruined Hellenes to whom Rome was henceforth the only refuge against poverty and distress. He wrote treatises on composition, both as to the collocation and the choice of words; he compiled "selections" and illustrated the relative beauty and perfection of his models; he expounded the superiority of Herodotus as against Thucydides, and the peculiar shadings that helped to individualize a Lysias from an Isocrates, and a Demosthenes from a Plato. He taught the select circle of his friends and disciples how the Greek classics were to be read, how their divers excellencies were to be assimilated. Dionysius is a faithful slave of Dame Rhetoric. Though the incredible fortune and glory of Rome have given new impetus to the art of historical writing, he insists that it is in itself a subordinate art. History must please, must move, must instruct—its only *raison d'être* is a moral and a pedagogical one. At the same time he is a consistent admirer of the "Fortuna" of Rome. She is the first genuine world-empire at whose feet Orient and Occident have laid down their ancient rivalries. Let not the Greeks be over-melancholy. As a matter of fact, he will show them in the twenty books of his "Roman Archæology" that the primitive history of Rome reveals a people descended from the Greeks. There are Hercules and Aeneas and the Trojans to prove it, and these facts are borne out by the testimony of language, institutions and habits. He was not certainly all wrong, yet his famous history, of which only eleven books and some fragments remain, has done more than even the work of Livy to perpetuate an unreal and legendary account of Roman origins. Of course, like Livy, he will always be indispensable, though his endless discourses are far from the latter's high standard. His prolix and monotonous elegance suggests from afar the literature of Byzantium. His immense toil, his desire to please and help his Greek countrymen, his constitutional incapacity to understand the institutions and the "politique" of Rome, his sympathetic familiarity with certain sides of Greek public life, his successful pleading by word and example for the genuine literary traditions of Hellas as against the debased "Asiatic" school of thought and writing, the refinement and delicacy of his taste, the sanity and solidity of his judgment, the sureness of his ear for the subtle "music" and the sonorous "number" of his native tongue, the rescue of several choice bits of Greek literature, a multitude of biographical items, and some admirable "morceaux" in his own writings like the famous comparison of Lysias and Demosthenes—all these considerations, and others, make this Greek of the early Cæsarian world a profoundly interesting figure. His life was a well-filled one—he scarcely passed the age of fifty, and in all probability he carried on simultaneously his work as a critic of Greek style in oratory and history, and a historian of the origins of Rome. This "grammaticus græcus" ignores at Rome all Roman literature. It would be interesting to know what the critic of Isocrates thought of Cicero, what the not too unfair judge of Thucydides thought of the Paduan whose work ranks with his own as an echo of the remote but fateful years when some shepherds and farmers were laying the corner stone of the city whose name was nevermore to fade from the memory of mankind.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Venticinque Anni Di Storia Del Cristianesimo Nascente. By Giovanni Semeria. Rome: Pustet, 1900. 8°, pp. 393.

It is long since we have seen from a Catholic Italian pen a work at once so stirring, suggestive, and scientific. In the form of friendly *conversazioni* Father Semeria has managed to embody the most assured results of historical science in the very earliest decades of Church history. In a preliminary conference he outlines the excellent reasons for believing the Acts of the Apostles to be both credible and the work of Saint Luke—these forty pages are full of good historical considerations and are a model of calm and sensible discussion. Following in the steps of the author of the Acts, we are introduced successively to the chief of the apostles, the first house-churches at Jerusalem, the beginnings of Christian society, the persecution of the faithful, notably the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, the first attempts at spreading the gospel, the first fruits of the Gentile world, and then to the great personality of Saint Paul. To his formation, conversion, earliest missionary labors, and to the important events with which his name is connected at Jerusalem, Antioch, Athens, and Ephesus, the remainder of the book is devoted.

Chemin faisant, however, Father Semeria touches lightly, but surely and clearly, on all the important historical and apologetic controversies that arise apropos of the Acts of the Apostles. A multitude of reflections, now erudite, now apologetic, now edifying, but always judicious and sufficient, enlighten and enrich the text. Catholic doctrine, discipline and history, even economico-social questions of the living present, are ever in his mind, and he renders to all on occasion yeoman's service. The book is an admirable example of the kind of ecclesiastical literature made deservedly popular by Father Curci's famous work on the New Testament. Surely it must have done much good for the university youth and the cultivated persons who frequent the "Scuola Superiore di Religione" of Genoa, where these conferences were originally delivered in 1899. Is the time coming when nearly all the apologetics of Catholicism will have to pivot on history and the historical sciences? Are several of the older ecclesiastical sciences adult and with no more than a vanishing future?

"Prima fu Cimabue ed ora ha Giotto il grido."

If so there could not be a better example of a popular treatment of the subject matter of ecclesiastical history, at once learned, pleasing and convincing. One might wish that the work were translated into English, only for the fact that a certain subtle charm of elegant Italian conversation vanishes with the change of idiom.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Patres Apostolici, Textum recensuit, etc. By Franciscus Xaverius Funk. Vols. I–II. Tuebingen: H. Laupp, 1901. 8°, pp. cli + 688; lxxii + 332.

German scholarship in the nineteenth century has left few monuments in the field of patrology to compare with the "Patres Apostolici" of Dr. Funk. More imposing and voluminous, more finical and exacting works there certainly are, but none, perhaps, where the qualities required for a text in daily use are found, at once so abundantly and in such moderation, as here. The first edition (1881) of Funk's "Patres Apostolici" bore also the name of Hefele, rather through the piety of the disciple towards his venerable master, than because the share of Funk was a minor one—in reality the work was all his. Since then twenty years have gone by, and what that means for early Christian literature may be seen in the synopses of Richardson or Ehrhard. A cloud of workers has fallen upon this narrow field and left no clod unturned, no mystery unchallenged. Catholic men of research have all this time been thankful that among other excellent editions of the Apostolic Fathers there was an admirable one from the hand of the scholarly professor of Church history at Tuebingen—not an unnatural quarter from which to receive such a gift, for since the days of Drey the primitive texts of Christian discipline and doctrine have been cherished in that Catholic faculty of theology, as the noble volumes of its "Quartalschrift" can testify. When theological science had sunk, in other quarters, painfully below the proper level, the pages of the "Quartalschrift" were always there to show that philosophy and erudition, insight and liberal judgment, sincere and broad sympathy, sure and searching criticism, were yet to be found in the Catholic Church.

In this second edition, the text of the "Apostolic Fathers" is substantially unchanged. The most notable addition to it is the "Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles." This was printed as a supplement to the first edition, but now appears at the head of the texts in the first volume. The "fragments" of Papias are transferred from the second to the first volume; so, too, are the "fragments" of the "presbyters" in Irenæus; the so-called "fragments of Polycarp" are printed for the first time in this edition (II, 288–290); so, too, the "fragment" of Quadratus (I, 376). The "Introduction" has grown from one hundred and thirty-one to one hundred and fifty-one pages; it remains, now as before, remarkable for sobriety and sufficiency of learning, elegance and clearness of statment, good sense and reserve in the "apparatus" of "literature" and references, without which such a work is now unthinkable. This "Introduction" ought to be known by heart by every priest who aspires to earn justly the name of theologian, for the writers of these time-worn texts were the first of that prolific race. It is well worth finding out from a master of the science what were the vicissitudes of their composition, by what channels they have reached us, what the moderns have done to print these texts in a literary form as nearly as possible the same they originally wore.

In the commentary, Dr. Funk has incorporated the most secure results of the last two decades of erudite research, whether set forth in specific works or the current literature of special reviews. Such work is, not seldom, of quasi-algebraic exactness and coldness of method, repellant to many readers—the conclusions and their criticism by a competent hand are as much as such readers care to assimilate. In patrology, as in all other sciences, there are the sappers and miners, the pioneers, who break the road for more elegant and pleasing writers. Dr. Funk, already a veteran in all that pertains to the literary controversies that have so long centered in the person and works of Ignatius of Antioch, has now the satisfaction of counting on his side, as far as the date of the letters is concerned, the deservedly great authority of Adolf Harnack. As to the Pseudo-Ignatian letters, Dr. Funk maintains, always resolutely and with good arguments, his thesis that they were forged about A. D. 400 and by an Apollinarist. He has not succeeded in convincing other scholars like Duchesne, who hold that they were forged at least a generation earlier and in the interest of the Seminarians. In this controversy a certain "sensus intimus" born of long contact with these ancient documents and a perfect knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of the time is the first qualification—it is not keener in any patrologist than in Funk.

Every theological seminary ought to be well supplied with copies of this work, and every priest's library ought to be enriched with it. Cultured laymen, capable of appreciating the content of Greek and Latin documents, will find here many interesting pages of the early history of the Church—the first attempts at organization, the primitive stern morality, the primitive prayers and liturgy, the trials of our first ancestors in the faith, trials from within and without. Outside of the New Testament, here are the oldest, most genuine, most holy, most representative remains of those first Christian generations which saw the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, the persecution under Domitian and Trajan, the final ruin of Jerusalem, the death of St. John and the transition of the Christian propaganda from the control and direction of Jews to the control and direction of Gentiles.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Origen and Greek Patristic Theology. By Rev. W. Fairweather. New York: Scribners, 1901. 8°, pp. xiv + 268.

A succinct and correct account of the life of Origen, and the theological and philosophical labors of the great teacher, set in a framework of preliminary information and the subsequent fate of his personality and doctrines, makes a very desirable book. Our author has undertaken this task in twelve brief chapters that deal in turn with the precursors of Origen, his life and character, his views of Holy Scripture and his religious philosophy, his writings—critical, apologetic, exegetical, dogmatic, practical religion—his theology, his successors, Greek theology in general, the reaction against Origenism and its subsequent history. The volume is one of a series on the "World's Epoch-Makers" and is necessarily brief and comprehensive. The life of Origen is well told from the sixth book of the Church History of Eusebius, the chief authority. We cannot agree with the writer that Origen was quite explicit in his declaration that the word of God is the sole source of absolute certitude and the sole repository of essential truth. His criterion of apostolic doctrine was surely not different from that of Hegesippus and Saint Irenæus, who saw in the apostolic succession, and notably the See of Rome, the corner stone of practical certitude as to the content of Scripture and its meaning. Similarly, the author diminishes too much (p. 197) the value of Origen's relations to the bishops of Rome. We know so little of his dealings with the Western Churches that, to say the least, no one can yet pronounce absolutely in this matter, given the few and fragmentary evidences. Father Rivington's book on the "Primitive Church and the See of Rome" has a good commentary on such facts as we know. Read in connection with Hagemann's "Roemische Kirche" and Allnatt's "Cathedra Petri" it ought to leave no doubt in the mind of an earnest seeker after truth that Origen could not have thought on the unity of the Church and its efficient causes differently from the Christian writers before and after him. His writings have certainly been abused by personal enemies, and later on by heretics much opposed to the Roman Church. His correspondence, of which two hundred letters once existed, has dwindled to three or four pieces. Saint Jerome, a staunch defender of the prerogatives of the See of Peter, was long an indiscriminate admirer of Origen. It is positively unfair to deal with primitive Christian writers from the standpoint of Protestantism and "liberum arbitrium." They were, as a rule, docile children of the "Ecclesia," and they knew where, finally, the last court of appeal lay. The trial of Origen's contemporary, Paul of Samosata, shows that. So too, the cry of the persecutor Decius that he would rather see another usurper in the field than a successor to Pope Cornelius. Origen was scarcely dead when Dionysius of Alexandria submitted to be tried before Dionysius of Rome, and accepted his decision. The earliest canonical legislation of the churches of Egypt and Syria bears the ear-marks of a Roman origin. We might take exception to other statements of the writer, *e. g.*, concerning Transsubstantiation (p. 201). The date of the death of John Scotus Erigena (better Eriugena) is wrongly given as 1308—he died, very probably, about 887. In spite of blemishes the book is a very readable and useful outline of the career, personal and literary, of the famous Alexandrine, who has been rightly called the first theologian of the Christians. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Die Ketzertaufangelegenheit in der altchristlichen Kirche nach Cyprian, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Konzilien von Arles und Nicäa. By Dr. Johann Ernst. Mainz: Kirchheim (Forschungen, II, 4), 1901. 8°, pp. 94.

Dr. Ernst is known to patrologists for his numerous learned studies on the question of heretical baptism as it came up for discussion and decision in the time of Saint Cyprian. These studies have appeared since 1894, principally in the *Zeitschrift fur Katholische Theologie*, and deal with the genuinity of the letter of Firmilian to Cyprian (Ep. 75), the time and place of the publication of the

"Liber de Rebaptismate," the alleged excommunication and recantation of Saint Cyprian, the latter's views of heretical baptism.

The following pages pursue this subject through the fourth century and are devoted to a study of the theory and praxis of the Church in the post-Nicene period. It remained always a somewhat thorny question. Saint Athanasius and Saint Basil have to deal with it, the ritual legislation as seen in the "Apostolic Canons" and "Apostolic Constitutions" take notice of it; so, too, do Saint Cyril of Jerusalem and Optatus of Mileve. There are the eighth canon of the Council of Arles (314) and the nineteenth of Nicaea (325), as well as the general praxis of the fourth-century Church, East and West, in dealing with the baptism of Montanists, Arians, and anti-Trinitarians generally. It is an excellent thing to have made so clear an exposition of the authoritative declarations concerning heretical baptism in the fourth century. Dr. Ernst's interpretation of the canons of Arles and Nicaea as referring to no specific Trinitarian baptismal formula, but to the traditional "symbols" or creeds of the Churches, revives and confirms the opinion of the learned Drey. What the post-Nicene Church insisted on was rather a real belief in the doctrine of the Trinity than any sharply defined formula—hence the Council of Nicaea orders the converted "Paulianists" to be re-baptized. Although, like other heresies, their baptismal formula was correct, their belief in the Trinity was unorthodox. An index would greatly facilitate the use of this important little treatise.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900. By Albert Ehrhard. Freiburg: Herder, 1900. 8°, pp. viii + 644.

In 1884 Professor Ehrhard published in the "Strassburger Theologische Studien" a conspectus of the works dealing with the earliest Christian literature since 1880. We have before us a continuation of that enterprise from the year 1884 to the year 1900. Thanks to the intelligent industry of Dr. Ehrard, the student of patrology may now control one whole province of patristic "literature." Scarcely a work or review article of any value dealing since 1884 with the Christian writings of the first three centuries that is not mentioned and briefly described in this catalogue *raisonnée.* To read it through is in itself an excellent introduction to the study of patrology. In a first section the author presents the latest writings on the most ancient literary remains of the early Christians—apostolic fathers, pseudo-gospels, apocalypses, pseudo-apostolic acts, Judæo-Christian apocryphal writings, and Gnostic writings. In nine other sections he deals with the voluminous literature that centers about the Greek Apologists, the Greek polemical writers, the earliest Latin writers, the Alexandrines, the writers of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, the Roman writers, the Africans, the Apostles' Creed, the primitive attempts at an ascetic and canonical literature, the Acts of the Martyrs. Practical instruction of great value is given in an introductory and a concluding chapter. Dr. Ehrhard has compressed a world of rare and valuable knowledge into a few pages, and we recommend his book as a vade-mecum to every professor of Church history and ecclesiastical literature. We recommend it, indeed, to every student who would understand how vast and influential is the movement that draws its inspiration from these old fragments of a literature that is coeval with the persecutions, and has outlived many pompous treatises of the philosophers and rhetoricians who once scoffed at its simplicity and other-worldliness. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Monuments Antiques de L'Algérie. By Stephan Gsell. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1901. 2 vols. 8°, pp. 290, 447.

Among the governmental publications of France, there is scarcely one more useful to the student of Roman life and institutions than the fine work of M. Gsell, just issued under the auspices of the "Service des Monuments historiques de l'Algérie'" at the expense of the departmental authorities. The scholarly archæologist, well known as a graduate student of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome and author of an admirable "Life of Domitian" has enriched our literature of erudition with just such a book as was needed. For a half century the officers and agents of France, her explorers and savants and travellers, have been patiently but thoroughly revealing the civilization with which Rome had dowered Northern Africa before the inroads of the Vandals and the Moors brought about its eclipse and final ruin. The reader will find in an earlier number of the BULLETIN (I, pp. 431–452) a summary account of the nature and extent of modern French erudition in this direction. The two volumes of M. Gsell are like a manual of these researches. Beginning with the prehistoric remains of aboriginal tribes and the traces of Punic and Phenician life that yet are visible on African soil, M. Gsell soon reaches the epoch of Roman splendor and greatness. Under his hands the municipal culture that Rome always sought to communicate to her subject peoples, takes form and life before us. The city enceinte and walls, its streets and public places, its temples, arches, theaters, amphitheaters and race-courses, its markets, and porticoes; its baths, fountains, and marble-lined pools of crystal water; its aqueducts and cistern; its roads, bridges, ports and harbors, are enumerated and described with the learning of a scholar and the accuracy of an engineer. The domestic architecture, urban and rural, the burial places, the mosaic decorations, the remnants of painting and sculpture, are treated with a fulness possible only where the style is sober and objective, the diction compact and comprehensive. No other province of Rome has yet been described with such scientific accuracy.

The amateur of Christian archæology will find in the second volume an extensive account of the ecclesiology of Northern Africa. Its cathedrals and basilicas, chapels and sanctuaries, baptisteries and oratories, are as thoroughly treated as the remains of the ethnic and civil life. Whoever will add this knowledge to what we know of early Christian art and architecture through the manuals that have popularized De Rossi and through the discoveries of M. de Vogüé in Syria, will have distinct notions of what the Christian churches of the fourth and fifth centuries looked like. Thereby he will be on solid ground for the study of the doctrine and discipline they were built to emphasize. The philosophy of modern archæology does not permit us to believe that the hierarchical and sacramental life they all reveal was in any way a usurpation, or a decline from the apostolic original forms of Christianity.

It was slowly and with stubborn resistance that Constantinople let go the old Roman claims to Northern Africa. M. Gsell affords us a glimpse of Byzantine tenacity in his account of the public military works, fortifications and strongholds, that were built in the sixth and seventh centuries to protect Northern Africa from the invasions of Moor and Moslem, after the Vandal power had been broken.

Ancient Rome was at her best in her provinces. Here she was both mistress and teacher, educating inferior races and nations to a higher and nobler concept of social and civil life, distributing to them the wisdom, the experience, the learning and the graces of Hellenism. Happily did she choose for her civil symbol the calm-eyed, helmeted Minerva, squarely enthroned, with spear and orb imperial, the embodiment of sanctified order and sure life-wisdom, the patroness of arts and sciences that flourish only where peace abounds, and civil unity is secure. These volumes of M. Gsell are a very useful commentary to any account of Roman life and institutions. They would be very serviceable to teachers and instructors in all higher schools where the language and history of Rome are taught. We are the genuine children of that great strong mother, in more than a religious sense. Her spirit, habits, influences, purposes, enjoy yet that "æternitas" which was her most beloved attribute. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Eusebius' Werke, Vol. I., Ueber das Leben Constantins, Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin (Kirchenvaeter-Commission). By Dr. Ivar A. Heikel, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8°, pp. cvii + 358.

This stately volume contains three very valuable documents for the history of fourth-century Catholicism,—the so-called "Life of Constantine" by Eusebius, with his panegyric on the Emperor, and the latter's discourse "ad coetum sanctorum." Very frequently all three are found in the same manuscript, and have therefore a common palæographical tradition. But the former two are always together, the latter as a fifth book to the four that make up the "Vita." This arrangement would seem to be later than the time of Photius—the manuscript "Vita" that he read contains only four books. The archives and libraries of the Vatican, Moscow, Venice, Paris, the Escurial, Oxford and Cambridge, have furnished the manuscripts for this definitive edition that is based particularly on Vaticanus 149 of the eleventh century, though, like all manuscripts of the "Vita" it has breaks or "lacunæ" that sometimes cover a space of several lines. Without exception all manuscripts of these writings of Eusebius contain false readings, owing as in the case of all such literature to the errors of copyists, the unconscious insertion of quasi-identical words or phrases, the conscious illustration by marginal notes that slip later into the text, the omissions due to fatigue or carelessness, the eternal damage done to the "codices" by fire, worms, dampness and the like. An author so frequently and abundantly quoted as Eusebius can reach us, of course, indirectly, through other writers. Thus no little of the content of the "Life of Constantine" comes down through Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen and Gelasius Cyzicenus. A careful comparison of their Eusebius text with its direct tradition shows that the weaknesses of the latter are very ancient, and date probably from a "textus receptus" of the fifth century. Moreover Eusebius was given either to quoting himself, or to the use in different works of the same materials. Thus his "Demonstratio" and "Præparatio" are of value for the text of the "Laus" or panegyric. The "Theophania" has incorporated fully one-half of the same. Of the earlier editions of the "Vita" (princeps, 1544) Dr. Heikel speaks with praise of the one published by Henri Valois in 1659 and of his Latin translation (cf. Migne, PG.v. xx, 1856), and of Stroth in 1777. The latter he calls "nach Valesius der beste Kenner der Sprache des Eusebius." He judges the edition of Heinichen (1830, 1869–1870) as deficient from the viewpoint of philology and criticism but very useful as a thesaurus of "Collectanea" for the study of Eusebius. Dr.

Heikel's edition is enriched by an excellent vocabulary of Eusebius as furnished by the three writings contained in this volume.

The introduction is a serious contribution to the literature of erudition that centers about the figure of Eusebius of Cæsarea. This "Vita Constantini" is no true life of the great emperor but an encomiastic sketch of his services to Catholicism at a psychological moment, rhetorical in tone and execution, a piece of antique "art-prose" with all the rhythm and smoothness of such works. Long ago Photius called it an "overflorid and forced" production. For that matter Socrates had well described it in his History. "The author," he says, "has devoted more thought to the praises of the emperor and to the grandiloquence of language befitting a panegyric, as if he were pronouncing an encomium, than to the accurate narrative of the events which took place." Its vocabulary is select, elevated, semi-poetic; it reveals the analysis of the grammarian, the solemn dactylic "Klang" of all such panegyrics. In the construction of the "Vita" Eusebius follows more or less closely the current school-precepts of the time, though he is falsely charged with direct imitation of Eumenius and Nazarius. He was skilful enough himself in the art of covering the nakedness of thought with an abundance of words. When Burckhardt ("Die Zeit Constantins," 3d ed., 1898) charges him with malice and self-interest in his presentation of the facts, Heikel declares such words to be "cruelly unjust" (harten unde ungerechten Worten, p. xlix). Similarly he rejects certain accusations of Crivellucci ("Della fede storica di Eusebio") and demonstrates the honesty and reliability of the aged bishop of Cæsarea. As the "Vita" contains seventeen documents directly or indirectly from the hand of Constantine, the much discussed question of the genuinity of these documents comes up for treatment. Dr. Heikel maintains that they are genuine writings, either of Constantine or his chancery. Of some of them Eusebius declares he had seen the autographs. They are not belied by the style of the chancery just before Constantine. Crivellucci and Leo hold that they are forged pieces, Schultze that they have been interpolated, Seeck (who later modified his views) that they were worked over in a stylistic sense by Eusebius. All these opinions are to be rejected, when it is proved in great detail that the language, vocabulary, and style of the imperial documents in the "Vita" differ notably from the style of the "Vita" itself, although in both the time, content, and circumstances are quite identical; therefore they are not from the same hand. Indeed, the style of the imperial "Urkunden" is as broken, nervous, and agitated, as that of Eusebius is smooth and flowing; as obscure and unworkmanlike as the latter is rhythmic and rounded. Apropos of this controversy, Dr. Heikel might have quoted the fine refutation of Seeck by Duchesne in his "Dossieur du Donatisme."

The sincerity of Constantine's conversion has been sustained by historians like de Broglie and Wordsworth, passionately denied by others like Burckhardt, and classed among the problems of ancient diplomacy by scholars like Gaston Boissier. Dr. Heikel furnishes a good philological basis, henceforth indispensable, by classifying all the references to religion and Christianity in these three writings that more intimately reflect the mind of the son of Constantius Chlorus.

The Tricennial Oration, delivered by Eusebius in the emperor's presence at Constantinople on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the imperial reign (336) lies befors us in eighteen chapters. But Dr. Heikel thinks that only chapters I–IX are the real discourse delivered on that occasion. Chapters XI–XVIII are substantially the sermon of Eusebius at the opening of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which sermon Eusebius (Vita Constantini IV, 46) says he had described that basilica, and which he proposed to publish together with the panegyric just mentioned. It would seem that we now have both these writings under the title of "Tricennial Oration," not in the independent form they first wore, but as united and adjusted by Eusebius before his death. The intimate relationship of subject matter, sentiments, and literary circumstances, brought this "Laus Constantini" into the immediate vicinity of the "Vita," whose temper it mirrors with exactness. Thus in time it came to be looked on as a kind of supplement to the Vita, and was often copied with it.

Dr. Heikel rejects the absolute genuinity of the "Oratio ad Cœtum sanctorum" commonly attributed to Constantine and printed as a fifth book of the "Vita." Rossignol (1845) had already seen many of the objections against the authorship of Constantine, and they have been emphasized by Augusto Mancini (1894), as well as by Schultze and Seeck. This rambling and declamatory treatise on Christian evidence—the vanity of idolatry and fatalism, the proofs of design in nature, of Christianity from the character and miracles of Christ, and from Christian and heathen prophecy—is very unlike the known writings of Constantine, and offers more than one weak point. Its imperial history, likewise its Bible history, is inexact or doubtful; it seems improbable that the imperial writer could have cited Plato, perhaps the Stoics; there are grave objections to admitting that he could have presented the famous Sibylline verses and the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil as they are here presented. Nor does this exhaust the list of improbabilities. One cannot lay stress on a very ancient manuscript tradition. As we have seen, this discourse was not attached to the "Vita" that Photius read. Dr. Heikel, while he rejects the notion of Eusebius as its author, is of the opinion that it was compiled some time after the middle of the fourth century—the famous "Jesus Christus" acrostich of the Sibylline verses is already known to Saint Augustine. Thus while it would be imprudent to use this speech as an original source for the life of the emperor and his Christian belief, it remains a document of the time, reflecting the contemporary "apologetics," not an unlikely production of the neo-Christian littérateurs of Constantinople, and reflecting in some measure the origin of that city itself. Dr. Heikel balances awhile before giving up the idea that its original Latin form is owing to some Christian man of letters in the imperial suite. From Hosius to Sopater there were then many gradations of Christianity. Pagan philosophers counselled with the Arians at Nicaea, and if the letter of Theonas to Lucius be genuine, there was in the Christian Orient a strange toning-down, even before Constantine, of its original contempt for Hellenic letters, and an immediate foreshadowing of the literary temper that could make capital for Christ out of the Sibyl and the Muses of Sicily. Indeed, the "Praises of Origen" of Gregory, Thaumaturgus shows how far advanced was the reconciliation between literary "Hellenism" and Christian society in the generation that saw the birth of Constantine; the fact that then broke out the fiercest literary warfare against the latter is only a confirmation of this movement that would reach its height, naturally, in the court of Constantine, just after his conversion. In his account of Constantine (Dictionary of Christian Biography, I, 646) Dr. Wordsworth is of the opinion that "we have no real reason to doubt that Constantine was as much the author of this oration as most of the later defenders of Christianity were of their apologies." That the emperor borrowed from Lactantius and Eusebius, was an imitator and a plagiarist, is surely true. But such were the literary habits of his time and world. Plato and the Stoics might have been known to him by "Excerpta," or Christian anthologies. The Vergilian and the Sibylline paragraphs could have been prepared for the imperial use by some convinced Christian who did not hesitate to force the note a little in a good cause—for that matter, how can we ever be certain that such modifications are not due to a later copyist? Dr. Heikel admits that many "glossemata" must have crept into these texts. This is all the truer, when we remember that the three writings before us were a kind of Christian armory in the latter half of the fourth century, when paganism still had a fighting chance for life, and a halo was forming about the person of Constantine as later about that of Charlemagne.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Mediæval Rome from Hildebrand to Clement VIII (1073–1600). By William Miller, A.M. (The Story of the Nations.) New York: Putnams, 1902. 8°, pp. ix+373. (Illustrated.)

No historian could ask for a nobler theme. What an occasion to dominate the political chaos of the five centuries that represent the unavailing efforts of the German successors of Charlemagne to restore in the West the old Theodosian "imperium" as it came before their romantic imagination! Through feudal bishops they had broken feudal counts and dukes; through feudal popes, their creatures, they would impose on all outlying Europe their will, and from the Rhine behold Italy, France, Spain and England as great vassals of their imperial system. One man ever stood in the way of this mighty hope—the Bishop of Rome. As long as he held sway over the minds and hearts of Italians, there could be no Germanizing of Italy on a grand scale. Politically, as De Maistre puts it, this is the central idea of all history during this period. From a religious point of view the writer might find an inexhaustible material in the documents and monuments of the popes as legislators for the Western Church, presidents of councils, symbols of religious unity and creative faith, promoters of peace and harmony among kings, chastisers of tyrannies, protectors of the oppressed and abused. The mass of documents in the papal "Regesta" alone would be sufficient for an admirable volume if properly digested and set forth.

In this volume the reader must not look for any large and philosophical history of the great city that is intimately connected with the papacy. The writer summarizes Gregorovius and Reumont—one a Protestant and the other a Catholic. Both of them are well known to take an especial interest in the artistic and literary history of the city—their story of its political vicissitudes is rather a framework for their exposition of the workings of the Italian mind under the influence of the papacy and within its shadow. In this volume there is much more of Gregorovius than of Reumont. Mr. Miller is not overburdened with sympathy for the papacy, in spite of a few not unfair remarks at the very end of his book. And sympathy is a necessary quality of the historian when he sets himself to deal with this fountain head of a multitude of modern institutions, the mother of our modern culture. One great weakness of the book is that it begins in the very midst of the story of mediæval Rome. That the city existed at all, and such as it then was, is a phenomenon of world-wide importance for the political, social and religious history of Europe in the Middle Ages. And its history from the time of Constantine to that of Gregory VII. is one of the most necessary keys to the principles and temper of the Middle Ages. In the West civil society was the creation of the popes—without a clear knowledge of how this came about no one can ever understand the paroxysms of hate and love, of persecution and obsequiousness, that form the staple of any account of the political life of Rome. Rome is at once the child of Catholicism and its nurse. Its story can never be properly and fully told except from the viewpoint of Catholicism whose workshop it has always been. Mr. Miller has clearly not read the great papal documents about the Crusades or he would not say as he does (p. 24) that they were only "new sources of income." If the popes received vast sums they spent them in a splendid and often a useful way—at a time, too, when industry and commerce were in their infancy in the West, and money moved with difficulty. I would rather trust to the judgment of Boehmer, the famous editor of the imperial "Regesta," expressed to his disciple Janssens, that no man knows the Crusades who has not read these papal documents—notably a certain famous letter of Gregory IX to Frederick II. The papal ceremonies of the Middle Ages are no more "absurd" as stated (p. 39) than the public ceremonies of any modern coronation—one might as well play Thersites next June in Westminster. It may and may not be a pathetic thing that men love symbolism. When it is at once archaic and significant it is venerable. Mr. Miller's pages are, taken all in all, rather ill-affected toward the papacy—for a faint word of praise we get much epigram, his own and Gibbon's. When he speaks of the sale of indulgences (p. 157), of indulgence-hawking (p. 160), of "an universal remission of sins which could be had for hard cash" (p. 273), he ought to know that there is no documentary justification for such phrases, and that he is speaking, to say the least, inferentially. What he says (p. 276) of the sceptical opinions attributed to Leo X rests on the unsupported statement of the ex-Carmelite English apostate, John Bale, bishop of Ossory, made sixty years after Leo's death. "Klatsch" that would be properly appreciated in the mouth of a Suetonius, and "metrical gossip," that is always toned down when it is repeated by a Martial or a Juvenal, are first-class authorities when it is question of the popes. What is wanted just now is an impartial, scientific, first-class, honest work on the "Historical Sources of the Papacy," like those of Wattenbach and Lorenz for mediæval Germany and Molinier for mediæval France. I do not care what Roscoe or Gregorovius, or Ranke or Dyer, or any other modern says about that long line of men and rulers, they are all necessarily tarred with the stick of prejudice. What I do want to know is who and what were the men who have left us the documents we use, what were their personal surroundings, their relations to the individual popes—all that "apparatus criticus" that we insist on before we accept the traditional story of Chodorlahamor or Moses or Sargon, but which no one feels to be needed for the papacy. Yet for a dozen good reasons it is more necessary for them than for any other line of rulers.

Dietrich of Niem, Infessura, Burchard, Platina, have each a personal history, and the historical value of each is rightly judged only when we know them. So, too, the early mediæval chroniclers, even if they are not as chatty and picturesque as Salimbene, have their shortcomings, and are not always a sufficient tribunal for judgment on dead and gone popes. They differ in ability, honesty and breadth of view. Not all of them, especially after the decay of the great school of the Benedictine chroniclers of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, are possessed of the historical spirit. Petty wrongs, local jealousies, family feuds, racial indisposition, can be laid at their doors. Many a monastic chronicler looked at the great central tribunal of Christianity from his own little far-away loop-hole, through ten feet of masonry, amid the clatter of kitchen gossip and personal wrangles, or perhaps from the depths of a cloistral solitude, where he had spent his whole life among boorish peasants and ignorant soldiers. Then there are opposing and contradictory authorities. If one listens to the imperial side, he will, with Mr. Miller, falsely accuse Gregory VII of ambition (p. 20); if he listens to the equally contemporaneous defenders of the pope he will conclude, and rightly, that his sole aim was the liberation and reformation of the Church.

A fair and satisfactory history of Mediæval Rome remains yet to be written, one that will not be too voluminous, nor yet wanting in sympathy and philosophic calm; that will place the popes, individually and in series or groups, at their proper places in the development of Catholicism and of popular liberties; that will recognize the fact that Rome was long the one great City of the West, the only reliable balance-wheel of the social mechanism in more than one period of civil disorder and political anarchy.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Chronicles of the House of Borgia. By Frederick Baron Corvo. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. xix+375.

This book is elegantly printed, bound and illustrated. The publishers have done their work well. Not so with the author. Though claiming to be the story of a famous house, by far the greater part of the volume is taken up with the story of one member of the Borgia family, Alexander VI. There is nothing in these pages that cannot be found in Pastor or Creighton or Symonds, and in far better form. The English of the book is often intolerable—it swarms with frivolities and affectations, not to say gross blunders. Though the writer pretends to defend the Borgia, his work has all the appearance of a "faux fuyant." In the preface (p. xii) he says that his aim is to present the Borgia "alive and picturesque and unconventional." At the same time (ibid.) "his present opinion is that all men are too vile for words to tell." This does not prevent him from putting together for this contemptible humanity "some shreds of knowledge which he perforce must sell to live." It is scarcely necessary to criticize a book after such a frank confession. There is no attempt at documentary references, and the "literature" quoted at the beginning is most incomplete. Perhaps the saddest element in the personal history of Alexander VI is that he should be so constantly thrown out as *pâture* to a prurient curiosity.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Alfred the West Saxon, King of the English. By Dugald Macfadyen. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. x+376.

The author informs us in a somewhat deprecating fashion that the work was undertaken at the request of a friend, prevented by illness from finishing it in time for the millenary celebration in honor of King Alfred. This being the case, we must be guided by the principle that charity covers a multitude of sins, sins of omission in the present case. What strikes us as queer is the title of "Saintly Lives," the name of the series of which this book is a number, all the more so when we are told by the editors that they distinctly do not intend to include those saintly men or women who have been "officially canonized and calendared," despite the fact that the lives are written to "do good." Now, King Alfred is, perhaps, as much deserving of the title of saint as many who were called so rather hastily in his time, when bishops, and even popular favor, seemed to advocate to themselves the right of canonization, afterwards restricted to the Pope. But it is good taste to use words in their present meaning. The word "saint" just now has a very peculiar and narrow signification, implying not merely the fact of a person having lived a very saintly life for which he may be now receiving his reward, but the existence of heroic virtue, solemnly proved by a long and laborious process, also the existence of *bona fide* miracles performed after death at the intercession of the deceased. Taken in its proper sense, we cannot but consider the general title of the series inappropriate, especially when it includes men like Alfred who, with all his virtues, was very far from heroic sanctity, and excludes *ex professo* those who more than any others merit the title. In fact, the author himself is not altogether at ease in his mind about it. In a tone of irritation, he blames Rome for not canonizing Alfred; the omission is due to the fact that Rome then had no "room for saintly memories" (p. 356). We grant that the Papacy was then in evil days, but the connection of her evils with Alfred's non-canonization is not so apparent, because as above noted the papacy had not yet restricted to itself the right of canonization. The blame, if there be any, would rest on the English bishops and people, who, in spite of their admiration for Alfred, do not seem to have made any effort to raise him to the altar, as they did several centuries later with Thomas à Becket. And lastly, we fail to comprehend the appropriateness of the title when we find the author sharing his admiration equally between Alfred and Oliver Cromwell.

We dwell purposely upon the inappropriate title both because of its intrinsic lack of taste and because it is a key to the general make-up of the book, which, allowing for many merits, is singularly dull and colorless. It is generally quite fair when touching upon Catholic topics (see p. 245 on monasticism; p. 293 on Alfred's love of Rome; p. 294 on his efforts to keep the isolated English Church in touch with the one great Catholic body of which it was a part): though it is ambiguous when, on p. 49, it speaks of "pretensions of the Pope," and on p. 35 it makes its own Spelman's saying that the "life and ways of Alfred were not perfectly pleasing to the Fathers at Rome." What ways? As with his title of "Saints" here, too, the author is ambiguous and misleading. Despite his fairness, we would almost wish him to be more bigoted, so that we could at least make out where he stands, whether or not he believes Alfred a dutiful son of the pope and England spiritually subject to Rome. Personally we have no patience with this hazy style of history.

Coming to minor particulars, we note a general air of haste in the make-up; no list of authorities; a rather poor index; quotations lacking definiteness and scholarship. In matter nothing new, much less, indeed, than could have been put in such a large volume; a lack of perspective, so that the reader will be forced to read much outside the book in order to understand the book itself.

Among downright errors we would call attention to his assertion (p. 49) that Hincmar of Rheims strove to defend the national Church of France against the pretensions of the pope. Hincmar did, it is true, have more than one contest with Rome, but Rome's part consisted chiefly, not in encroaching upon any rights of the national (sic) church in France, but rather in defending the latter, *i. e.*, the French bishops, from the pretensions and encroachments of Hincmar and other metropolitans. Coming to the character of Alfred himself, the portrait seems over-drawn, doubtless owing to the author's too frequent use of such an authority as Sir John Spelman, despite his assertion that his work is based upon the data accepted by the most "recent" writers. Of course he has Freeman with him—Freeman with all his hero-worship and frequent inexactness. But Freeman here has proved a false guide. Alfred was, we knew long ago, a great and good man; but he was far from being a perfect model, judged even by contemporary standards. He was, on more than one occasion, unnecessarily blood-thirsty, and during the earlier portion of his reign proved tyrannical and was almost as much hated as he was afterwards beloved.

However, we do not deny the book the praise due its many merits, all the more so as it was written under circumstances that necessitated haste. As a whole it is a fairly correct and tolerably interesting biography. The fault of its overdrawn estimate of Alfred lies largely with the editors. Because when editors restrict to themselves the powers of canonization, hitherto a purely papal function, the writers employed by them must perforce accept their judgments as infallible and write accordingly. LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

By W. W. Capes. New York: Macmillan, 1900. 8°, pp 391.

The history of the church in any European country during the two centuries preceding the Reformation is seldom pleasant reading. Slowly, but surely, the earnest faith of the Middle Ages was degenerating under the general influence of the Renaissance. The Papacy began to lose some of its prestige when it fixed its residence at Avignon, lost still more during the great Schism, and not a little after that as the result of its own loss of self-respect when represented by such men as Alexander VI. England formed no exception to the general rule. Already some very plain talk had been heard in the days of Becket and Stephen Langton. By the opening of the fourteenth century the English church found itself in a state of chronic opposition to much of papal discipline, although the faith remained the same as ever, while its own internal condition seemed to go on from bad to worse. To this many political and commercial causes contributed, such as the Great Pestilence and the Wars of the Roses, which relaxed morality to a great extent. But without them, causes were at work which were slowly preparing the way for the Reformation. Chief among them was the neglect of the parish clergy. They were, so far as education goes, far below what they should have been, and yet above what was to be expected from their slip-shod methods of training. Their parishes were even more neglected as the result of the ruinous system of Provisions, Appropriations and Patronage, which only too often made of the same so many farms for the support of alien and absentee owners, represented by some inferior substitute, able to say mass, but not much more. This exploitation reacted in turn upon the priests, forcing many of them either into idleness or (what was equally as dangerous) secular employment. Other causes there were, such as the decline of the regular clergy from their ancient ardor, that senseless Italian blindness to the rising tide of English nationalism against foreign pilfering; but to the neglect of the parish we must lay most of the blame—that we take as the mortal blow to the vitality of the English Church.

Mr. Capes brings this out very clearly and justly. Here and there is an occasional slip of language, nor is he always clear when speaking of the spiritual dependence of England upon Rome, or of Wycliffe's connection with the translation of the Bible. But taking the book as a whole, it is scholarly and unusually just. The writer brought to his task a wide knowledge of very valuable and new materials in the shape of Cathedral statutes and episcopal registers, so that we feel a sense of security in reading his statements. As to the tone, the most sensitive Catholic could not complain, it being uniformly fair, temperate, charitable and sympathetic.

If there were any serious fault we would place it in the comparative absence of perspective; as a result the book is rather too one-sided, the author is too analytical, and analytical in one direction. While his individual statements are true, nevertheless as a whole they are misleading. And while we are perfectly willing to grant that during that period the seeds of the Reformation were being sown, yet the situation was hardly so low as this book would have us believe. The writer's gaze has been turned so constantly to the evil side that very often he forgets that good existed. Hence the sombre tone of the whole book. It reads like a Lamentation, and for that reason is not pleasant reading, all the more so as the style is none too brilliant. Towards the end, the picture brightens up a little, but only for a brief space. A writer who would pursue the author's same method of analysis and write only of the good points of English church history would produce a book equally as fair, more pleasant to read, and as full of information. But both would be repeating the old story of the two knights who fought all day over the color of the shield—one maintaining it to be golden because he saw only the gold, the other as stoutly asserting it to be silver because he saw only the silver side; both were right and both were wrong.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Municipal Administration. By John A. Fairlie. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xii + 431.

One of the striking social phenomena of recent years has been the rapid growth of cities, and along with this growth in size there has come a more than proportionate growth in the number and complexity of problems arising out of municipal government and administration. Much has been written on the subject in the shape of monographs, and there has been some extensive and fairly thorough discussion of particular problems. But students beginning the study of municipal affairs have felt the absence of some single work that would give them a comprehensive and systematic treatment of the whole field. Professor Fairlie has endeavored in part to supply this want, and in the present volume he covers that part of the field that falls within the scope of municipal "administration."

The work is divided into three parts. Part first is devoted to a historical survey of the growth of cities and the development of municipal activities in antiquity, in mediæval times, and in the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and to discussions of "English Boroughs," "Municipal Development in the United States," "French Municipal History since 1789," and "German Cities in the Nineteenth Century." Part second discusses "Municipal Activities." In the five chapters under this head the whole field of these activities is treated both historically and theoretically. Part third is devoted to problems of "Municipal Finances," and part fourth to the general question of "Municipal Organization."

"Municipal Administration" is a book that cannot fail to be welcomed by all who are interested in the study of municipal problems. It supplies a distinct need to students just entering upon the study of municipal affairs. It furnishes an excellent text-book for collegiate classes in this part of political science; and it will be gladly received alike by teachers and students as a needed contribution to the literature of this science. Charles P. Neill.

The Foundations of American Foreign Policy. By Albert Bushnell Hart. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xix + 293.

This volume is one of timely interest. The chapters are made up of articles previously contributed to periodicals, but as they all deal with the history of our foreign relations, or of our earlier "expansion," the book is not lacking in unity or sequence. It does not aim to give, even briefly, a survey of the whole diplomatic history of the United States, nor does it undertake an exhaustive analysis of all the forces that have gone to the shaping of our foreign policy. Its aim is rather to correct the misconception that there is "a tradition that in diplomatic relations America is isolated from the rest of the world with which she is intellectually and commercially so closely connected." The thesis of the book is that "historically there has never been such an isolation: from the earliest colonial times the international forces which moved Europe have affected the Western hemisphere." In proof of his thesis Professor Hart marshals facts of our past history in imposing array to show that "our forefathers and our grandfathers had problems similar to our own." Such chapter headings as "The United States as a World Power," "The Experience of the United States in Foreign Military Expeditions," and "Boundary controversies and Commissions," will suggest clearly the method of the book. The discussions cover a wide field of history, and bring in review before us phases of our foreign relations that have a peculiarly instructive value for us at the present time. The chapter on "A Century of Cuban Diplomacy" and the one on "The Monroe Doctrine" are particularly interesting to the student of current politics. The concluding chapter of the work is devoted to a critical "Bibliography of American Diplomacy." It is a sytematic and valuable guide for students who desire to go deeper into the subjects discussed in the chapters that precede it, or into the general study of that aspect of our history, and it represents a labor for which every student of the subject will feel his obligations to the compiler.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

Staatslexicon. By Dr. Julius Bachem. Second edition. Freiburg: Herder, 1901. Vol. I, Aargan-Deutsches Reich; Vol. II, Dienstgeheimniss-Heerwesen.

Those who are familiar with the Catholic life of Germany are well acquainted with the noble work done by the Görres Society for the Church in that country. This Society deserves credit for much of the splendid Catholic literature which Germany possesses. The publication of the Staatslexicon, in 1889, is one of its great works. A new edition, which is now appearing, shows that the Society is still active in the pursuit of its noble purpose.

In 1878 the Society endorsed the project of publishing a Staatslexicon that would engage the best thinkers of Catholic Germany in its service and would unite the best results of their thinking along social, ethical, and political lines. The first edition, in five volumes, edited under the direction of Dr. Bruder, was published by Herder. The fact that two volumes of the second edition have already appeared is a tribute to the character of the work.

The scope of the work and the character of its contents are well described in the plan adopted by the Society in 1878. According to that plan the work should contain a discussion of fundamental ideas of religion and morals, of right and law, of natural and positive law, of state and church, of family and property, of economic, social, and political questions: the last named, to be treated from ethical and religious points of view. The points of view to be held to throughout the work were the following: The eternal Source of Right is the Creator Himself; natural law is the basis and norm of positive jurisprudence; state and society are divinely ordained, and as such, are related to the destiny of man; the family is the basis and foundation of all civil and social organization and development; the principles of Catholic doctrine and Catholic science govern the relations of Church and State.

According to the original plan the systematic exposition of topics was to receive more attention than the historical; what was merely historical, geographical or ethnographical was excluded. It was further provided that all articles be written in sympathy with the most exacting demands of modern science.

The selection of articles by which this plan was to be carried out was approved by the General Convention of the Görres Society in 1880. The responsibility of the editor was confined to the realization of the plan; writers of individual articles were personally responsible. The preface to the second edition states that this plan has been found satisfactory, and that it is followed closely in the new edition, though some changes of secondary importance have been made.

In reading hurriedly the chief articles of such a work—and that is the most that a reviewer can be expected to do—one is struck by the evidences of care, excellent method and comprehensive treatment. A résumé precedes the most important articles which are paragraphed to correspond. A feature which will be particularly pleasing to the foreign reader is that the style is uniformly simple, and the thought is expressed directly and clearly. It is to be regretted that the first volume of the new edition has no list of articles, although the corresponding volume of the first edition contained one. While much may be said in praise of the work as a whole, it may be well to call attention in particular to the article on Social Questions, the Family, and Social History. The article on Charity (Armenpflege) is exhaustive, written in thorough sympathy with the best methods now employed in charity work. The articles on the Labor Question (Arbeiterfrage), Labor Legislation (Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung), Labor Insurance (Arbeiterversicherung) and Industrial Courts (Arbeiterkammern), have all been written by Rev. Dr. Hitze, who is known throughout

Europe as one of the ablest students of social questions in Germany. They are lucid and comprehensive, the equal of any short treatise on these problems that has yet appeared. In the first edition, all appeared as parts of one article; in the new edition they are separated. The articles on Marriage (Ehe, etc.), Divorce (Ehescheidung) and Family (Familie) are very good systematic studies, but it is to be deeply regretted that a treatment of these questions from the historical side was neglected. True enough, the scope of the work might not require this, but it is an undeniable fact that the traditional belief in the divine origin and sanctity of family relations is threatened chiefly from the historical side.

The theories of the evolution of the family now current have great influence on modern thought. The literature which they have created is endless; economics, sociology, comparative authropology and tribal history, while they admit much speculation and poor reasoning, have contributed in a large measure to shake traditional belief in the origin, nature, and ethical sanction of marriage and family relations. It would seem, then, that articles on these questions might well give some attention to the historical side although professed purpose did not require it. Furthermore, many articles in the work are treated at considerable length from the historical standpoint.

The articles on Social History are well written and they serve to give a good understanding of the evolution of social classes and their relation to modern social problems. American readers may be somewhat amused to find that the author of the article on Democracy depends on one newspaper reporter for his description of the evils of Democracy as seen in America. The succeeding three volumes of the second edition will receive brief notice as they appear. Meanwhile, the work may be recommended strongly to Catholics. Unfortunately, we have nothing like it in English. The material make-up of the volumes is in every way worthy of the splendid reputation of Herder. WM. J. KERBY.

Time Table of Modern History. A. D. 400–1870. Compiled and arranged by M. Morison. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Large quarto of 150 pages, with valuable index and seven colored plates containing several historical maps.

In this large but convenient folio are gathered many excellent helps for the study of mediæval and modern history. The great political events of Europe are synchronized since A. D. 400 with the history of the island of Britain and of France. At the proper time the various modern nations have a column allotted to them. On the extreme margins, right and left, the centuries and half centuries are noted in bold type, so as to jog the memory; the same relief is rendered the eye by the printing in bold type of the more prominent dynastic names and political events. The genealogical tables of twenty-five of the more important ruling houses of Europe are given, also the regnal years of the principal lines of emperors, kings and potentates since A. D. 400. A large general chart of ancient and modern history serves to bring before the mind the unity of the science of history. Ten good (colored) historical maps, permit the student to follow his authorities intelligently. A voluminous index of nearly four thousand names, with cross-references, makes all these helps at once and easily accessible. We know of no better general vade-mecum of historical teaching, and recommend it to High Schools and Academies as a most useful reference book.

Thomas J. Shahan.

A General History of the Christian Era, for Catholic College and Reading Circles and for self-instruction, Vol. II. The Protestant Revolution. By A. Guggenheimer, S.J. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1901. 8°, pp. 472. $1.50.

We have already indicated (Bulletin, VI, 115–116) the merits of Fr. Guggenheimer's manual of Church History. They are not less in the present volume that deals with the case of the Protestant Revolution, *i. e.*, the Renaissance, taken largely to mean the period that saw the exile of the papacy and the Great Western Schism, the Hundred Years' War, the War of the Roses, and the consolidation of the European monarchies. The rest of the volume is taken up with the events of the Protestant Revolution and the long wars that filled the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of that movement. A last chapter deals with the "Age of Louis XIV" and the political events that largely conditioned the course of Church history in the eighteenth century. The text is brief enough in Fr. G.'s work, but the references to the "literature" of the questions treated are numerous, quite liberally chosen, and as often as possible to English books and articles. Nothing is more easy to criticise than a manual of history, while no compendium is more difficult of perfect execution. Every new manual ought to show some excellencies—none can ever satisfy all classes of readers. It can be said of Fr. G.'s book that it furnishes substantial information on all the points treated, and guides the reader to richer and vaster pastures.

Thomas J. Shahan.

The World's Best Essays. From the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By David J. Brewer, Editor-in-Chief; Edward A. Allen and William Schuyler, Associate Editors. In Ten Volumes. St. Louis: Ferd. P. Kaiser, 1901–1902.

Volume eight of this compilation, ably supervised by Judge Brewer, and as carefully edited, from the publisher's point of view, by Mr. Ferdinand Kaiser, has just appeared. Judge Brewer and his associates have shown great catholicity of taste in their selections from the typical essays of all races and of nearly all times since writing assumed the form of the essay. The advantage of such compilations as this is not that they satisfy interest in typical writers, but that they stimulate it. It would be a misfortune if such a series should merely fill the needs of the man who can only run and read—of the busy man who wants to talk of the literature he can only read in snatches between his nap and his daily paper. There should be books, it is true, for that order of minds which put the things of the spirit aside as less important than the comforts and luxuries of the body; at first sight this work might be looked on as belonging to that class. But on examination it is evident that it was not the intention of the editors to make only a book of "ready reference." Generally they have chosen such essays as must give the readers a desire to further the intellectual contact with the author of them. Every man may here find an article to his taste, and the essays are not clipped, but given in full from good texts. St Thomas Aquinas is represented by three extracts from the "Ethics," including the definition of love and hatred. St. Augustine's "Concerning the Imperial Power and the Kingdom of God," is the first of three.

There is, we regret to say, only one extract from Newman; this is called "Inspiration and the Higher Criticism," and the biographical note is unusually inadequate. That Newman left "Lead, Kindly Light" as his "most enduring monument" is a statement which most of us will receive with polite incredulity; that "he was a prose writer of no mean rank" is a statement which will hardly satisfy even the ordinary reader who knows the "Apologia Pro Vita Sua." Max Müller is no better represented than Newman, and the only prose from St. George Mivart is the celebrated "Happiness in Hell." Gaston Boissier might well have been included, and Brunetière ought to have been allowed to fill a longer space.

Nevertheless, the wealth of these volumes is so great that even the disproportionately long number of Bacon's essays does not destroy our respect for a compilation which is so well intentioned and so useful. We shall return again to the "Best Essays."

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Perfect Woman. Translated from the French of Charles de Sainte-Foi. By Zéphirine N. Brown. Boston: Marlier and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 195.

This is an admirable little book, the work of a discreet, experienced and sympathetic writer. Though religious in tone and spirit, these pages were evidently penned by one who knows the world and its ways—hence a certain kindly shrewdness and breadth of observation. The book is meant for the average woman whose duties call her to a place in society, and to whom falls usually the lot of educating the society of the future. There is as much good sense as piety in the work. It may well find a place in every family library.

A Treatise of Spiritual Life. Translated from the Latin of Mgr. Charles Jos. Morozzo, Cistercian Abbot and Bishop of Bobbio. Rev. D. A. Donovan, Ord Cist. 2d revised edition, 1902. New York: Pustet. 8°, pp. 513.

This second edition of the first English translation of the Cistercian Morozzo's "Cursus Vitæ Spiritualis" deserves a place in the library of every priest. Sober and calm in exposition, clear and full in doctrine, the little work has been for two hundred years a useful guide to many. Of late it had fallen somewhat into oblivion; a Redemptorist first, and now a brother Cistercian, are responsible for placing it before the public. The Latin reprint bears the imprimatur of the "Magister Sacri Palatii," and the English translation that of the Archbishop of St. Louis; the doctrine is therefore beyond cavil.

Sermons on the Stations of the Cross, the Our Father, Hail Mary, etc. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A.M. New York: Pustet, 1901. 8°, pp.

Father Raycroft's sermons make excellent reading, not alone for the home circle but for his brethren of the clergy. They are earnest in temper, simple and direct in style, actual and practical in purpose. His own modest estimate of their worth does not detract from their value. The diction, in particular, is such that even a reader of moderate literary culture can follow at all times and grasp the logical exposition, the principles enunciated, and the conclusions drawn for him in language that is simple and candid while it is devoid of harshness and stiffness.

Where is the Church of Christ? By M. Van der Hagen, S.J.; translated from the Dutch by Canon van de Rydt. Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 1901. 8°, pp. 198.

Fr. Van der Hagen has condensed in some sixty brief paragraphs the true doctrine of Catholicism concerning the Church and the characteristic marks that especially distinguish her. He expresses with great clearness and brevity the principal points of difference between Catholics and Protestants—the Bible, Faith and Good Works, Confession and Indulgences, the Blessed Sacrament, the Invocation of the Saints, and Miracles. The content of this booklet is sound and timely, the spirit irenical, the language simple and candid. It has already seen four editions in the original Dutch; a French and a German translation have appeared. Though the English translation reads smoothly, it would be well to submit it to some capable scholar—here and there appear some quaintness and certain weaknesses of grammar or idiom. An index is never useless in any book destined for instruction. This book has none.

Jesus Living in the Priest. Considerations on the Greatness and Holiness of the Priesthood. By Rev. Fr. Millet, S.J.; translated by Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D.D., Bishop of Nashville. New York: Benziger, 1901. 8°, pp. 517.

We gladly welcome the appearance, in English dress, of this work on the priesthood. In matter and form it is admirable. The treatment is orderly, pointed, eminently practical. No trace of translation is to be seen in the lucid, vigorous English style. The work is marked throughout by a deep knowledge of the aspirations and discouragements of the priest's hidden life and by a comprehensive grasp of his public requirements. The author's subject matter falls under six heads; (*a*) The General Idea of the Priest; (*b*) Hidden Life; A Preparation for the Office of the Priesthood; (*c*) Public Life; Exercises of the Sacred Ministry; (*d*) Suffering Life; Trials of the Sacred Ministry. Conditions of Success; (*e*) Eucharistic Life. The Eucharist the Great Means of Achieving Success in the Labors of the Ministry; (*f*) Glorious Life. Rewards of the Labors of the Holy Ministry. The last thirty-five pages of the book are devoted to very instructive and suggestive notes on Prayer, a Priest's Studies, Zeal, and cognate topics.

The Gathering of Brother Hilarius. By Michael Fairless. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 171.

A slight tale of mediaeval life, told in sweet idiomatic English, with much sympathy, and a good grasp of the realties, the sunshine and shadow of existence in England, when the Black Death fell upon the land.

St. Anthony in Art and Other Sketches. By Mary F. Nixon-Roulet. Boston: Marlier and Co., 1891. 8°, pp. 260.

This volume is a reprint of nine essays first published in the pages of different monthly magazines. Their appearance in more enduring and convenient form will be appreciated by all who are acquainted with Mrs. Mary F. Nixon-Roulet's meritorious literary labors. The subjects treated, St. Anthony, St. Cecelia, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Angels in Art, etc., are all attractive and interesting. The work is worthy of special praise for the excellent reproductions of masterpieces, forty-eight in number, of Murillo, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Tintoretto, etc., which it contains. Much credit is due to the publishers for the appearance of the volume; it is a dainty specimen of the art of book-making.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Corinne's Vow. By Mary T. Waggaman. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, pp. 144. $1.25.

Chromolithographic Leaflets for First Communion. By Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, Bruges, 1902. Fcs. 12.50 per 100.

The Public School Arithmetic for Grammar Grades. By J. A. McLellan and A. F. Ames. New York: Macmillan, 1902. 8°, pp. 369. 60 cents.

The Passion, Historical Essay. By R. P. Ollivier, O.P.; translated from the French by E. Leahy. Boston: Marlier and Co., 1902. 8°, pp. 439. $1.50.

A Few First Principles of Religious Life. By Fr. H. R. Buckler, O.P. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, pp. 52. 25 cents.

Proceedings of the Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies held at Cincinnati, December 10, 11, 12, 1902. Pp. 52.

Seventeenth Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, 1899–1900. 8°, pp. 640.

The Life of Jesus Christ, embracing the entire Gospel narrative, etc. By Rev. Walter Elliot, C.S.P. New York: Catholic Book Exchange, 1902. 8°, pp xxv + 763.

Find the Church. An Aid to the Inquirer. By William Poland, S.J. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 29. 5 cents.

The Berkleys. By Emma Howard Wright. Bob O'Link. By Mary T. Waggaman. As True as Gold. By Mary E. Mannix. The Golden Lily. By Katherine Tynan Hinkson. Brunt and Bill. By Clara Mulholland. Mary Tracy's Fortune. By Anna T. Sadlier. Recruit Tommy Collins. By Mary G. Bonesteel. New York: Benziger, 1902. 16mo. 40 to 45 cents each.

The Dangers of Spiritualism. By A Member of the Society for Psychical Research. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 153.

A Devout Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By A. Bernard Wilberforce, O.P. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 244. $1.00.

Miscellaneous: Ordo Baptismi Parvulorum. By Pustet. New York, 1902. 12°, pp. 16.—Instructions on the Sixth Commandment. By Fr. I. de Bressanvide; translated from the Italian by Rev. John J. Roche, O.F.M. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1901. 8°, pp. 22.—Instructions and Prayers for Catholic Youth. By Benziger. 1901. 32°, pp. 480.—Short Visits to the Blessed Sacrament. Compiled by Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger, 1901. 32°, pp. 158.—The Public School Arithmetic for Grammar Grades. By J. A. McLellan and A. F. Ames. New York: Macmillan, 1902. 8°, 269.—Corinne's Vow. By Mary T. Waggaman. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, 144.—Sermons for the Sundays and Feasts of the Year. By the Venerable Curé of Ars. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1901. 8°, pp. 292+78.—The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass explained in sermons (a course of seven Lenten sermons, including a sermon on Good Friday) and eleven sermons on the Sacred Heart. By the Rev. J. Fuhlratt. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1901. 8°, pp. 36+47.—Short Sermons for Low Masses for all the Sundays and some feast days of the year. By F. Heffner, O.P. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1901. 8°, pp. 152.—First Religious Instructions for Little Ones with an appendix: Instructions on First Communion. By Rev. Albert Schaffler. New York: Joseph Wagner, 1901. 8°, pp. 34+208.—The Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. By Rev. A. Lesnière, Priest of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament; translated by Mrs. Anne R. Bennet-Gladstone. New York: Benziger, 1902. 8°, pp. 288.—L'Evangile et le Temps Présent. Par M. L'Abbé Elie Perrin. Paris: Victor Retaux, 1901. Pp. 379.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Alumni Association of The Catholic University was held Tuesday, February 4, at the Hotel Rennert, Baltimore. The vice-president, Rev. William T. Russell, called the business meeting to order at 3:30 p. m. The minutes of the last meeting were read by the secretary, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, S.T.L. The report of the secretary showed that during the past year there was a considerable increase in the number of members and that a gratifying interest was manifested on all sides in the progress of the Association. Letters of regret were received from Rev. Dr. Kerby, Rev. Dr. Lucas and Rev. Patrick Hayes. The report of the treasurer, Rev. John W. Melody, showed a balance in the treasury of $153.93. The historian, Rev. Francis W. Maley, was unavoidably absent. There was much discussion concerning the place of the next meeting. At first there seemed to be an overwhelming sentiment in favor of New York, but Rev. Fathers Leahy and O'Connor urged the claims of Boston so very earnestly that for a time it was doubtful which city would gain the day. When, finally, a vote was taken, it was found that New York was the choice of the members by a majority of two votes. The officers elected for the ensuing year are: Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, of New York, president; Rev. Frank Duffy and Mr. Lawrence O. Murray, of New York, vice-presidents; Rev. William J. Higgins, of Philadelphia, secretary; Rev. Joseph McGinley, of Brooklyn, treasurer; Rev. Philip H. Sheridan, of Baltimore, historian; executive committee: Rev. Joseph F. Smith, of New York; Mr. Francis Brady, of Baltimore; Mr. C. E. Martin, of Parkersburg, W. Va.; Mr. William Naulty, of Baltimore; Mr. Francis Guilfoile, of Waterbury, Conn.

The chairman spoke of the necessity of revising the Constitution of the Association, and the Executive Committee was instructed to draw up a new Constitution and to propose the same at the next meeting. It was the sense of the meeting that it is yet impracticable to organize local branches of the Association. No attempt has been made in that direction and it was thought advisable to leave action on this matter to the initiative of the local Alumni; in the meantime to concentrate effort in favor of the general Association, and arouse deeper interest in its annual meeting. A committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Kerby, Fathers Ryan and O'Connor, was appointed by the Chair to confer with the Administration of the University and see if notices of interest to the Alumni regarding work done in classes, academies, public lectures, items of University life, and notes pertaining to the Alumni, etc., might not be collected and published in each number of the Bulletin. An interesting debate arose over the question of fixing a certain definite time for holding the annual meeting. It was thought by some of the members that the Association would be kept in closer touch with the University, if the meetings were held regularly in Washington at Commencement time. It was shown, on the other hand, that it would prove very difficult for the majority of the members to attend a meeting at that particular time. It was finally decided that for the convenience of the members the Executive Committee should be instructed to assign a suitable date some time between Christmas and the Lenten season. Likewise, that notices should be sent thirty days ahead of the meeting so as to afford all ample time to so dispose their engagements that they may be present. The secretary was instructed to send out reports, invitations, circulars, etc., to all graduates or former students of the University who are eligible to membership in the Association, whether they have formally signified their intention to become members or not.

A resolution of sympathy was unanimously voted to the President, Rev. Dr. Kerby, who was unable to be present, owing to the death of his sister.

Sincere praise is due to the retiring officers for their efficient administration of the affairs of the Association during the past term. Nor can the members forget the successful efforts of the Baltimore Alumni to make the social features of the reunion charming and hospitable. An elaborate dinner was served under their supervision at 6 p. m. The decorations were tasteful and an excellent orchestra was provided. On all sides there was evidence of careful preparation. There was the utmost manifestation of good feeling throughout the evening.

Regrets were read from the Pro-Delegate, His Eminence Cardinal Martinelli, Most Rev. John Ireland, Most Rev. John J. Keane, Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, and from Professors Hyvernat, Shea, and Shanahan.

The toasts were listened to with pleasure and evoked enthusiastic applause. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons was compelled to leave before the close of the banquet, but before going he delivered a brief address in which he complimented the University on its successful work and expressed his gratification at having so many priests from the Catholic University in his diocese. He hoped that the institution would always bring him a like supply in the future.

The first toast, "Our Holy Father," was responded to by the Rector, the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty. Other toasts were: "Our

Country,'' Clarence E. Martin, Esq.; ''Our Alma Mater,'' Rev. Maurice M. Hassett; ''Our Hosts, the Baltimore Alumni,'' Rev. Martin O'Donoghue. Those present at the dinner were: The Chancellor of the University, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons; Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Very Rev. P. J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector; Revs. Charles F. Aiken, D.D., Catholic University; Francis O. Duffy, Dunwoodie, N. Y.; William Courtney, New York; William Currie, Lemuel E. Norton, Lawrence Deering, Michael McSorley, John E. Bradley, William J. Higgins, Philadelphia; John Crane, John Kenney, George V. Leahy, Maurice J. O'Connor and William Grant, Boston; Rev. John Burke and Mr. Clarke Waggaman, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Maurice M. Hassett, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. John A. Ryan, St. Paul, Minn.; Rev. James J. Fitzpatrick, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Clarence E. Martin, Martinsburg, W. Va.; Rev. Cornelius J. Holland, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Joseph McGinley, Brooklyn; Rev. John W. Melody, Chicago; and Revs. William Fletcher, D.D., Sidney S. Hurlbut, Henry J. Nagengast, Thomas McGuigan, Malachy Yingling, William T. Russell, Louis O'Donovan, John Graham, James Nolan, Lawrence McNamara, Lucian Johnston, Martin O'Donoghue, Philip Sheridan and Messrs. William Naulty and F. Brandy of Baltimore.

The next meeting will be looked forward to with great interest as New York will undoubtedly attract a large attendance. Moreover, the Alumni of New York have assured the Association that no effort will be spared to make the meeting successful and pleasant.

Rev. William J. Higgins,
Secretary.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Gift of $50,000 from Mrs. Sarah Ferris Devlin.—By the will of the late Mrs. Sarah Ferris Devlin of Boston, the University receives the generous donation of $50,000. The following acount of her life is taken from the *Boston Pilot* and is inserted here as a perpetual souvenir of our distinguished benefactress.

"Sarah Ferris was born in Londonderry, Ireland, and at the age of twelve years came to Boston, where several of her brothers and sisters settled. She was married about fifteen years ago to Edward Devlin, a native of the same place and friend and lover of all her life. Mrs. Devlin had two brothers teachers in the Old Land, and was herself devotedly fond of study. She was proficient in German and French; was one of the first members of the *Alliance Française* of Boston, and a member also of the *Alliance Française* of Paris and Cambridge (Harvard University). Both before and after her marriage she had travelled extensively in the United States and Europe. But her life and her means were not devoted merely to study and personal enjoyment. She was a devout Catholic and a most charitable woman. Every work of charity appealed to her generous heart, and her benefactions were liberal, but unostentatious. She had great pleasure in forwarding the interests of young literary people, artists, musicians, etc. Of a cheerful, sunshiny disposition, she made hosts of friends who now deplore her loss and have heartfelt sympathy for her bereaved husband who has been so devoted to her through her long months of invalidism. Besides her bereaved husband, a brother and two nieces mourn her death. Mrs. Devlin was a member and a generous friend of the John Boyle O'Reilly Reading Circle."

The University will always remember with pious gratitude this estimable lady; her munificent gift was made out of a long-cherished spontaneous and affectionate devotion to the cause of the highest attainable education for Catholic young men and women. Her place is marked on the catalogue of the principal benefactors of the Catholic University of America, whose aims every such great gift tends to confirm and perpetuate.

On Saturday morning, March 15, a Solemn Mass of Requiem for the repose of the soul of Mrs. Sarah Ferris Devlin, was sung in the Caldwell Chapel by the Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D., Vice-Rector, at which all the professors and students of the University assisted. The Right Rev. Rector, Bishop Conaty, occupied his usual place in the sanctuary, and the bereaved husband of the deceased, Mr. Edward Devlin, made a special trip from Boston to be present at the ceremony.

R. I. P.

Other Gifts to the University.—REV. E. W. J. LINDESMITH of the Diocese of Cleveland has established two theological scholarships (of $5,000 each) for that diocese.

MISS ELIZABETH KIERNAN, of Cincinnati, lately deceased, has left to the University $5,000 for a scholarship to be allotted to poor and deserving students of that city. The residue of her estate is also left to the University.

MR. TIMOTHY RIORDAN, late of Baltimore, has left to the University the sum of $5,000. By the terms of his will the residue of his estate will revert to the University.

MR. ANDREW DOUGHERTY, late of New York, bequeathed to the University the sum of $5,000.

MR. JOHN GALLAGHER, late of Chicago, bequeathed to the University the sum of $1,000.

MR. HAMILTON LEWIS, of London (late of Boston), left to the University one third of his estate, valued at about $100,000. This becomes payable at the death of his wife.

These donations and bequests have come to the University within this academic year. To all these benefactors the University expresses its gratitude for their signal acts of devotion and confidence. They will be always remembered among the original friends and well-wishers of this great Catholic enterprise. Even now, after the passing of several centuries, the students of Oxford hear repeated daily, at their college tables, the names of their ancient benefactors. Those of the Catholic University of America may rightly look forward not only to a remembrance in the daily prayers of its students, but to the more solemn and efficacious mementoes of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. May the day not be far distant when a suitable Church will arise on our grounds in which proper public monuments may be established, commemorative forever of the benefactors of the University!

Public Lectures 1901–1902.—The winter and spring course of Public University lectures was opened on January 15, by Dr. William C. Robinson, Dean of the Faculty of Law. Dr. Maurice Francis Egan was scheduled to deliver the opening lecture, but owing to illness was prevented. Dr. Robinson kindly consented to fill his place, and chose for his subject, "The Future of Society." Rev. Dr. Charles F. Atken lectured on February 15 on "The Ancient Christian Monument of Hsi-an-Fu"; Dr Robinson lectured March 19, on "The Value of the Study of Law as a Means of General Intellectual Culture"; April 16, Rev. Dr. John D. Maguire will speak on "Livy as an Orator," and May 21, Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace will close the course with a lecture on "The Education of Women in Greece and Rome." The Assistant Secretary of State, Hon. David Payne Hill, was scheduled to lecture on Washington's Birthday, February 22, but was prevented by the pressure of official duties. Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, Chairman of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, kindly took his place and delivered an appropriate discourse.

The New Dominican House of Studies.—The latest evidence of interest in the University work is shown by the determination of the Dominican Fathers to establish their House of Studies near the Catholic University for the education of their own students. Four acres of land have been purchased on the Bunker Hill Road, directly opposite Keane Hall, and it is the intention of the Dominican Fathers to erect in the near future a seminary or house of studies. This means the abandonment of their seminary at Somerset, Ohio, and the establishment of a central novitiate at Washington. Among the reasons influencing this action is their belief that, by reason of the Catholic University, Washington is destined to become a Catholic intellectual center.

The American Province of this Order was founded early in the last century. The Dominicans were pioneers of Catholicity in Kentucky and Ohio. From the year 1818 until the present time their students for the priesthood have been educated at the seminary in Ohio.

The new seminary will not be affiliated with the University since the constitutions of the Order of St. Dominic will not permit it. Its constitutions prescribe its own course of ecclesiastical studies, and its fame for scholarship since the foundation of the Order in the thirteenth century is well maintained in the American Province by a number of brilliant men of university training, who will be the teachers at the new seminary, and thus give to the Dominican students the training which the Order requires them to receive. While remaining independent of the University, the Dominicans locate beside it, in order that they may avail themselves of the opportunities for courses in special studies under the University professors not provided for by their own curriculum.

The Endowment of the University.—It was decided at the October meeting of the Board of Trustees to appoint a clergyman who should devote himself to the work of collecting funds for the University work. The gentleman selected is the Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, Ph.D., of New York, pastor of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes. Rev. Dr. McMahon is most favorably known throughout the country, having been for several years past an assistant at the cathedral of New York until his recent promotion to the pastorate of Our Lady of Lourdes Church. He was prominent in the early development of the Catholic Summer School movement, and is recognized as an authority on library work, having been the principal agent in the establishment and development of the cathedral library. He has also given marked assistance to the Catholic teachers of New Yok by his work in pedagogy. Archbishop Corrigan has generously consented to allow Dr. McMahon to devote much of his time to the endowment work of the University. Every effort will be made this year toward the completion of this work, and it is felt that the coöperation of Dr. McMahon will be of great assistance to the Rt. Rev. Rector and to the trustees.

A Special Course in Gaelic.—The Right Rev. Rector has been able to make arrangements with Professor Frederick N. Robinson, the instructor of Gaelic at Harvard, to give a course of twenty lectures at the University, from April 11 to April 22. In this course Dr. Robinson will deal with Old Irish Grammar, giving a practical outline of the subject, and start a class in the reading of texts. This particular course is intended for those students who have already matriculated in Gaelic and who are familiar with Modern Irish. It will be a purely technical course along university lines of study.

The University remembers with gratitude Dr. Robinson's popular lectures of last year, and is doubly indebted to him now for his willingness to come to the University during his Harvard Easter Recess, to which, through the courtesy of his University, he has been allowed to add three or four days, in order to give one full course of instruction in Gaelic. A public evening lecture of more popular interest will be given during this course, entitled "Early Irish Lyrical Poetry."

Gift of Rare Books.—We are indebted to the generosity of Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, of San Francisco, a former student of The Catholic University, for the following interesting manuscripts and books, collected by him during a trip to the East Indies: 1. A Manuscript Syriac Missal, used by the Chaldean Christians of the Malabar Coast.

2. A Chaldean Ritual printed in Rome in 1775. The title is: Taksa kaldaya detheshmeshta deraze kaddishe akh 'yadha de 'itta demalabar, or, Chaldean Ritual for the administration of the Holy Sacraments according to the custom of the Malabar Church. 3. A Manuscript Syriac Breviary used on the Malabar Coast. 4. A short explanation of the law, the knowledge of which is necessary to all Christians. This is the first book printed in the Malabar character Malayalam by Fr. Paulino a San Bartolomeo, author of India Christiana, Rome, 1772. 5. A Malabar Manuscript in the Malayalam character containing the history of the Council of Diamper. The Manuscript bears the date A. D. 1829. 6. A Malayalam Prayer-Book, printed in the Romo Syrian Monastery of El-Thuruth, Cochin, under the native Carmelite Syrians, 1900.

RT. REV. THOMAS BEAVEN, D.D., Bishop of Springfield, has presented the University Library with a splendid and costly publication of the Goerres Society, the "New Collection of the Diaries, Acts, Letters and Tractates of the Council of Trent," of which the first volume has just appeared. For this indispensable help to the students of Church History, Dogmatic and Moral Theology, and Canon Law, both professors and students are very grateful to the Bishop of Springfield.

RT. REV. CAMILLUS P. MAES, D.D., Bishop of Covington, has donated several valuable books to the University Library. Bishop Maes has more than once shown a practical interest in the work of the Library, for which all the students and professors owe him a debt of gratitude.

V. REV. DR. EDMUND T. SHANAHAN delivered a lecture, Friday February 21, on "The Schoolmen and Aristotle" before the Bryn Mawr Philosophical Association of Bryn Mawr College. The lecture embodied an exposition of the Scholastic movement in its genesis, Greek, Latin and Arabic sources, and contrasted the respective attitudes toward Aristotle assumed by the Mystics, St. Thomas, and Siger of Brabant.

DR. CHARLES P. NEILL gave a lecture, January 10, before the students and faculty of Dunwoodie Seminary, New York, on the importance of the study of Economics to the students of Ethics. Dr. Neill also attended the meeting of the Association of American Universities, held in Chicago, February 25, 26 and 27, as delegate from this University.

Meeting of the Special Committee of the Board of Trustees.—At the last meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University, a committee of three was appointed, Bishop Spalding, Archbishop Keane and Bishop Maes, for the purpose of inquiring into the academic and financial conditions of the University, in order to report to a special meeting of the Trustees in April such recommendations as might be deemed advisable for the general development of the University. The Committee met at Caldwell Hall, February 7, and held daily sessions until February 14. Enquiry was made into all the different schools and departments of the University, and the Committee was pleased with all that it saw and heard. It is hoped that much good will result from this visit of the Committee, and that its recommendations to the Board will lead to the strengthening of the University in many of its important departments. Everybody at the University was delighted to see this manifestation of deep interest on the part of the Trustees, whose Committee gave so much valuable time to the consideration of every department.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—St. Vincent of Lerins, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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THE LEADERSHIP OF LEO XIII.[1]

We live in a period of transition when cherished views fail to make their wonted impression and new ones succeed the old with almost flash-like rapidity. In every other age of the world's history something has been held too sacred for profanation, but in ours the spirit of criticism, reflex and historical, has stopped at nothing; the mind of the modern student is, in consequence, strewn with the wreckage of systems, policies, and beliefs. Along all the lines of human thought and endeavor destructive analysis has forced its way unsparingly. The social, moral, religious, and intellectual fabric, upon whose construction centuries of unremitting toil have been spent, is now declared insecure—nay, in the minds of many must needs be entirely rebuilt to suit the conditions of our more enlightened life.

The fundamental ideas of a spiritual soul in man, of human freedom, moral responsibility, future life, and a personal intelligent God creating by design, have been attacked from every conceivable point of view; and to many, overborne by the one-sided theories of origin which are now so rife, seem but as riddled hulks, scarcely serving even to draw the fire of criticism.

The old theosophies of the East have been powerfully reasserted as substitutes for Christianity, and the philosophy of the scientific world, in so far as it professes any philosophy, is some form of monism which somehow seeks its God in an omnipresent energy that slowly rises from the dumb and lifeless matter of the universe into the full tide of human consciousness. Religion, both natural and supernatural, was not long since regarded with contemptuous disdain as the fossilized remains of prehistoric superstition—directly traceable to those childish views of nature's forces which early man crudely personified into a world of ministering spirits, before accurate knowledge had blessed him with a clearer vision and a keener insight.

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[1] Discourse delivered before the University, April 6, 1902, on the occasion of the celebration of the Pontifical Jubilee of Leo XIII.

The Scriptures are tested as any other piece of literature, stripped of all the special significance of a message from God to man, and reduced to a mere literary embodiment of a struggling people's ideals. The Christ has been made to shrink to the proportions of the human, to the dignity of an ideal man who went about doing good, teaching and living the highest moral life, anticipating by his consciousness of a divine mission the best type of the manhood of the future, yet conspicuously without any and all those diviner relations which, it is claimed, the Gospel of St. John and a handful of semi-pagan Greeks subsequently wove about his person.

Outside the Church Catholic, even among those who profess a modicum of Christian belief, dogmatic truth has dwindled down to the two sentimental propositions of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, while all sense of the supernatural is theoretically weakened, even if it be not practically extinct. The press, the novel, and even the pulpit preach the new evangel of a churchless Christ or a Christless church, laying stress upon the necessity of self-development and self-culture as the appointed means of salvation. Toiling man, we are assured, is eventually to come unaided to the dignity of being his own savior and sanctifier by wresting from dumb Nature the story of his origin and destiny, by unfettering himself gradually from that inherited lower self which still compels him to act like his progenitors in the past, even though his face be now firmly set towards that beatific future when knowledge shall have fully emancipated him and put perfect self-control within his power.

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Christianity is thus described out of recognition by a thousand pens which dispose of volumes in a word or syllable and exhaust all the resources of wit and irony in making doctrine ridiculous. The central position of Christ in the divine world-plan as the creative principle by which all things were made; and in human history as the anointed head of the race, the mediating and meritorious source of all its higher good and the atoning principle for all that men do of evil, is now usurped and occupied by "enlightened man." Led up to the mountain peak by pride of spirit, shown all the kingdoms of the world spread out in glory before him, man beholds all lower nature laid under tribute to furnish the materials of his bodily frame; feels a consecrating sense of kinship with, and kingship over the vast panorama of which he alone is the conscious and free interpreter; and lends willing ear to the inward voice which whispers: "All these will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me." Reason! he exclaims, the end and goal and summit of all desire! Thou only God! There is no God beside!

Not only is the field of human thought crossed and recrossed by new and strange forces, but the social, industrial, political and domestic conditions of men have undergone a veritable revolution. The industrial development of the nineteenth century—greater by far than that of all the others put together—has displaced the old conceptions of social relations and brought a new set of competing principles into play. In the first fervor of competition the ethical consideration of man's dignity and individual worth counted for little in determining his right to a living wage and was sacrificed to purely economic laws and conditions. Socialism, in consequence of these newly imposed economic hardships, has become the ideal statehood for millions.

The political and domestic orders have had their share of disturbance. Superior civilizations claim the ethical right to force their principles and institutions on the less favored, and the arbitrament of the sword ensues where that of the pen has failed. The Christian constitution of the family has been practically annulled by the loosening of the marriage tie on grounds that will not bear the analysis of judicious statesmanship.

That solidarity of mutual interest and responsibility which should characterize the efforts of the theologian, the moralist, the statesman, the social reformer, the economist, and bind their related sciences together, may be said no longer to exist. Every branch of human learning, and, one might almost say, of human striving has become autonomous and independent, until every man looks upon the little corner of the world, which he has singled out for study, as a point of vantage whence to criticise and judge all reality. Not long since, hardly twenty years ago, science was committed to the endeavor of dislodging religion from its stronghold over the lives and ways of men, and even of dictating to Christianity itself the terms of an inglorious surrender. With religion deprived of its sovereignty over the moral side of man's nature; with the empire of intellect and of moneyed might establishing and recognizing an ethics all its own, agnosticism, pantheism, and evolution might well appear to have made short shrift of the supernatural and to have thrown down the gauntlet of challenge to the philosophy of the spiritual itself.

In such an environment there was sore need of directive leadership. Not all that our age has brought forth is evil, and much of it is good and lasting. Let those who will sigh for the good old days when the problems of life were easier and the surprises fewer. We are not so faltering in our Christian faith as to believe that God's arm is shortened because man has discovered a new star or found it to be a possibility that the creation of some lower species was not immediate. Neither are we so lacking in Christian courage as to feel like strangers and idle spectators in a day and country whose tireless spirit is advance; nor so bereft of discernment as to see nothing but chaff in the modern harvest.

We Catholics who have a sense of the past as a good corrective of the extremist views which the Church, ever old, yet ever new, has outlived in all centuries, are not without a sense of the future strongly developed within us, for have we it not under the seal of the Master's own lips that He will be with His Church all days even unto the consummation of the ages? Were man a mere thinking machine made to turn out yearly newer and still newer views of the world's grand pageant, and not also a moral and religious agent who seeks to serve a divine purpose and attain to true development by a final union with the unseen Source of all, we might be tempted to look upon the future as wholly unrelated to the past and to fear that what is to come in the course of human investigation might overthrow all that had gone before. But to the Catholic who frames a larger world-view than that which is bounded by natural knowledge, the conviction comes as an inheritance that the final purpose which is being worked out in nature and in history was systematically planned in the divine counsels from the beginning and has harmony, not contradiction, for its source and guiding principle. This belief in the higher uniformity of things in the mind of Him who made them, however much at variance the narrow analyst may try to make them out to be, is the badge of our discipleship in religion and the inspiration of our endeavor in science.

And are we not gathered to-day about this altar of sacrifice to give public expression by a supreme act of religion to our belief in Jesus Christ the divine Word and Redeemer of mankind still sacramentally present with us, and to take new courage from the fact that in the troublous times of the past quarter of a century a leader like Leo XIII has been vouchsafed us—a truly great Pontiff who sympathizes fully with all that is good and progressive in this wondrous period of the world's development, while stoutly resisting the efforts of a hostile environment to absorb Christianity and deaden its influence; who has preached Christ crucified as a cure for man's ills to an age which, like careless Gallio, seemed to set little store by such things, rapt as it was and is in the ecstasy of discovering a formula in which all the facts of life may be triumphantly written out without recognizing the right of Jesus Christ and His Church to be represented in the world's equation?

To be a good leader in human thought or in practical affairs is to anticipate the final outcome of movements and to be beforehand in fostering the reaction that the years are sure to bring. We are indeed too close to Leo XIII to take his true measure, and as a subject for discourse his pontificate is considerably hackneyed by the usual stock of platitudes kept in reserve to glorify the deeds of all public men. But, after sufficient length of years, when this great pope shall cease to be a trite subject and the eulogist shall have yielded place to the critic, the future historian will praise him duly for assuming a healthy and conciliatory attitude in a period when men were given over to the worship of one-sided views, and bent upon reconstructing all history to suit the interest of their cherished theories. Let us try to forecast the judgment of future critics in this regard.

The first great movement which Leo XIII set on foot was the restoration of the philosophy of St. Thomas to the place of honor in the Catholic schools. No one can read his encyclical on the restoration of Thomistic studies without feeling that a sound motive prompted it. The philosophy of St. Thomas was all the philosophies that preceded it and yet none of them wholly. It was a scientific inventory of the facts, principles, and conclusions discovered by human reason up to his time. It did not wholly break with the continuity of the past, but re-expressed those elements of thought which seemed assured of permanence. Synthetic as well as analytic, it destroyed only to build, it separated only to put together, and admitted the progressive character of human reason both as to more intense powers of knowing, and a more extensive range of objects known.

It laid solid foundations for universal ideas and drew a sharp line between sense and intellect, emphasizing the irreducibility of thought to matter, despite the interdependence and solidarity which the energies of both displayed. It did not confuse the spiritual and material principles in man, nor yet force them out of all relation, but simply made both distinct in the substantial unity of the human person. It combined induction with deduction and defined theoretically as well as it observed practically the dividing lines between philosophy and theology. It viewed physical nature as only one side of a beneficent divine purpose, and left room in its wide scheme of thought for the phenomena of grace and the supernatural to carry out this purpose on a higher and parallel plane. It recognized a purposive something in nature and a purposive something in human history directing things as well as men to appointed ends, and sought the unity and harmony of all in the mind of Him who planned these stages of development as means to a still higher end and goal, which was none other than a blessed partnership of created will and intellect with the intellectual and moral life of God. Finally, it conceived all the physical sciences, together with metaphysics, as ministering the data upon which theology was to build itself into a science whose object was to defend the harmonious relationship of all truth and to allow the revelations from above and the discoveries from below to mingle in friendly converse and communion.

In a word, the purpose of this philosophy was to give solidarity and unity of structure to all the facts of human knowledge and divine faith. And to-day when the ways of nature are more extensively known and more intensely studied; when a profound reaction away from extreme specialization and toward synthetic reconstruction is once more making itself felt in human thought; when, in fine, philosophy is striving to piece together what analytic science has torn apart, who can deny that the ideal reconstruction must be, on general lines, at least, that wisdom of St. Thomas to which the foresight of Leo XIII has again directed the general attention? Details may have varied, the critical sense may have grown more acute, and some of the old notions may no longer be serviceable as building-material; but the outlook upon the world which this philosophy affords has not lost its inspiration. The future critic, says a recent writer, will perhaps characterize our age as one in which all were scientists and none philosophers. Such another, in the years that are to be, cannot fail to commend the wisdom of a pontiff who foresaw in a synthetic spirit the prime corrective as well as need of the age in which he lived.

But while insisting on the need of philosophy, Leo XIII was no reactionary against science, no advocate of a return to the subtleties of scholasticism. It is ever the letter that killeth and the spirit that giveth life. The encyclicals "Æterni Patris," "Providentissimus Deus," "Longinqua"; the encyclical on Human Liberty, and, earlier still, his splendid pastoral on the Church and Civilization—the latter written almost on the eve of his election—all breathe a love of science and progressiveness such as no other occupant of the chair of Peter has ever surpassed in expression. Read his letters to the promoters of the Catholic Scientific Congresses, his instructions and addresses to scientific men, his exhortations to students, his judicious plea in favor of the biblical sciences, and his encyclical to the French clergy, and you will arise from their perusal fired with the love and ardor of this enthusiastic spokesman of human learning. Even in that brief letter on "Historical Studies" written to the three Cardinals, DeLuca, Pitra and Hergenroether, we hear a trumpet-call such as this: "Barren narrative should be replaced by laborious and careful research; historiographers should ever bear in mind that the first law of history is to dread uttering a falsehood; the next is not to fear stating the truth; while finally, the historian's writings should be above all suspicion of partiality or animosity." The pontiff who opened the doors of the Vatican Archives to the world of scholars, and who but lately confirmed his satisfaction with that act, shall not go down in history as unfriendly to scientific endeavor.

But his activity did not stop at the mere promoting of the study of philosophy, theology, scripture, and the natural sciences. The social, political, and domestic problems of our times have felt the influence of his leadership. No public personage in the world of his day has pleaded more eloquently or more strongly in behalf of a higher conception of the worth and dignity of the human individual; or endeavored to secure a recognition of the ethical value of man as of more account than the economic. His clear-cut conceptions of the obligations of the state to protect the individual, of the rights of labor, whether individually, or as a class, show how closely and sympathetically he has studied the crucial problems of modern sociology. And every modern state owes him a lasting debt of gratitude for the determined stand he has taken against Socialism in his encyclicals of 1879, 1891, and 1901. He may be truly said to have spanned his whole pontificate by a continuous protest against organizations that threaten social order.

His reiterated presentation of the Church under the form of a great spiritual commonwealth, independent of, while yet related to the state as the defender of morality and of constituted authority, is another proof of that harmonious relationship which he desires to see everywhere established. Within the Church, as well as without, his watchful spirit has never slumbered, and he has preached peace to the nations when their loins were girt and their breasts panoplied for war. His ever-recurring theme is the return of the nations to the Apostolic sheepfold of Christ, a closer sympathy and union among all the children of the Church. One has but to recall to mind his persistent efforts with the churches of the East, with the Anglican communion, with the embittered political and religious parties in his own and other lands to realize how worthily he has borne the mantle of the prince of peace.

In the domestic order, he has taught the Christian constitution of the family and raised his voice in denunciation of the ravages wrought by divorce. Truly might he say in his encyclical "Longinqua"—an affectionate address to the American people containing the résumé and application of all his teaching: "By pen and voice we have treated of human liberty, of the chief duties of Christians, of civil authority, of the Christian constitution of states and families, with arguments drawn from Holy Writ and the principles of human reasoning." What can the future say but good of this noble central figure of Christendom who bore upon his infirm shoulders the solicitude of all the churches and the anxieties of all the states?

Already the reflux tide is setting in. Criticism has ended by criticising itself, by becoming more conservative, by seeking again that solidarity of interest it ruthlessly destroyed. The physical doctrine of the conservation of energy and its persistence in an unvarying sum—which it was the fashion a decade or more ago to pit against the ideas of a personal God, a spiritual soul, free will, and moral responsibility—is beginning to receive a milder interpretation. For thinking men are coming to recognize a directive quality, as well as an unchanging quantity in the manifestations of all forms of energy, and so the ideas which hasty judgment banished are now enjoying the benefit of a new trial. "Natural Selection," which was so ready an explanation on scientific lips in the eighties, finds few to-day willing to go the length of former advocates in its support. Evolution, among those who pin their faith perfervidly to this idea of development, is being regarded as a rationally directed process, not incompatible with the idea of a personal God acting from design. Ethics is creeping back into Economics and Sociology; religion is no longer viewed as a result of man's curious speculations concerning nature; divorce is beginning to be in disfavor, and the need of making Christianity operative in all the walks of life is finding fearless spokesmen. The Catholic interpretation of Christianity as a spiritual social organism and not as an individual whimsy, has forced itself upon the consideration of the serious-minded, although the idea is being worked out only along lines of practical endeavor, and not with a view to common spiritual government. The great Pontiff, to whose heart the idea of unity and solidarity has been so dear, has lived to see the beginning of a reaction whose results none may foretell. When men begin to re-think their thoughts, they generally find that they have been arguing themselves to destruction on half a truth.

We may say, therefore, that on the intellectual, moral, social, and religious orders of truth, Leo XIII has made an impression not soon to be effaced. He anticipated, if he did not bring about, the great reaction, and this is the glory which from him none may steal. And yet withal, no stranger is he to piety. His almost annual October letters breathe a simple devotion to Her who is the Help of Christians, and the beautiful encyclical "Divinum Illud" on the Indwelling Holy Spirit shows at what well this venerable Pontiff had drunk deep of the waters that spring up unto the life everlasting.

In still another sphere Leo XIII has been an inspiration. He founded the universities of Freiburg, Ottawa, and the Catholic University of America. As scholars we are his children, counselled to be leaders and not followers in scientific pursuits. We have to look no further than to the work of his pontificate for our idea of a Catholic university whose splendid purpose it is to piece together again into unity the isolated fragments of knowledge which detailed investigation yields. Would to God that the same *largeur d'esprit,* the same love of learning, and the same keen insight into modern tendencies might take possession of all American Catholics! The example of our Founder is ours to profit by and imitate. Opposition never held him back, neither did the criticism of the small ones, whose number is legion, ever stay his hand from what he had to do. God grant that men may say the same of us when our harvest-time draws nigh! God grant that some future historian, in that truer perspective which only length of time can bring, will find some link of association to bind, with what he will then call "the Leonine Movement," the faithful few who presided over this institution's struggle for existence, who shouldered its cares and shared its responsibilities, who shook with the thrill of its ideal of promise to the Church Catholic in the sovereign states of North America.

Nor should we forget the striking lesson which his life affords of opportunities improved and of circumstances turned to good account. For Giuseppe Pecci was a leader in his teens, and the boy was father to the man. He absorbed the good out of all environments, and dominated every situation in which he was placed. Inheriting from his mother a devotion to the poor, he passed his boyyhood in the Volscian hills. Schoolboy with the Jesuits at Viterbo and at the Roman College after its restoration, he easily outstripped his fellows in the race of intellect and won the doctor's cap at the age of twenty-two. Trained by the ablest masters from his early youth, and enjoying the converse of such eminent men as Cardinals Pacca and Sala—than whom few knew better the needs of the times—he was not slow to profit by the ripe experience of his seniors. His letters to friends while he was yet a student in the College of Noble Ecclesiastics show how close an observer he was of the great movements in thought and polity that were then only beginning to rise. Ordained priest and made domestic prelate in 1837, and soon afterward appointed civil governor of Benevento, Spoleto, and Perugia, he visited every commune of his province, learned the causes of popular unrest, beheld the movement toward a radical centralized democracy springing up about him, and sought to check it by reform and education. Promoted to the diplomatic service of the Holy See and appointed nuncio at Brussels he had ample oppportunity for several years to grapple with the social, political, and industrial problems of modern life in the capital city of the Belgians so well fitted, situated as it was on the high road between England

and Germany, to make his training and his experience cosmopolitan. Placed in charge of the flourishing diocese of Perugia in 1846, he roused his clergy and people to a love of philosophy and theology; encouraged the higher studies by founding the Scientific Academy of St. Thomas, and by making his diocesan seminary a veritable nursery of scholars. During the revolutionary storm that swept over his native hills, he kept his clergy and his people firm, and by a system of education that had holiness as well as knowledge for its object strove to meet the emergencies that were then at hand.

Nor was he idle in other fields. He established a system of popular loans, founded conferences for the relief of the needy, built granaries for the poor, and increased the wages of the laborer. Busy with every care of office, he yet found time to use his pen. His splendid defence of the temporal dominion of the Holy See at a time when the patrimony of Peter's successors was being forcibly absorbed into the Italian State; his ringing Pastorals on "the Church and Civilization," "the Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century," "Civil Marriage," "Renan's Life of Jesus," and "Current Errors against Religion," have in them all the force and feeling of a spiritual call to arms, to the sword of the spirit.

A Cardinal in 1853, he was finally called to the chair of Peter to give to the world the burning subjects that had been for years in his thoughts, and under his pen; and to govern the Church during a critical period which stands almost without a parallel in human history. Stripped of his temporal sovereignty and deprived of the freedom even of a petty prince, this lion of the fold of Juda has not had his spirit broken by long captivity, nor his outraged sense of justice enfeebled by the coursing of the years.

Student, priest, civil governor, bishop, patron of science and letters, friend of the workingman, philosopher, poet, statesman, pope, with an eagle eye on every movement, and a friendly hand for very good endeavor, how can the future view him otherwise than as the encyclopædic Pontiff, in whose capacious intellect all things and movements, old and new, seemed somehow to fall into their proper proportions; as the Pope of Peace who strove to restore harmony between the natural and the supernatural; science and religion; faith and reason; piety and learning; who sought the peace of the family, the workingman, the State and the Church, and the reunion of all Christendom by his gently firm and firmly gentle method of conciliation, by his loftiness of purpose, and nobility of aim; who rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's; who reasserted the sweeping world-view of St. Thomas that miracle and natural law, nature and grace, faith and reason, Church and State, are but stages toward the realization of that higher communion with God in the after-life which is reserved to the spiritually fittest who have here thought God's thoughts after Him and governed their lives according to the inspiration of His purpose?

The lesson of such a life is too inspiriting in its very recital to need further words to draw its moral. Gathered together to-day to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his glorious pontificate, we can only pray God with fervor to bless this noble old white shepherd of Christendom with still greater length of days and deeds; with the love and fealty of all the flock which he has so vigilantly led through new and untrodden pastures; we can only pray that when the night cometh and our wanderings are at an end, God will lead us all back with him to the eternal sheepfold of the blest. *Dominus conservet eum et vivificet eum et beatum faciat eum in terra et non tradat eum in animam inimicorum ejus!*

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

LIVY AS AN ORATOR.

Ancient and modern letters differ in many respects. They are in contrast both as regards matter and as regards form. With the ancients, especially the Roman writers of the Livian period, rhetoric was consciously and constantly employed, and as a result literary style and expression ceased to be subsidiary and became, if not the predominant at least a prominent aim in their writings. Scientific writing as such, that is mere information apart from expression, merely technical treatises and the like, can scarcely be said to have existed. In a word, science in its formless presentation was unknown.

This broad distinction between the ancients and the moderns, visible throughout the whole range of their respective literatures, is especially marked in their divergent conceptions of history. The modern mind apprehends history as science: the representative historians of the Roman Empire—Sallust, Livy and Tacitus—regarded it as an art.[1] History to-day has its own methods, principles, processes and conclusions, like any other inductive science. The historian looks upon the investigation of historical truth as sufficient of itself. He is content to separate the salient facts of the past, to arrange them according to representative principles, and then to make his synthesis. He holds no brief, he pleads no cause. His sole motive is historical truth, and the more he eliminates disturbing factors, subjective and objective, the nearer he comes to the ideal historian. Again, history to-day embraces many orders of facts which had no place in ancient historical writings. The skilled crafts, the mechanical arts, commerce, industry, despised by the ancients because they were servile occupations, are rehabilitated to-day and find a place in history because they are exercised by free men. Domestic customs, of no importance in ancient times, crowded out in ancient history to give place to the recital of political events, are studied to-day, because the family is of interest as well as the state. Science, such as it was, letters and art, held in ancient times to be the work of a few individuals, are to-day held as works worthy of the entire people. In a word, history has expanded, and aims not only at recording the doings of the human race, but also at what are supposed to be the constant laws underlying those doings.[1]

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[1] E. Riemann, "Etudes sur la langue et la Grammaire de Tite Live," p. 10 sqq., and M. Taine, "Essai sur Tite Live," p. 306 sqq.

The historian of Rome in the time of the Empire, had a widely divergent motive in all his work. Nothing was more alien to his mind than the quest of historical truth for itself. His aim was, above all else, the inculcation of practical lessons drawn from the past touching conditions in the present. This practical purpose, paramount in all that he wrote, not only impaired his vision of past events but it vitiated all his conclusions.[2] He gave no true picture of the past, but instead, he pieced together a mosaic, with elements which he had deliberately chosen out and colored to suit his purpose. Often, of course, his object was praiseworthy in itself. Livy, for example, began his great work with the preconceived purpose of securing greater devotion to the state; and the result is that in his history he canonizes the citizens of ancient Rome, and repeats and embellishes all the myths concerning Rome's origin. He exaggerates the ancient victories, he suppresses or minimizes the defeats. Historical truth as such was subsidiary in his design, and so he seized upon the legendary stories of valor and virtue and devotion to the state in ancient times; these he repeated and prolonged for the sole purpose of engendering like devotion in the present. Thus our historian was biased because his purpose was practical; hence it was that valuable and authentic historical sources were neglected and the fabulous, the mythical and heroic, came to predominate.[3]

This indiscriminating spirit, this deadened historical sense, is one of the commonplaces of Livian criticism. Not only was he unable to uncover the exact truth, but he seemed incapable of appreciating the varying degrees of probability with which past truth can be attained. His poetical temper and the ethical purpose he had in view, both indisposed him to set any very great value on facts as such. And so there is little if any trace of independent investigation in his history. Valuable sources for history lay around him in immense profusion. The priceless collections of Varro, the greatest scholar of antiquity, touching every department of antiquarian research were at hand, but there is no evidence that he used them, and no evidence that he undertook similar labor on his own account. While it is clear that he never wilfully distorts the truth, it is equally clear that he takes comparatively little pains to disengage the truth from myths and fables and inaccuracies. For example, in his account of a battle in Greece he finds that Valerius Antias reckons the number of the enemy killed as inside of ten thousand, while Cladius Quadrigarius says forty thousand. This material discrepancy does not even ruffle Livy. He contents himself with an expression of mild surprise that for once Valerius allows himself to be outstripped in exaggerating numbers. Yet, at other times Valerius is his only authority and he accepts his statements, figures and all, without misgivings. This instance is typical of his method as a critical, or rather uncritical, historian. When his authorities disagree, sometimes he counts heads and follows the majority, sometimes he adopts the earliest account; often he professedly bases a choice on the ground that the story he adopts shows Roman statesmanship or Roman virtue in a more favorable light. Throughout, he allows his own prepossessions to decide whether or not a story is true. "In rebus tam antiquis si quae similia vero sint, pro veris accipiantur," is the easy canon he lays down for early and uncertain events. Even when original documents of great value were accessible to him, he refrains from citing them if they do not satisfy his taste. During the second Punic war a hymn to Juno had been written by Livius Andronicus, for a propitiatory festival.[1] It was one of the most celebrated documents of early Latin, and it would be priceless to-day; but our author refuses to insert it on the ground that to the taste of his day, it would be rude and harsh.

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[1] M. Taine, op. cit., p. 353 sqq., says: "Au lieu de suites d'événements, on vit des classes de faits, on rangea ces classes en un système, on résuma le tout en formules, et l'on jugea que l'histoire universelle doit expliquer les actions et toutes les pensées du genre humain. Cette conception est fort belle; mais ne reduisons pas l'histoire à n'être qu'une science!"

[2] Tacitus, "Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur atque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit." Annal. III, 65.

[3] See also A. Rudiger, "De Orationibus quæ in rerum scriptoribus Græcis et Latinis reperiuntur." Progr. Schleiz., 1875.

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[1] Teuffel's "History of Roman Literature," on Livy: See also Mackall, "Latin Literature," p. 150 sqq.

Besides this difference of method and content, visible throughout ancient and modern history, another marked divergence is to be found in the form of historical presentation. Among the Romans, and especially with Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, history was, as we said, not only an art—it was an oratorical art. Cicero gives us the characterization of history writing in Rome, when he designated it as an "opus maxime oratorium."[1] This Ciceronic maxim Livy never forgets. In his treatment, history is a conscious art analogous with the art of oratory, and admitting, even demanding, in its expression, the methods of oratorical presentation. He holds the brief, and makes the plea for those great names, which are in honor in the popular traditions. Consequently he not only brought to his work the special pleading of the advocate, but he deliberately employed in the composition of that work, all the divices which a perfectly developed oratorical rhetoric placed at his disposal. His work differed not in kind from that of the professional pleader. As the orator in the forum had to instruct and please and convince his clients' judges, so Livy, antiquity's great advocate, having for his clients the great worthies of old Rome, marshalls in their defence and glorification those stately sentences whose arrangement, syntax, vocabulary and rythm not only exhausted the older rhetoric of Cicero, but enriched Roman oratory itself, and gave it a further development.

Now while Roman history, and especially the history of Livy, was written under the acknowledged and direct influence of oratorical rhetoric, another feature which marked Roman history and which again sharply differentiates it from modern history, was the introduction of a dramatic element. This feature, like all the other features of Roman literature, had been borrowed from the Greeks; and it consisted in the insertion of set orations throughout the narrative.[2] It was, indeed, itself a dramatic method of narration. For instead of telling in so many words what were the designs, the policies and the character of historical personages, the ancient historian, both Greek and Roman, allowed all that to be discovered by the reader himself, from the set orations and speeches which he inserted in his narrative. He introduced generals exhorting their soldiers, senators and statesmen speaking in the Senate, tribunes in the assembly, and political leaders in the forum haranguing the populace. In a word, all the public men of former times are represented as telling their own story of current events, as speaking in set orations to the assembled Romans of old, upon questions then in debate. And the speeches thus reported, the historian weaves into the text of the narrative itself. In this manner ancient history was written first in Greece and then in Rome: and in this manner Livy, following the Greek fashion wrote his history. The Livian narrative is, indeed, studded thickly all along with grand and noble specimens of eloquence—orations which modern criticism has found comparable at least with the productions of Rome's classic orator, Cicero, orations composed with all the genius of their richly endowed author, orations which were put together with all the care, all the art and all the rhetoric at the command of one who was a master of words and a past master of Latin prose style; of one who was a true orator in every instinct; of one who was a rhetorician before he was an historian, and who became an historian without ceasing to be an artist.

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[1] Cic., "De Oratore," II, 9, 36.

[2] Cicero, "Orator," XX, 66. "Huic generi (orat.) historia finitima est, in qua et narratur ornate et regio sæpe aut pugna describitur: interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes, sed in his tracta quædam et fluens expetitur, non haec contorta et acris oratio.'

Indeed, when we remember that though only one-fourth of Livy's history has come down to us, there yet remain in the thirty-five extant books four hundred and seven speeches in direct oration, not to mention innumerable "colloquia," exhortations and other long speeches in indirect oration, and when we recall the care and knowledge and genius they exhibit, we are forced to the conclusion that though the narrative portion of his history be greater in quantity, still the quality of the speeches is surpassing. And we feel certain that Livy himself meant them to be the prominent feature of his work. They are, as it were, the jewels—the narrative is merely their setting.

Now Livy's object in all those carefully composed speeches found throughout his history is clear. They were written with no other purpose than to hold up to the readers of his own time the glorious deeds of their ancestors; and to incite them to like deeds of devotion, of valor and virtue; not merely to picture graphically, as in a drama, the exploits, but to recall the very words of their dead sires. Thus, the Romans, hearing, as it were, the voice and seeing almost the speaking lips of the great dead, should themselves be ready, as their forefathers had been prompt to sacrifice all for the commonwealth. To the end that the Roman state, at whose origin gods had presided, whose welfare great and good men in times past had secured at every cost, should itself endure a victor to the end. Now, if this were the purpose which Livy had in view, how could he better compass it than by reincarnating the ancient Roman virtues in the persons of these great worthies who had passed away, leaving behind them names synonymous with all that a Roman held worthy of imitation? How would he more skillfully or more vividly portray Rome's ancient majesty, than by resurrecting the great men of the state, the "patres," the great consuls, the great tribunes, senators, statesmen and generals, and representing them as actually speaking again to their hearers, in senate and forum and camp? Finally, in what other way could he better hold the attention of his readers and reveal the policies and designs of statesmen and parties in past times than by reproducing the very words of the men who had favored and the men who had opposed those policies and those designs?[1]

Furthermore, this graphic and dramatic method of representation was intended not only vividly to portray past events but also to hand down to posterity the characterization of the great men themselves who had played such important rôles in former times. So, for example, Livy, instead of recounting the crimes of Appius Claudius, allows his reader to discover the unspeakable character of the latter from the terrible arraignment of the infamous decemvir which is put in the mouth of Virginius. Again, to pass by numberless examples, we have a far more lively picture of Scipio and a higher idea of his character and attainments, both as a statesman and a general, from the speeches which Livy reports him as delivering before the senate and the army, than we could possibly have from any mere enumeration.

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[1] O. Kohl, "Ueber Zweck und Bedeuting der Livianischen Reden." Progr. Barmen, 1872.

Thus the spirit in which Livy wrote his history is best illustrated by the speeches; they give the tone to the whole work. And this is true not only of Livy's history, but of Roman history in general, from the time especially, when Roman history passed, like every other Latin art, under Greek influence. Thus Sallust and Tacitus, as well as Livy, composed their histories, imitating, in the matter of inserted speeches, Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius. But there is a difference to be noticed between the work of historians prior to Livy and Livy's own work. All the earlier writers of history cited speeches as they cited laws and documents, that is, they took care to insert real speeches into their narrative, speeches either actually delivered, or reported by tradition as delivered. Even Sallust had tried to make the discourses found in his work at least substantially authentic.[1] The most that any previous historian had ventured was to vary the form, without materially changing the substance of the reported speeches. But many of the speeches found in Livy's work are purely imaginary. He sat in his study, and without making any claim for the authenticity of his speeches, deliberately evolved from his own richly endowed mind many of those masterpieces of oratory, whose style and form are little less than faultless. He was the first historian of antiquity to incorporate into his work speeches entirely original with himself, both in content and form; speeches of which he himself was the sole author. He was the first, therefore, to emancipate the historical oration from the narrative and to make it a purely artistic device. This of itself is enough to mark Livy off from all the other writers of antiquity and to signalize his merit, for it marks a stage in the development of letters, a conscious extension of that which was most characteristic of ancient history, namely, the discourse. It marks in Livy a conscious extension of the sphere of the historical oration; the final emancipation of the speech from the narrative, and the use of the oration as a purely artistic device. A curious analogy is found to exist between the rôles played by the speeches in ancient history and the chorus in the Greek drama. Their development, their use, and their fate, are almost identical. At first the chorus was necessary for the unfolding of the plot. But as the drama developed it gradually emancipated itself from the chorus, until finally the chorus ceased to have any vital share whatever in the unfolding of the plot; then it came to pass, that the chorus was added simply for the sake of ornament. So the speech at first was looked upon as necessary for the narrative, and as long as that character attached to it, an evident effort was made by the historian to report only such speeches as were at least substantially real; but as history developed the narrative was gradually emancipated from dependence upon the speech, and the latter was left to go its own way. Finally, in the hands of Livy, the speech ceased to be merely ancillary to the narrative; its province was enlarged; it acquired, we may say, complete autonomy; it was no longer cited as a mere source or a document, but solely as a specimen of oratory. Those superb orations found throughout the Livian history are, therefore, largely Livy's own work. Judged merely as examples of the varied possibilities of Roman eloquence, and apart from their historical value, their excellence is pre-eminent. Indeed, in the minds of many modern critics, and from some points of view, their merits are not inferior to those of Cicero's work itself.[1] Cicero's orations are largely concerned with public and political life alone. Livy's orations cover nearly every possible subject. He speaks for all sorts and conditions of men. His eloquence is most flexible; it accommodates itself to all causes; he pleads for all parties, plebeian and patrician, for Romans, Samnites, Greeks and Carthagenians; not stiffly, but naturally and without effort. There are speeches in the senate, speeches of tribunes in the forum, speeches of generals to their armies, speeches of ambassadors—in a word, speeches touching every phase of Roman life, public and private, civil and religious. There is even a speech in Livy which gives us a glimpse of the "new woman" of antiquity, where old Cato speaks of "Roman matrons and Roman women crowding the streets to the forum, treading the forum itself, canvassing the voters in the interest of their petition."[1]

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[1] E. Lang, "Das Strafverfahren gegen die Catalin. u. Cæsars u. Catos darauf bezügliche Reden bei Sallust." Schoenthal, 1884.

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[1] Cf. for example, C. E. Güthlung, "De Titi Livii Oratione Disputatio." Progr. Leignitz, 1872, where the author cites Nägelsbach, Wesner, Kreitzner, Krah, and Kühnast, all of whom consider Livy's excellence as a stylist but little inferior to that of Cicero. See also Taine, p. 232 sqq.

We have already had occasion to note some of Livy's shortcomings as an historian. All the handbooks of Roman Literature are unanimous in condemning Livy's uncritical methods. They all repeat the story of his contradictions, his careless use of valuable historical sources, his want of historical perspective, his inability to distinguish the relative importance of historical facts. Niebuhr sums up this adverse judgment in the following words: "For a mere annalist a clear survey is not necessary, but in a work like Livy's it is of the highest importance, and no great author has this deficiency to such an extent as he." Now this criticism, severe as it is, only accentuates the fact that Livy is not an historian. As an orator, however, as an artist, all are agreed that he stands on the very pinnacle of excellence.[2] In his speeches he is a master of style; and as such he has no peer in the domain of Roman eloquence. Livy was a youth of sixteen or thereabouts when Cicero was assassinated by Anthony's soldiers. And Vergil had passed away, leaving the great Æneid, while our author was still busy upon the latter portion of his history. The period of Livy's literary activity thus falls exactly at the point when Roman letters, prose and poetry, had both reached their zenith. No further growth seemed possible. Cicero had given the classic prose its ultimate perfection. Vergil had exhausted the possibilities of poetic finish. Thus Latin prose came to Livy from the hands of Cicero, developed, mature, ripe, with its perfect bloom upon it, with no sign of decay about it. But its beauty was the loveliness which precedes dissolution. The end was in sight, for the older elements so skilfully employed by Cicero, were spent: deterioration was inevitable, unless a new, vivifying principle could be engrafted. That new principle came from Livy. As he had been the first to broaden the sphere of the oration in history, so he was the first to bring oratorical prose under the influence of poetry. And in this poetic element which he introduced, Latin prose came to a newer development; it took on a new lease of life. Livy's prose is no longer the severe *sermo urbanus* of the later Republic. It has taken on a certain warmth of coloring hitherto unknown; it has admitted poetic phrases hitherto confined exclusively to the sphere of poetry. Vergilian imagery is clearly traceable throughout his work. In a word, Latin prose in the hands of Livy has lost its stiffness; it has become supple and pliant. With its enlarged vocabulary, with its increased volume and flexibility, it lends itself without effort to all the varying needs of our author's great work, where the classic prose had proven rigid, and where the contracted prose of Cæsar or of Sallust had proven monotonous.[1]

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[1] It is curious to note that this petition was concerned with dress and jewelry.

[2] Riemann, p. 15 ff., "On sait que T. Live n'est pas du tout un historien au sense moderne du mot . . . son histoire doit être considérée bien plus comme une œuvre d'imagination et de sentiment, que comme une œuvre de science."

Nor was this Livy's last service to oratorical style; as he had enlarged the vocabulary of prose, and made it plastic, so he unfettered its sentence arrangement from the hard and fast periodic structure, developed by Cicero, carrying the period to a complexity and using it with a freedom and a daring never dreamed of by even Cicero himself.

The power to develop an idea oratorically, and the power to picture a great emotion passionately, are the two greatest talents given to an orator. These talents not even Cicero possessed in larger measure than Livy. The end of all eloquence is persuasion and the greatest orator is he who best knows and can best bring to bear the means of persuasion. Now the means are proofs. To develop an idea is to prove it by secondary ideas, and these by other subordinate ideas, and so to the end, until the chain of reasoning is complete, until all objections are foreseen and answered—until, in a word, full and final persuasion is secured. It is then the great art of the orator to bring it to pass that the proofs he employs are valid in themselves and ordered in their sequence, that the ideas mortise easily and firmly, each with its neighbor, and that built together they form as it were a beautiful arch destined to carry a single proposition. Now this art of development is more regular in Livy than it is, at times, even in Cicero. In reading Cicero a whole page is often seen at a glance, in reading Tacitus the same line must often be read twice or thrice; but in reading the speeches of Livy, everything is read, is read once, and one thing only is read at a time. His measure is faultless, avoiding both the abundance which overpowers, and the brevity which fatigues. The onward movement of his ordered progress is irresistible, never too hurried, never too deliberate. There are innumerable examples of this masterly development to be found throughout our author's orations.

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[1] G. Petzkens, "Dicendi genus Tacitinum, quatenus differt a Liviano." Diss. Berol, 1888. See also Riemann, p. 14 sqq.

One of the most justly celebrated passages in all of Cicero's works, is the touching peroration to his speech Milo. Cicero introduces his client for Milo before the judges, and represents him as pleading his own cause. Milo broken with emotion and striving bravely to keep back the tears, reviews the injustice which he has suffered at the hand of Clodius; and then sobbing a blessing upon the city he loved so well, and upon those who condemn him to exile and death, he concludes with this beautiful sentiment:

> "Valeant, valeant cives mei, veleant,—sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati;—stet hæc urbs præclara, mihique patria carissima . . . ego cedam atque abibo, si mihi republica bona frui non licuerit at mala carebo, et quam primum tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem in ea conquiescam."

Now the same forceful presentation is found in Livy and used by him with no less effect. There is, for example (VII, 30), a speech by the ambassadors of the people of Capua to the Roman Senate. The Campanians have been defeated by the Samnites and their city Capua is besieged and about to fall into the hands of their hereditary enemies. The ambassadors are introduced to the Senate and they speak as follows: "Conscript fathers, the Campanian nation has sent us its ambassadars to solicit at your hands perpetual friendship and present succor." Then the reasons for the alliance are given and the speech ends with this fine peroration:

> "For you will the fields of Campania be ploughed; for you will the city of Capua be filled with inhabitants; you will be reckoned by us among our founders, our parents, our gods. Not one of your own colonies shall surpass us in fidelity towards you. Grant then, Con-

> script Fathers, to the prayers of the Campanians the nod of your irresistible, your providential aid; bid us hope that Capua will be saved. Multitudes escorted us on our setting out. Full of vows and tears we left every place. Think then, how eagerly the Senate and people of Campania, our wives and children, expect us. At this moment they are standing at the gates watching the road which leads from hence; impatient to know what answer, Conscript Fathers, you may order us to bring them. One answer brings them safety, life and liberty; another,—there is horror in the thought. Determine about us as about a people who are either to be your friends and allies, or not to exist at all.''

The flexibility of Livy's oratory is not only evidenced by the varied kinds of eloquence which he employs; it is seen also in each single speech. Each one of his orations is the development of an emotion as well as an idea; and in that devolepment the movements are varied as the undulations in a current. We are carried along by the tide; in an instant the change comes, we cease to judge of ideas, a human voice is heard, and each word uttered has the voice's own tone, most complex yet most natural. There is no weariness, for there is no monotony. Livy's orators do not labor, like those in Sallust, to be always brilliant or concise or profound. They are all of this, and they are more, for they are human. Variety of sentiment and variety of human endowment are found in them all, and all constraint is absent. The author is not the exponent of any particular style or school of oratory. No talent dominates, no special taste asserts itself or vitiates his eloquence. On the contrary, fancy, imagination, science, dialectic and rhetoric are all used in due measure, and all are subordinated to the spirit of oratory. Opposite sides are taken in debate, clashing themes and varying tones are assumed by his orators, and yet nothing is forced, nothing is unnatural. Their presentation is unlabored, their speeches are masterly. Compare, for example, the speech of Valerius (III, 17) with the speech of Cato for the Oppian Law (XXXIV, 2). Again, in the speech of Vibius Virius (XXVI, 13) we have a typical specimen of Livy's artistic method. For two years the Romans have besieged Capua; the people are reduced by the war and wasted by famine. They can hold out no longer, the end has come. For the last time their senate is in session. Some of the senators are in favor of surrender and submission to Rome, and Vibius Virius rises to speak. Listen, now, to a man who has determined to die, not in the thick of battle by the weapons of his foes; but by poison: not in anger or in frenzied desperation; but after cool deliberation. He has opposed Rome from first to last; he has fought and lost and he is still unconquered. One can detect in this speech, for it is typical of scores of Livian speeches, how Livy habitually develops his theme: how the opening sentence contains in advance the whole mass of proof: how the simple recital becomes a terrible sequence of threatening argument: how, as the speech gathers way and the facts accumulate, the situation grows each moment more desperate, until at last, the solution is found in death. Here is part of the speech:

"Those who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace and a surrender did not consider what they themselves would do if the Romans were in their place, and what they must expect to suffer from them. We have revolted from Rome; we have put to death the Roman garrison; we have invited Hannibal, their hereditary foe, in the hope of crushing them. And you would sue for mercy. Vain suit! When there was a foreign enemy in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal; when war blazed in every quarter, they, neglecting every other concern, neglecting Hannibal, sent two consuls with two consular armies to attack Capua. For two years they have surrounded us waiting for their prey—and now you look for mercy. Here is a proof of the mercy you may expect. Hannibal, sent by us, assaulted their camp and took part of it, but still they remained here at Capua. Crossing the Vulturnus, he laid waste Cales with fire and sword; even this calamity called them not away. He gave the order of march to Rome itself; even this storm ready to burst on their heads they likewise slighted. Passing the Anio, he encamped within three miles of the city and at last advanced to the very walls and gates and prepared to take Rome itself, unless they quitted Capua. They did not raise the seige. Wild beasts inflamed with blind fury and rage may be drawn away to the assistance of their young when their dens are threatened. But not the Romans. Not even the blockade of Rome itself, nor their wives and children, whose lamentations might almost be heard here; not their altars, their houses, the temples of their gods or the graves of their fathers profaned and violated, could draw them away from

Capua, so keen is their resentment, so eager their thirst for our blood. I know not how you will decide, but as for me my course is taken. Never will I be dragged in chains through the city of Rome, to grace a Roman triumph; never, never will a Roman scourge fall upon my back, or my neck go under a Roman axe. Never will I see my native city demolished and in ashes, nor the Campanian matrons and virgins dragged away to captivity and servitude. Their own city of Alba they razed to the very foundations; and Capua they hate more than Carthage. Those of you who will may come to my house. A banquet is prepared, food and wine in plenty. The cup I shall drink will go round. That cup will save our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from the sight and hearing of all the horrors, the cruelties and indignities which await the conquered."

Example of such superb oratory abound in every book of Livy's history; and while their historical value may be small, they prove nevertheless that our author has all the imagination, reason, and feeling of a great orator. Indeed, if we take a larger view, Livy's whole work will seem but one grand oration, one grand panegyric of Rome. Rome and her people are his unending theme. Rome's apotheosis is his largest and most abiding work. The elder Seneca, one of Livy's ablest literary contemporaries, observes in a fine passage that when historians reach in their narrative the death of some great man, they give a summing up of the whole life as though it were an eulogy pronounced over his grave. Livy, he adds, does this always with unusual grace and sympathy. The remark may bear a wider scope; for the whole of his work is animated by a similar spirit towards the idealized Commonwealth, to the story of whose life he consecrated his splendid literary gifts. As the title of "Gesta Populi Romani" was given to the Æneid on its appearance, so the "Historia ab Urbe Condita" of Livy might be called with no less truth a funeral eulogy—*Consummatio totius vitæ et quasi funebris laudatio*—delivered by the most loving and most eloquent of her children over the grave of the great Republic.

JOHN D. MAGUIRE.

ST. THOMAS' THEORY OF EDUCATION.

It was natural that pedagogics should hope great things from the new and vigorous growth which psychology, in the last few decades, has taken on. Those especially who saw in the modern science of mind the promise of exact analysis and even of "psychical measurement," were encouraged in the idea that experimental results would quickly find their way from the laboratory to the school-room. Applied psychology would thus put an end to the vagueness and the fear of failure which are so heavy a part of the teacher's burden.

The misunderstanding, of course, was not any fault for which psychology could be held responsible; and psychologists, or some at least among them, have protested plainly enough against what they consider exaggerated notions. At the same time, eminent authorities have insisted on the necessity of strengthening pedagogical science with philosophical principles. Methods and rules and experience, they tell us, have a value which it would be hard to overestimate; but beneath these there is a groundwork upon which the teacher must build if the structure is to be solid. He must understand the real nature of mind before he can judge safely of any method and get from its application the desired results.

But again, as the nature of mind is determined by each system in its own way, that philosophy will commend itself to the teacher which sets before him the highest ideals and enhances the worth of education itself. A materialistic or rigidly mechanical view of mental life, whatever be its theoretical claims, does not meet the practical needs of the teacher. Unless he can be sure that there is something responsive in the mind, some power of initiative that transforms and develops what it receives, his efforts will scarcely exceed the limits of routine. So it happens that the spiritualistic view, just because it provides for self-activity and freedom, is regarded with more favor. With Plato and Aristotle the teacher has surely deeper sympathy than with any form of materialism. And the philosophy of the Middle Ages, despite its short-comings in respect of physical science, appeals more forcibly to seekers after the spiritual than some of the systems which have taken its place. It may, then, be of interest to pass in review the doctrines of a Schoolman who combined in a remarkable synthesis the philosophy of the Greeks, the traditions of the Christian Church and the genius of an age in which the foundations of modern culture were laid.

The pedagogical principles of St. Thomas are set forth in one of his minor works, the "Quæstiones Disputatæ." These discussions, as they may be called, cover a wide range of topics and give perhaps a better idea of the author's breadth and penetration than can be gotten from his principal work, the "Summa Theologica." The exposition is fuller and freer, the list of objections which precedes each "article" is longer, and the answers are more detailed. After the severely concise treatment which the "Summa" presents, one is apt to imagine that the "Quæstiones" were written in a mood as nearly informal as the author ever permitted himself.

Under the general caption, "De Veritate," St. Thomas develops at some length his theory of knowledge and, after explaining more particularly the nature and limits of human knowledge, introduces the question which interests us here, and which bears the title, "De Magistro." It is divided into four articles, to each of which is prefixed the invariable word of interrogation, or of methodical doubt, *utrum*. In direct form the inquiries are: Can one man teach another and be called master, or does this belong to God alone? Can any one be said to be his own master? Can man be taught by an Angel? Is teaching a function of the active, or of the contemplative, life? Taken literally, such questions, so far as they suggest doubts as to the possibility of education, appear no less strange in the pages of Aquinas than they would in a modern text-book for teachers. His own life would have been a sufficient answer. And if his purpose in raising these issues were simply to establish with force and flourish of dialectic a fact that no one denied, he would have mistaken for once his own position as "magister." In reality, however, he is concerned not so much with the simple answer to his questions as with the process itself of education. And so, while he asks, *Can* man be taught, he answers by showing *how* man is taught.

On the other hand, we need not expect from the "De Magistro" anything like a treatise on educational practice. Living and working in the heart of the academic world, St. Thomas was certainly familiar with the details of organization and method which had found their way into the University of Paris. That there was no lack of regulations, and that these were the subject of frequent discussion, must be plain to any one who has looked into the "Chartularium." It is likely that both St. Thomas and his preceptor, Albertus Magnus, contributed their share towards framing the statutes and directing the academic exercises by which the students of that day were controlled and instructed. Many of these enactments had a direct bearing upon the training of teachers, and they were no doubt brought home in a practical way to the candidate for academic position. But with these St. Thomas is not concerned. What he seeks to clear up is the rationale of the teacher's work, the philosophy that underlies the whole process of education. Hence, the views offered us in the "De Magistro" are theoretical, not only in the sense that they make no appeal to the teacher's actual experience, but also in the deeper sense that they attempt to base the work of education upon the very principles which serve as foundations for the Thomistic system of philosophy.

At the outset of the discussion, we find a parallel drawn between three processes of development: the physical, the moral and the educational. The acquisition of knowledge is coördinate with the attainment of virtue on one side, and on the other, with the production of those "forms" which determine the nature and the properties of things in the physical order. In regard to these three processes, opinions diverge and the divergence, in each case, follows the same lines. Those who held, for instance, that transformations in the realm of Nature are the work of extra-physical agencies, were consistently of the opinion that habits of virtue were impressed upon the soul by a superior external influence and that knowledge flowed into the mind from an outside source. According to the opposite view, knowledge is innate in the mind just as moral qualities are innate in the soul and natural forms are latent in matter. All that the external influence or agency effects is the removal of hindrances and consequently the manifestation of these hidden endowments. Similarly, education consists in rousing the mind to the full consciousness of the knowledge which it has within itself, so that learning is simply another name for remembering.

St. Thomas rejects both views and in their stead proposes what he calls a *via media,* based upon the teaching of Aristotle. Applying to all three processes the fundamental distinction between *actus* and *potentia,* he maintains, for the physical order, that natural forms preëxist potentially in matter and are actualized by the action of external agents; and for the moral order that certain inborn tendencies—"beginnings of virtue"—are subsequently brought by exercise to their full development. So far, then, his theory is, in the main, an attempt to hold the balance between internal activity, whether physical or moral, and changes that are brought about by environment. We have now to look somewhat more closely into his corresponding theory of education.

Preëxisting in the mind, he says, are certain germs of knowledge—*rationes seminales.* This expression, which is adopted from St. Augustine, has no exact equivalent in English, though the concept is familiar enough even in modern philosophy. It means something more than bare potency and something less than actual existence or process. The term "rationes," at all events, cannot be literally translated, as though the mind brought into the world a store of ready-made "reasons" or of propositions upon which the reasoning faculty could at once be employed. On the other hand, a "ratio," as here understood, is not merely the intellect nor any other cognitive power in its pre-active condition. It is rather, as the word "seminalis" indicates, an initial endowment out of which further processes develop.

Elsewhere ("Summa Theologica," I, Q. CXV, Art. II), St. Thomas, accepting the definition of St. Augustine, says that by *rationes seminales* are meant all qualities, active and passive, from which production and action originate. These energizing principles, as we may call them, pertain to various orders of causality. Primarily, they are in the Word of God as ideal conceptions in accordance with which all things are made. Then, by the work of creation, they are implanted in the elements of the world, *sicut in universalibus causis.* They persist in the particular productions resulting as time goes on, from those causes, in this plant, for instance, and in this animal. Finally, they reside in the generative elements whereby plant life and animal life are transmitted.

This fourfold application, or better perhaps, expansion of the Augustinian phrase, shows how thoroughly St. Thomas had grasped the fundamental notion of development. The very vagueness of the term "rationes" is in a measure accounted for when we see that it has to do service in such widely different spheres. While the range of causation is narrowed down —from the efficiency of the Divine action to the reproductive process of this or that organism—one and the same conception recurs. It is that of latency, of germinal capacity which, in due course and under natural conditions, unfolds and matures.

In keeping with this general theory, St. Thomas explains his application of the "rationes seminales" to the incipient stage of mental growth. The germs of knowledge which preexist in the mind, are those concepts, such as being and unity, which spring from the first intercourse of the mind with the outer world. As factors in this earliest form of knowledge he distinguishes the intellect itself, the process of abstraction and the reports of sense-perception. Universal ideas, though they are not absolutely innate, result nevertheless from the spontaneous action of the intellect the moment its light is turned upon the presentations of sense. In these ideas are contained, potentially, all particular items of knowledge; and the transition from this first implicit cognition to the more fully defined knowledge of each object, constitutes the process of learning.

A thoroughgoing criticism of this view would lead us far into the field of epistemology and psychology—an exploration which could not well avoid the positions of Leibnitz and Kant. But apart from such considerations, one may reasonably seek a more complete understanding of the Thomistic theory itself. So far it is clear that there is some sort of "psychic foundation'' for education and that self-activity has an important rôle to play. The ''self'' in question is obviously the intellect, or more precisely, the *lumen intellectus;* and so the question arises as to the origin of this ''light.'' The answer is not ambiguous. ''This light of reason whereby such (self-evident) principles are known, is shed upon us by God, being, as it were, a reflection in our minds of uncreated truth.'' The metaphor here is, perhaps, unavoidable; but its significance appears when we remember that the ''rationes seminales'' which are everywhere operative in nature, come also from the Divine intelligence. In other words, the germs of all development in the physical order and the seeds of knowledge in the mental order have the same origin, to wit, the ideas in God's mind. There is not, however, any intimation of a preëstablished harmony which would guarantee the validity of every judgment passed upon the nature and relations of things in the objective sphere. Only in so far as our deductions can be logically traced back to principles, do they possess certainty, and of the principles themselves we are sure because of the ''lumen rationis'' through which ''God speaks in us.'' Hence, we may say literally, that at every step of our advance in knowledge we depend upon God not merely in a general way as the Author of our existence, but also in a more special manner as the source of those luminous principles to which we refer the findings of discursive thought. He, therefore, must be acknowledged, without figure of speech and independently of any appeal to piety or mysticism, as our first and principal teacher.

The mind evidently comes into the world under a sort of divine stimulation to acquire knowledge. It brings, in its natural constitution, the requisite preparation for commerce with its environment. It cannot, therefore, but gain some measure of knowledge, however crude and disconnected, by dint of experience. St. Thomas, accordingly, admits that the mind is capable of self-instruction (inventio), and that such unaided acquisition is an evidence of superior power. Yet he holds that, strictly speaking, no one teaches himself. The metaphysical principles to which he appeals and the physical illustrations which he brings forward in support of this view, would hardly get a favorable hearing from the present generation which is prone to admire the "self-taught" man. But one cannot help agreeing with him when he says that the teacher should possess, *explicite et perfecte,* the knowledge which he pretends to impart. There is, in fact, a broad difference, too often overlooked, between the ambitious but indefinite notions of science which the brilliant pupil entertains and those calmer self-possessed modes of judgment and appreciation which denote the master. And the difference, of course, is greater between the one teacher who "just keeps ahead" and the other who gives out of that which he has made his own "explicitly and perfectly."

Education properly so-called (*disciplina*) must, in order to produce the best results, derive its methods from that which the mind instinctively follows in acquiring knowledge by its unaided efforts. The teacher has to lead his pupil not along an arbitrarily chosen path, but along that which is marked out by nature. The perfection of his art lies in the avoidance of the artificial. We have here the gist of St. Thomas' theory. He had certainly gotten beyond the point of view of those zealous persons who, from time to time, feel constrained to remind the modern world that instruction and education are not identical. The reminder, no doubt, is often needed; but it is apt to lose somewhat of its efficacy when it conveys the idea that the distinction in question is a recent discovery. St. Thomas does not even allude to those pedagogical mistakes which are now so vigorously condemned as "cramming," "forcing," filling the mind with "unorganized material" and generally "stunting its growth." Nor is he much concerned about the etymological problem as to whether education should mean a drawing-*out* or a drawing-*up*. What he insists on is a due regard for the fact that the mind is self-active. And though he makes free use of such terms as "potency" and "potential," he distinguishes quite clearly between capacity as equivalent to passive receptivity and capacity in the sense of ability to act. Whatever exists in the former is helpless; it has to be drawn out by external agency, and its inertia may in some cases reduce the extraction to a process of dragging. Mental ability, on the contrary, is, by its native energy, the principal cause of its own development. It comes forth instead of being drawn out; and if it accepts the aid of others, it does so to facilitate its action and not to surrender or transfer its intrinsic power.

The teacher, therefore, accomplishes his task *adjuvando et ministrando*. He acts with regard to the mind, says St. Thomas, as the physician with regard to the body. The physician ministers to nature, applying the remedies which the organism uses as instruments in the work of self-restoration. The teacher, likewise, though he does not deal with abnormal conditions nor aim at re-establishing a mental vigor that has been lost, supplies the mind the assistance it needs and the means it requires for its orderly and healthy action. Mere instruction avails about as much as the dose, however powerful, which is given to a depleted system. In neither case is there any vital response.

Coming to details, it is plain that the teacher must understand the spontaneous processes of the mind which he undertakes to train. The advance from general ideas and principles to particular applications and conclusions, is the natural course of development; and in conformity with this the scope and method of education must be determined. Now the teacher finds in his own thinking just this discursive process. To communicate it by word or other appropriate symbol so as to lead the pupil through the same stages of reasoning, is the essential part of the teacher's work. He does not hand over to the disciple blocks of knowledge of his own making and require them to be stored up under more or less significant labels. Nor is it his purpose to exhibit mere patterns of thought which the mind, recipient and imitative, shall copy. For though St. Thomas fully appreciates the importance of imitation, and though he holds that the knowledge acquired by the pupil must be similar to that which the teacher possesses, he also insists that the learner's mind shall take the principal part in the process.

This may be made clearer by a brief survey of the activities which coöperate with the intellect. The symbols alluded to above—*rerum intelligibilium signa*—being the spoken or written words of the teacher, appeal to the external senses. Immediately, therefore, they are objects of sense-perception and as such they may also become, through reflection, objects for the intellect. But as signs they convey a meaning, and it is this that the higher faculty perceives. The mind penetrates beyond the visual and auditory impressions to their intelligible content, *i. e.,* to the principles which they express; and from the principles it advances, by its own effort, to the conclusions.

Here, however, a difficulty presents itself, based on a statement of Boethius to the effect that teaching merely stimulates the mind by indicating objects for its cognition. It cannot, therefore, be said to cause knowledge any more than he who points out a visible object can be said to cause the act of vision. Useful as such an external ministration might be, it would not imply a real formation of the mind through the teacher's agency.

In his reply to this argument, St. Thomas insists on the difference between visual function and intellectual process. The eye, he says, sees at a glance all visible objects that come within its range. It does not infer from the sight of one object the presence of another; it is intuitive, not discursive. At most, it needs, or may need, direction, as when we look at anything to which another calls our attention; and in this case, it is true that he who directs the vision does not cause it. A parallel is found in habitual knowledge, the *habitus scientiæ,* that is, knowledge already acquired but not actually present in consciousness. When the mind is led by any sort of suggestion or excitation from without to revive and consider what it has already learned, it behaves like the eye, following with its own activity the indication that is given. It is otherwise with the process of acquisition. In passing from the known to the unknown, the intellect is not in precisely the same situation with regard to every one of its objects. Some it grasps intuitively—the *per se nota;* others it reaches by bringing out to explicit knowledge what is contained implicitly in self-evident principles. Just here it needs the teacher, not simply as a guide, but as one who by his words sets the intellectual faculty in motion and to this extent causes its advance in knowledge. To use the scholastic phrase, he is a *motor essentialis.* Under his influence, the mind issues from its potential condition into that of actual cognition; whereas he who directs the vision or stirs the mind to a new survey of its own possessions, plays the part of a *motor per accidens.*

The comparison between mental vision and bodily vision seems destined to survive. It is not without honor in the psychology of our day. As an illustration, for instance, of the theory of apperception, it is useful if not indispensable. The shifting of the attention from object to object is quite naturally likened to the eye-movements, which enable us to fixate point after point in the visual field. And as we distinguish the images formed upon the central retina from those which appear in its lateral portions, so we speak of ideas or images upon which the attention is focused and of others which, though within the range of consciousness, are indirectly, and hence less clearly, perceived. To complete the account of these changes, it is customary to point out the difference between voluntary and involuntary attention; the former is controlled by the will, while the latter is determined by some other cause, such as the intensity of the sense-impression.

St. Thomas, it is true, did not accord to attention the place of prominence that it holds in modern psychology. Incidentally, however, he employs some of the distinctions with which we are now familiar. Referring to a statement of St. Augustine, he agrees that the formation of mental images does not suffice even for the function of imagination; there is needed, in addition, the process of attention. He further admits that if attention were always voluntary, no impression could be made upon the mind by any created agency, even of an intellectual nature such as he attributes to the Angels, since God alone can dominate the will. But, he adds, the stimulation of any sense-organ, and consequently of any organic faculty, may compel attention; so that, whether we will it or not, the imagination may be thrown into activity by external impressions.

> Quamvis intentio voluntatis cogi non possit, tamen intentio sensitivæ partis cogi potest; sicut cum quis pungitur, necesse habet intendere ad læsionem; et ita est de omnibus aliis virtutibus sensitivis, quæ utuntur organo corporali; et talis intentio sufficit ad imaginationem.

The intellect, according to the general scholastic theory, differs from the sensory faculties inasmuch as it is not organic.

It cannot, therefore, be forced to act by sudden or intense excitation coming from without and affecting it subjectively. It may, however, yield to a sort of objective compulsion as it does when it assents to inevitable conclusions. Even a human teacher, povided he use the right sort of demonstration, may confront the intellect with propositions which it must of necessity accept. In this case, evidently, what constrains the intellect is neither the intensity of the sensation produced by the teacher's words nor the vividness of the ideas which flash into consciousness, but the logical nexus which binds the ideas and which the intellect cannot help perceiving. Much, then, of the teacher's success depends upon his skill in exhibiting the linkage of thought with thought so that even less capable minds may be trained in orderly deduction. In other words, he affords assistance to his pupil, not as though he were a superior being, but "inquantum proponit disciplulo ordinem principiorum ad conclusiones, qui forte per seipsum non haberet tantam virtutem collativam, ut ex principiis posset conclusiones deducere." ("Summa Theol.," I, Q. CXVII, 1.) This is equivalent to saying that the instructor's own processes of reasoning should be so conducted as to serve as an object lesson for the student. Weaker minds are to be strengthened, not by overloading with a multitude of vaguely apprehended ideas and principles, but by drilling in the logical arrangement of those ideas which they are able to master. If the aim of education is to quicken self-activity, a most important means to this end is that feature of method which accustoms the learner to look beyond each item of knowledge as it comes to him and note, according to some principle of order, its manifold relations.

But the most highly gifted minds will not develop to any considerable extent unless the perceptions of the present moment are reinforced by knowledge that has been previously acquired. Memory, though not the chief factor with which the teacher has to deal, must still be taken into account. And curiously enough, the "De Magistro" quite overlooks the memory. The omission is all the more singular, because in the preceding question "De Mente," two long articles have memory for their subject. St. Thomas, in fact, holds that knowledge of the past precisely as past, is a function of the sensory faculties. "Then" and "now" are particularizing conditions which do not come within the province of intellect. Hence, strictly speaking, memory is a process of the brain. On the other hand, we certainly recall ideas that were once conceived by the intellect, though, in the meantime, they have not been actually present. Apparently, we ought to accept the explanation which Avicenna gave: the moment an idea passes out of actual apprehension, it escapes completely from the grasp of the intellect. What remains is at best a certain disposition or facility in recurring to the external source from which the idea was originally derived. St. Thomas, however, is not willing to accept this view. He maintains that the intellect preserves within itself the "species" or ideal forms, after using them in the act of cognition. Though he nowhere describes them as things stored up, he claims that they are set in order as items of the habitual knowledge which the mind acquires and upon which it can freely draw. This again would seem to imply that the mind, as it grows richer in experience, becomes entirely independent of the organic factors to which it was first indebted. Intellectual memory would thus secure us against any possible break-down in the organic sphere. Knowledge would be stereotyped. And such an inference we might reasonably draw were it not that St. Thomas carefully avoids this extreme. "Granted," he says, "that the intellect retains its concepts, still it never makes actual use of them without turning back to the images from which it obtained those concepts. It needs these *phantasmata* after it has laid up its stock of habitual knowledge, just as it did before." The act of remembering, then, involves the revival of what the intellect, on its side, has retained, and the coincident revival of impressions that have been stored in the brain. Here, obviously, a sort of parallelism is suggested, though it could hardly be called "psycho-physical."

The application of this doctrine to the question in hand is not difficult. The system of signs, spoken or written, by which we are taught; must leave their traces in the brain, and their interpretation must remain in possession of the intellect. Each reproduction of an idea means a deepening of the organic impressions; but it also means a renewal, and therefore a strengthening, of mental activity. Memory contributes its share to the process of education not so much by "dint of repetition," "fixing" or "stamping" as by affording the reasoning faculties fresh opportunity for exercise.

The salient features of the Thomistic theory which has here been outlined may well serve as the basis for a philosophy of teaching. In the first place, knowledge is essentially a product of the mind and learning is a growth in self-activity. Education, consequently, is no mere imparting or infusion; it is rather a solicitation, suggestion and direction, by which the mind is prompted to exert its natural power in normal ways. The process includes three moments: innate ability in which the germs of knowledge are contained, the teacher's ministration, and the reaction of the mind whereby it gains a knowledge of its own, albeit conformed, more or less perfectly, to the copy which the master sets.

Secondly, while the chief stress is laid upon the development of intellectual function, due notice is taken of the subordinate faculties. Sense, imagination and memory coöperate both in the first acquisition of knowledge and in its retention. Their importance is clearly shown by St. Thomas when he declares ("Summa Theol.," I, Q. LXXXV, 7) that they account for individual differences in mental capacity. In proportion as they are more thoroughly developed, the grade of intelligence is higher. And generally speaking he says that vigor of mind corresponds to soundness of body, so that the healthier organism ensures superior intellectual attainment. "Cum in hominibus quidam habeant corpus melius dispositum, sortiuntur animam majoris virtutis in intelligendo."

But the third and most significant teaching in the "De Magistro" is that which attributes the principal part to God. For this implies that the human teacher, not figuratively but in a very real sense, coöperates in a divine work. Hence his dignity as well as his responsibility. It is surely no mean service that he is called to perform in fostering and developing the *scientiarum semina* which God himself implants and vivifies. Nor is it a trivial task that he undertakes when he leads the mind to conclusions the ultimate value of which must be determined by their relation to Original Truth. Quite aptly St. Thomas cites from St. Augustine: "*Solus Deus cathedram habet in cœlis qui veritatem docet interius; alius autem homo sic se habet ad cathedram sicut agricola ad arborem.*"

E. A. Pace.

MIDDLE ENGLISH POEMS ON THE JOYS AND ON THE COMPASSION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

Among the subjects treated of by English devotional poets in the later Middle Ages, those named in the title of this paper enjoyed an unusual share of attention. English poets always took up eagerly the endless theme of praises of the Maiden Mother, and in the lyrical field emphasized especially her joys and her sorrow at the foot of the cross. These contrasted emotions were often mentioned side by side, in prayers both public and private, in hymns and in other lyrics. Not only were her joys and her woe unique in human history, but, from their association with the plan of redemption their relation was so close as often to make them a single topic for meditation and poetical expression. For this reason the two groups of Middle English poems inspired by those subjects respectively are here considered together.

The important place in the intellectual and æsthetic history of Christendom occupied by the Joys, and particularly by the Sorrows, of Mary, it would be difficult to overestimate. One has only to call to mind the Stabat Mater, its relation to music and the Mater Dolorosa in painting, to realize that this theme has asserted for itself a distinguished place among the world's treasures of the three finest arts. It cannot, then, be uninteresting to consider what was sung on such a subject by the devout poets of England before the great age of English poetry began. The Joys of Mary, though severally they have inspired some masterpieces of the brush, have not had a Jacopone da Todi to give them a poem to rank with Stabat Mater. Yet, throughout Europe, and particularly in England, the theme produced a very considerable body of narrative and lyrical poems. In the present paper mention is made of such poems only as are at least tinged by one or both of the essential qualities of the lyric, subjectivity and music. Many short poems lacking both these features are nevertheless conveniently classed as lyrics.

The chief Joys of the Blessed Virgin were commonly thought of among English poets as being five in all, namely: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Assumption. The number, however, and the series also, sometimes varied. On the subject of the Five Joys there were at least eleven Middle English Poems, a number considerably larger than is generally supposed. The earliest are three which date from the thirteenth century, and are probably the best known of the series. Two of them,[1] written before 1250 and in the Southwestern dialect, are fairly similar in content and structure. Their method is that generally used in poems of this class—narrative of several mysteries and congratulation of Mary upon the bliss she experienced. In most cases this is not conducive to truly lyrical expression. Where narrative and exposition do not prevail in poems of this kind, their place is commonly supplied by petition, praise, or the plentiful use of symbolism. The third poem,[2] which has been preserved in the dialect of the Southwest, though composed by a Midland poet, is in some respects one of the most interesting lyrics of the series. In every respect, except in subject and metrical form, it differs from all the poems on the Five Joys. It is, briefly, a religious *pastourelle;* there is a Cavalier, the greenwood, the search for diversion, the thought of a beautiful maid. The praises of the beloved, couched in purely secular terms, run through seventeen lines. Only at the eleventh line do we get a hint that the Blessed Virgin is the object of the poet's love, and this does not alter the tone of the lines that immediately follow. A study of the diction shows that this secular coloring is due to the influence of the contemporary English love lyric which in turn was based on the popular French *pastourelle.* Old French poetry contains at least one well-known example of the adaptation to religious purposes of the framework and language of the *pastourelle,* viz., the very pretty lyric by Gautier de Coinci;[3] Middle English has, besides the present poem, two fair examples. This combination of devotional tone and secular or amatory phraseology, drawn partly from the Song of Solomon and partly from the poetry of the day, was never disedifying in England as sometimes in Germany, though occasionally it produced results not in accord with the best taste of that, or any, age. As specimens of a poetical style that found high favor in the Middle Ages, and has since been rarely used in religious verse, I quote a few phrases from this *pastourelle* on the Five Joys:

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[1] Morris' "Old English Miscellany," p. 87; Wright's Reliquiæ Antiquæ," I, p. 48.

[2] Boeddeker's "Altenglische Dichtungen," p. 217.

[3] Bartsch, "Altfranz. Romanzen und Pastourellen," Int.

> Ase y me rod þis ender day
> by grene wode to seche play
> mid herte i þohte al on a may
>   suetest of alle þinge.
>
> ....
>
> he is mi solas nyht & day
> my ioie & eke my beste play
>   ant eke my louelongynge.
>
> ....
>
> of alle þinge y loue hire mest
> my dayes blis, my nyhtes rest.

Many of these phrases are borrowed from secular lyrics found in the same collection.

In Part Four of "Cursor Mundi" is a "Song to Our Lady," upon the Five Joys. This lyric, in common with that last mentioned, differs from the other poems of the group in substituting the Epiphany for the Ascension. The dialect is Northern; the date, after 1300. The stanzaic form, although written as four lines and printed as five lines by Morris, the editor, and by Horstmann,[1] is constructed on a system of six lines, of which the fourth and sixth rime, and are composed of two iambics. This is simply an artistic variation of rime-couée, familiar to us in Burns. The phraseology, while of a kind with that of the two poems first mentioned, shows a freer use of simile, but not the symbolism of love. The Blessed Virgin is addressed as "My leved fre," "quite als leli floure," "Moder o liue wid flur and fruit, Rose and leli þu sprede ay wide." Among the poems of William of Shoreham,[2] a Kentish priest, who flourished about the year 1330, is a long narrative of the various Joys experienced by Mary between the Annunciation and her Assumption into Heaven. Though he emphasizes the Visit to Elizabeth and the Purification, the poet distinctly counts as the chief joys the five usually found. The significance of these facts will be seen below. In the Vernon MS.,[1] dating not later than 1730, there are four poems which concern us here. All are written in a mixed Southern and Midland dialect, though the rimes show that the third[2] is of Northern origin. The second is superior to the others on account of its concrete and terse expression, and its freer use of gracious titles of Mary, without, however, the symbolism of personal love. The poet emphasizes the joy at the Resurrection by recurring to the bitter woe that went before. The fourth poem,[3] "A salutacioun to ure lady," undoubtedly contained, in an earlier form, a congratulation on the Five Joys. At line 24 the poet says:

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[1] "Anglia," I, 392.

[2] *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. 28.

Wiþ fyue Joyes I þe grete
Ladi, here my song.

He immediately tells of the Conception and Birth of Christ, the first two of the usual Joys. Thereupon follows a curious detailed blessing of Mary in all her senses and faculties. The editor of the volume notes that at the end of the stanza on the Nativity, some lines seem wanting. Either this is so, in which case the missing stanzas would probably tell of the other joys, or the poet woefully rambled from his text. The detailed blessing of Mary is perhaps to be traced to a Latin poem of the twelfth century, given by Du Méril.[4] A further illustration is found in the "Hymnus Loricæ,[5] where a blessing in even greater anatomical detail is asked upon the one praying. Mone states that minute specification of this kind is a characteristic of early Irish hymns. The last Middle English lyrics on the Five Joys are two fifteenth century Midland Carols printed in Wright's "Songs and Carols." The first has as its title the words "Of a rose, a lovely rose, of a rose I syng a song." The

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[1] "Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.," Horstmann.
[2] P. 133.
[3] P. 121.
[4] "Poésies Populaires du Moyen Age," p. 223.
[5] Mone, "Latein. Hymnen," Vol. I, p. 237.

Rose, Mary, has five branches, that is, Joys. The obscurity arising in this poem from the confusion of the literal and the symbolical meanings is so great as to make it uncertain at times what mystery is being described. These popular Carols are in the measure common to that species of fifteenth century poetry—stanzas of four lines, of which the first three rhyme, and the fourth, which is frequently Latin, either is a refrain or rhymes throughout.

We have, then, in all, ten lyrics on this subject, or, including the confused and probably incomplete Salutacioun in the Vernon MS., eleven. No one of them reaches a high degree of of poetical merit—neither the courtly *Pastourelle* nor the popular Carol—and the latest are no better than the earliest. There is no reason for assuming any genetic relation between the several poems in the group. Latin measures and modes of expression prevail, except in the *Pastourelle,* which stands alone in many particulars. In spite of the influence of Latin hymns upon these lyrics, it is curious to note, as Dr. Brandl has pointed out,[1] that the usual number of Joys in those hymns is not five but seven. Brandl, however, generalizes incorrectly when he says, in the place referred to, "Gaudia—in England sind es regelmässig fünf, auf dem Continent sieben." The number five was neither peculiar to England nor absolute there. In Mone's "Lateinische Hymnen,"[2] two hymns from German MSS. celebrate Five Joys; Mone cites a German homily in which the letters M A R I A are made to correspond to Joys; in Wackernagel, "Das Deutsche Kirchenlied,"[3] is a thirteenth century German lyric with the same number; four French poems are based on the number five;[4] the Latin hymns speak variously of five, seven, eight, twelve and fifteen, Joys. Nor was the number five absolute in England. While we have seen that it is in the highest popular favor, there is evidence of a tendency to depart from it. The introduction of the Epiphany, and of Judgment Day, in various poems, and the emphasis laid by William of Shoreham upon two joys which, though he does not count them, are usually among the seven of the

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[1] Paul's "Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie," II, 623.
[2] II, No. 600.
[3] II, 152.
[4] Reinsch, in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* III, 200.

Latin hymns, show that the number was not regarded as fixed and absolute. Stronger proof is not lacking. Two of the most popular Latin hymns on the subject, celebrating respectively the seven earthly and the seven celestial Joys, were attributed to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Indeed, it is safe to accept as certain the opinion of the learned Redemptorist, Rev. T. E. Bridgett,[1] that the general popularity of the subject in England was due to its association with Becket's name. Of the hymn on the Seven Joys in Heaven, attributed to him, there were at least three Middle English translations; the first, about the year 1400,[2] by John Mirk, a canon of Shropshire; the second, by Robert Fabyan, who ends each of the seven parts of his chronicle with a stanza from the hymn; the third, in 1508, by D. T. Mylle.[3] There is a further lyric on the Seven Joys still in MS. The number fifteen, also, is found in England, in a Latin poem by John of Hoveden, and in an unprinted English poem from the French, said to be by Lydgate.

These instances of English and Continental usage sufficiently refute Professor Brandl's unqualified statement. Yet there is in it enough truth to cause us to inquire why the number five had the greater vogue in England. The answer seems to be that the number five contained a greater number of symbolical connotations suitable for the purpose in hand than did seven. While the latter agreed with the number of devotional hours, and with the days in the week, the former was often spoken of in connection with the Five Wounds of Christ, and with the letters in the word Maria; finally, and, I think, chiefly, there is the fact that from the eleventh century the English, and for a considerable period, they alone, kept five great yearly holidays in honor of Mary.[4]

The subject of the mother's woe on Calvary, while treated of early and frequently by Greek poets,[5] fastened very late upon the imagination and sympathy of the West, though finally embodied there in the most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages. The words of St. Ambrose, "stantem illam lego, flentem non lego," may imply that though he knew of the tradition of Mary's sorrow, he did not choose, as a theologian, to assert it as a historical fact. The name of St. Augustine was frequently associated with a sermon beginning "Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?" which portrayed in a high lyrical tone the grief at the foot of the cross, and which was widely used as a model of the vernacular Laments. Such a sermon I have not been able to find in his printed works. The subject, however, occurs again and again in Latin garb, in the form of narrative hymn, personal complaint, lyrical dialogue and impassioned sermon. The brief Latin versified dialogues for public presentation, of which an excellent specimen with its appropriate music is given by De Coussemaker,[1] while they were important on the Continent,[2] did very little for the development of the theme in England. Yet the motive took a strong hold upon the English mind. Besides an important Latin prose dialogue, attributed to St. Anselm, and a thirteenth century Anglo-Norman poem, it inspired not less than seventeen Middle English lyrical poems, and parts of five religious dramas. This indicates a much greater popularity than in France, where the number of single poems on this specific subject was very small.

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[1] In his interesting and scholarly work, "Our Lady's Dowry."

[2] Horstmann's "Altenglische Legenden," II, cxvi.

[3] Furnivall's "Political, Religious, and Love Poems," 145.

[4] For completeness' sake I should mention a poem on the "Five Joys," belonging to a period somewhat later, first printed 1538, and quoted in full in Bridgett, p. 67.

[5] In the *σταυροθεοτοκία*; see one of the sixth century by Romanos, in Christ, "Anthologia Graeca," p. 81. The "Christus Patiens," a Euripidean drama, formerly attributed to St. Gregory Nazianzen (Migne, S. G., vol. 38), makes the grief of the Blessed Mother the central dramatic and lyrical motive.

The chief Scriptural texts employed were the Prophecy of Simeon, concerning the sword which was to pierce Mary's heart, the statement in the Gospel of St. John that the Mother stood by the cross, and some verses of Jeremias (9: 1), and of Lamentations (1: 12, and 2: 13), symbolically referred to the sorrowing Church and the sorrowing Mother. The use of these sources is almost universal. For fuller light than the Scriptures gave, recourse was had to the traditional account embodied in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (Gesta Pilati).

The thirteenth century offers us four English examples. Two Southern lyrics on the Passion, which emphasize particularly the grief of Mary, have been printed by Jacoby.[1] The first belongs only somewhat loosely to the class of poems called Complaints, the second, more definitely. Both are probably translations from Latin hymns, but Jacoby was able to find only one brief parallel. Both poems include narration in the person of the poet, description, the expression of feeling, and a slight dramatic element, in the one case introduced by the consoling words of Christ, in the other, by the poet's words addressed to the Mother. The poetic tone and the relatively elevated style of these lyrics, are fairly represented in these lines from the second of the poems mentioned:

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[1] "Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age."

[2] Especially in Germany, where the Lament, in Latin and in the vernacular, was at an early period and down to the Reformation, an extremely important form of the religious drama. See Schönbach, "Die Marienklagen."

Sone after þe nith of sorwen
Sprong þe liþ of edi morwen
    ine þin herte, suete may.
þi sorwen wenten al to blisse,
þo þi sone al mid iwisse
    aros hupon þe tridde day.

From a period shortly after that of these two poems, and from the neighborhood of Chester, we have a Lament, given by Napier, "The History of the Holy Rood Tree," side by side with the Latin poem of which it is a fairly close translation. The Latin is a narrative in the historical present, and in the third person; the English addresses Mary directly and uses the past tense, somewhat in the manner of the "Stabat Mater." The change is important, as it shows an attempt, frequently repeated in Middle English, to infuse a more direct lyrical element, and to compose a Plaint rather than a sympathetic narrative. At the end of the thirteenth century, finally, was composed one of the most artistic English poems on this subject, one worthy of the remarkable anthology in which it is found.[2] It was called by Wright "Stabat Mater," and was said by Boeddeker to be unmistakably related to that poem. In reality, there is nothing in common between the Latin classic and this English *Tenson* or *Debate,* except the subject, the introductory words, and the metrical form.[3] Words of grief and of consolation are alternately uttered by Mary and by Christ, and a brief statement of the joy at the Resurrection concludes the poem. This simple, pathetic lyric, written during what may be called relatively the Golden Age of the Middle English lyric, I have been unable to trace directly to an original, though the interchange of words by Mary and her dying Son is found in a Dialogue of St. Anselm and a Sermon of St. Bernard.

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[1] "Vier M. E. Gedichte."

[2] Boeddeker's "Altenglische Dichtungen."

[3] The "Stabat Mater," so popular throughout the Middle Ages, does not seem to have made a great impression in England. It influenced no extant Middle

From the fourteenth century we have three poems in which the central figure is the sorrowing Mother on Calvary. As contrasted with those already mentioned they are characterized by greater length and complexity. At the end of the "Cursor Mundi"[1] is a Lamentation which becomes especially interesting on account of its source. It is a dialogue of over 700 lines, between the poet and the Blessed Virgin, concerning her sorrow at the Crucifixion. The writer refers to no original, but mentions incidentally the clerk that made this book. Now the whole poem follows, incident for incident, and thought for thought, a Sermon of St. Bernard on the Passion.[2] More than this, 341 lines are literally translated from that work, and those remaining are based on it substantially, so that we need not look elsewhere for a source. The poem covers the incidents of the Passion, as the Blessed Virgin saw them, and tells of her woeful words and frenzied acts at the foot of the cross, and of the patient, soothing words of Christ. We have here, for the first time in English, that detailed account of Mary's actions which developed in some later poems into extravagant, sometimes indecorous, expressions of grief. Similar in content and in general treatment to this poem is a Lament by William Nassyngton, a lawyer of York,[3] formerly attributed to Richard Rolle, and to Richard Maidenstoon. This rather popular poem has for its source, as Kribel has pointed out,[4] the Sermon of St. Bernard mentioned above. Kribel found about half the

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English poem, and, though found in late MSS., was not used in the office of the English Church. (Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology," s. v.) It is interesting to note that the only mediæval composition on this subject that is of lasting poetic power, was not expressed in the characteristic mediæval form of Debate or Complaint.

[1] Ed. Morris, "Early English Text Society." Part Four, p. 1368.

[2] Migne, Series II, vol. 182, col. 1133; "Englische Studien," VIII, 67.

[3] Horstmann, "Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle," II.

[4] "Englische Studien," VIII, 67.

lines of the poem to be taken from the Latin, but beyond this noted very serious differences, for which he offered no explanation. They consist chiefly in the introduction of a number of questions asked by the Saint, and the attribution to Mary of words which in the Sermon are uttered by the writer. Now this is precisely what occurs in St. Anselm's ''Dialogus de Passione.''[1] Hence it is probable that Nassyngton made free use of these two Latin works. An instance of the tendency to artificiality and complexity in this class of poems, is found in the ''Dispute between Mary and the Cross,''[2] which belongs to the Southeast Midland territory, and perhaps to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The Dispute is conducted on the part of Mary with sufficient directness, feeling and dignity, but on the part of the Cross with a series of confused and indecorous metaphors and symbols. Mary calls the Cross Christ's stepmother, and amplifies very vividly the contrast to her love. The Cross rejoins that it is the tree bearing the new fruit which is to counteract the evil wrought by the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge; it is our book of pardon, written in red and blue; these and other symbols are worked out with unpleasing literalness. Holthausen[3] gives side by side with part of this poem the probable Latin source, which is found in the volume for 1880 of the Old French Text Society. This Latin poem is a thirteenth century Dialogue between Mary and the Cross, which uses to some extent the same sequence of ideas, and, in a less literal and inelegant form, the same symbolism with the English dispute.[4] The antithesis between Christ and Adam, Mary and Eve, the Cross and the Tree of Knowledge, with a very real basis in mystical theology, was taken up by the poets of the people for picturesque effect, and rigidly applied to related circumstances, with effects sometimes incongruous. This exaggeration is carried further in a poem of Hoccleve, ''Lamentacioun of the Grene Tree, complaynyng of the losyng of hire appill.''[5] This is translated from De Deguilleville's "Pilgrimage of the Soul." In the later of two MSS. the English poem is incomplete, partly from the loss of the first leaf, partly from the intentional omission of five concluding stanzas found in the earlier MS. The title, as quoted above, is not used by Hoccleve, and this, with his other omissions, purely on grounds of taste. The poem is, in parts, nothing more than symbolism carried to the extent of conceit: as the Tree of Knowledge bore an apple that caused man's fall, the new Tree bears one that saves him; the Green Tree is Mary, the Cross, a dry Tree. Now Hoccleve, by silent omissions and alterations, as the later MS. shows, deliberately avoided this tangled imagery; he did not, however, avoid some unpleasing word-play found in the original. The poem is none the less a highly successful specimen of its class; the pathos is well sustained, the expression concrete and terse. There is neither the excess of purely human feeling, nor the un-Christian reproaches that disfigure some other fifteenth century Laments. Though Hoccleve was not a great poet he was the pupil of one, and his lines often possess a firmness of style that tells us plainly that a great age has begun in English poetry. The poem in question contains such lines as these:

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[1] Paris ed. of his works, p. 488.

[2] Morris, "Legends of Holy Rood."

[3] Herrig's "Archiv," 105, p. 22.

[4] Compare also a Latin Debate in Mone, "Schauspiele des Mittelalters," I, 37.

[5] In "The Regement of Princes," ed. Furnivall, and in "Hoccleve's Minor Poems," same editor.

> Now thee fro me withdrawith bitter deeth.
> my sorwes deepe
> Han al myn hertes ioie leed to sleepe.
>
> O deere sone myn deeth neighith faste
> Syn to an othir thow hast yoven me.
>
> O special loue þat me ioyned haast
> Vnto my sone, strong is thy knyttynge.

The fifteenth century represents the period of the greatest popularity of this subject in England. Besides the Lamentation of Hoccleve the period offers us no less than nine poems. Besides a simple hymn, partly narrative, contained in Wright's "Songs and Carols," and an unexceptionable lyric *Debate* in the older style, between Christ and His Mother, composed by the most productive of the devotional lyrists of mediæval England, the Franciscan, James Ryman,[1] we have five subjective Laments which bring us in part nearer the religious drama.[2]

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[1] Herrig's "Archiv," 89.

[2] A Lament by Lydgate, and one printed by Caxton, I have not seen.

Two of these, having in common their introduction, metrical form, and the refrain, *Filius Regis Mortuus Est*, have been printed by Dr. Furnivall[1] as variants of a single Lament. In reality they differ entirely, not only in structure, as narrative and pure lyric, and in tone and content, but also, as the rimes indicate, in dialect, as Southern and North Midland. The common introduction places us in mystical landscape where the poet meets a lovely lady in tears. One poem amplifies purely the Lament and introduces some jarring elements of the kind previously mentioned; the other gives us, in addition to a briefer lament in a higher tone, the joyful tidings of the Resurrection. That two such poems from different parts of England should, as it were, have been hung in the same frame, is very curious. The three remaining lyrics of the century are brief utterances in popular style. One,[2] beginning in a strolling singer's vein, promising a tale better than ale or wine, is continued in the person of Mary. All kinds of jarring improprieties disfigure this poem. A second,[3] which has a brief, mystical landscape introduction, extravagant frenzy of grief, and a jogging, inappropriate metre, is redeemed by the pathetic refrain, *Who cannot weep come learn of me.* This line, as it differs in metre from the rest of the poem and occurs elsewhere, I suspect to be borrowed. The third poem,[4] of Northern origin, so popular as to have been transcribed at least three times, is a simple, restrained appeal of the sorrowful Mother to other women to look upon her woe. It is rich in concrete, pathetic touches, due to the concept of almost purely human sorrow; it is a mother's plaint and no more. The joy of other women in fondling their happy babes is vividly contrasted with the unrelieved sorrow of Mary over the bruised and tortured body of her dead Son.[5]

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[1] "Political, Religious, and Love Poems."

[2] "Chester Plays," II, 204.

[3] Furnivall's "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ."

[4] "Chester Plays," II, 207; "Reliquiæ Antiquæ," II, 213.

[5] This poem, with a few mentioned above, brings home forcibly the difficulty of properly adjusting the portrayal of the natural and the supernatural emotions of the mother on Calvary. The attempt to humanize her great sorrow was certain, in itself, to lead to good results poetically, and the English poems contain many lines of high lyrical quality. The expression, however, of purely human grief, and of indignation, was sometimes carried too far. See Migne's criticism of this defect in the "Christus Patiens," and his argument based thereon, against the authorship of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

In the late Northern play for Good Friday, published in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ," and also in the "Digby Plays," we have the only instance in England of a complete and independent drama in which the Sorrowful Mother is the central figure. Of a total of 864 lines in the play, distributed among seven or eight characters, Mary has 312. These are variously grouped and are all purely lyrical. The usual complaints, appeals to death, imprecations, occur again and again. The fact that her words are arranged in three metrical forms, and that two refrains which she uses are found in poems mentioned above, suggests that the lines have been gathered from various sources. Of this, however, I have found no other indication. In each of the four chief Mystery Cycles the sorrow of the Blessed Virgin is made the chief element in a brief lyric scene. The Coventry and the Chester play treat the motive simply and with little dialogue. In the York and Townley plays Mary has a much longer part, broken up by fairly complex dialogue. In these four plays I find no verbal borrowings, either from one another or from the lyrics. The elements of Mary's sorrow, her pathetic references to Christ's wounds, allusions to His Infancy, appeals to the bystanders, reproaches against the Jews, pathetic attempts to embrace the cold figure on the cross, and finally her swooning, incidents found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, are all based indirectly on St. Bernard's homily and St. Anselm's Dialogue, and on the English tradition derived thence and embodied in the "Cursor Mundi" and in the "Lament" of William Nassyngton.

J. Vincent Crowne.

THE LITERATURE OF CHIVALRY.[1]

Chivalry, like the melancholy of Jaques, is compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, the result indeed of its much travelling. Allowing for certain primary, original, enduring elements (love of war, religion, and of women), it has varied more or less in all times and places. It has not been everywhere the Norman's which was adventurous and gay, nor the German's which was home-staying and coarse, nor the Italian's which was somewhat mercenary, nor the Spaniard's which was jealous and grave. Still less was it the same at all epochs. Roland is not Launcelot nor the Cid nor Du Guesclin nor the Black Prince; Du Guesclin is not Sir Philip Sidney, nor yet is he the Southern cavalier, still less a Sir John Guinness who brews such excellent stout, nor a Sir Thomas Lipton who cures equally good hams; whilst the modern New York gentleman is different from them all. Therefore it is a manifest impossibility to cover the entire field of chivalric literature in these few pages. We must select that which strikes us as the most characteristic, the least disfigured portrait. The choice is not difficult in some respects. The student well versed in medieval lore will admit readily the predominant position occupied by France in almost every department of thought and speech and action. Citeaux, Chartreux, Clugny testify to its lead in religious reform, the University of Paris to its intellectual supremacy, the Mohammedan fear of the "Frank" to its leadership in the Crusades, the rivalry of the Langue d'Oil with the Latin as a universal tongue to the widespread influence of its thought and manners; and so on in other departments France stands unique as that country which more than any other represents the Middle Ages.

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[1] *Bibliography.*—On the Chansons de Geste see "Les Epopées Françaises," by Léon Gautier (7 vols., second ed., Paris, 1878–1882); "La Chevalerie," by the same (I vol., Paris, 1895). Also the separate critical editions of particular chansons by various authors. On the Cycle Breton see "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," by Paulin Paris (5 vols., 1868–1877); "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," by H. de la Villemarqué (I vol., Paris, 1861); various articles in the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," vol. V, 197–209, 234–275, 246–254, vol. XXX, pp. 1–270; "Romania," vol. X, pp. 465 et seq., XII, pp. 459 et seq. On the Irish Epic and the Mabinogion see "Cours de Littérature Celtique," by H. D'Arbois de Jubainville and J. Loth (7 vols., Paris, 1883–1900). For general reference and comparison see "Littérature Française" and "Poésie au Moyen Age," by Gaston Paris; also "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises," by Charles Aubertin (2 vols., Paris, 1894). In English there are scarcely any works deserving of notice. The "History of Chivalry," by Charles Mills (2 vols., London, 1826), is a valuable treatise despite its age, but the author makes the traditional error of not seeking any authorities older than Froissart. The latest English book on "Chivalry," by F. Warre Cornish (London, 1901), is calculated to confuse still more the already hopelessly confused English reader, owing to its seemingly utter ignorance of the fact that chivalry varied in different countries and epochs. For Provence and the influence of the Troubadours see BULLETIN for April, 1902.

But French chivalry itself varied from age to age. Here again therefore the necessity of another choice, but also not a difficult one. Following the opinion of no less a critic than M. Jules Quicherat we say "Le plus grand siècle du Moyen Age, c'est le douzième," at least so far as France is concerned. It was the age of the crusades, of the university, the solidification of national unity, the rise of French prose and of the French epic; in a word the age of Bernard, Philip Augustus, Abelard. Now three classes of literature distinguish the twelfth century in France—the beginnings of French prose under the form first of romances and translations, then of sermons and chronicles, the immediate predecessors of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, himself the inspirer of Joinville and Froissart; then the rapid development of the French "Epopée" in the chansons de geste, begun however in the preceding century; lastly the almost sudden rise of those prose and poetic "Romans" of the Round Table which so completely displaced the chansons de geste in popular favor. Now which of these contains the most faithful portrait of chivalry at its best? Certainly not the historians, to begin with. Froissart depicts it in its degeneracy; both Joinville and Villehardouin, faithful and brilliant as they are, do not give such a complete, living and colored portrait as the two other forms of literature. The choice therefore is narrowed down to either the chansons de geste or the Breton romances. But here the choice is somewhat difficult and must depend upon personal taste. The present article sees in the earlier chansons de geste—above all in that of Roland—a picture of chivalry in its original purity; rough indeed but vigorous and healthy, the very breath so to speak of the crusades and of feudalism, the very atmosphere of the

Middle Ages, the creative spirit of that age of creation, uncontaminated as yet by the refinement of the Celtic legend. As M. Gautier says, "La France est la plus épique des nations modernes. Elle a possédé au Moyen Age une epopée nationale et chrétienne. Et la Chanson de Roland est notre Iliade. Les chansons de geste; c'est la qu'on trouvera la peinture la plus exacte de la chevalerie et des temps chevaleresques."[1] Still, as above remarked, it is largely a matter of taste. To many the savagery of Raoul de Cambrai, even of Roland, will make them long for the refinement of Launcelot or Tristan. Be it so. The following pages merely attempt a rapid survey of both fields of literature, leaving the reader to judge for himself according as his sympathies are Teuton or Celt, and, if the parallel be not too offensive, according as his mental cast be Catholic or sceptic.

And though the present writer states his preference for the former somewhat brusquely, nevertheless he fully sympathizes with those who, enthralled by the music of Tennyson's verse, love, like Gareth the knight, to seek in spirit

> "Camelot—city of shadowy palaces,
> And stately, rich in emblem and the work
> Of ancient kings who did their days in stone;
> Which Merlin's hand, the Mage at Arthur's court,
> Knowing all arts, had touched, and everywhere
> At Arthur's ordinance, tipt with lessening peak
> And pinnacle, and had made it spire to heaven.
> And ever and anon a knight would pass
> Outward or inward to the hall; his arms
> Clashed, and the sound was good to Gareth's ear.
> And out of bower and casement shyly glanced
> Eyes of pure women, wholesome stars of love."

1. The "Chansons de Geste."[2]

The foundation of the French Epic probably dates from the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, though the earliest known version of the most ancient of its poems can not be placed earlier than about 1175. The reason for its appearance at that particular period is plain—all the conditions for the formation of an epic were then existing. These conditions are fourfold. First, an epoch must be a primitive one, characterized by a comparative absence of refinement, of criticism, of science, of history unmixed with legend; an epoch, in a word, whose thought is not consigned to writing, but is sung by the lips of a people. Secondly, is required a certain unity of faith, be it Christian or Saracen, Roman or Jewish; the kind matters not, provided it is great enough to bind a people in that grand union which lies at the base of the epic. Thirdly, momentous and partly disastrous events of war. Peace is hostile to the epic. The latter sings chiefly of war, and is never so eloquent as when celebrating some great defeat in which the hopes of the entire nation seem for a moment dashed to pieces, but are retrieved afterwards by an equally glorious victory. Lastly is required the presence of great heroes, the living representatives of the characteristics of the race. Thus Achilles is the ideal type of the Greek at the heroic stage of his history, Hector of the Trojan, and Roland of the Frank.

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[1] "La Chevalerie," p. xii; Epopées Françaises," vol. ii, p. 794.

[2] As there are no exact equivalents in English the present article uses throughout the French names such as "chansons de geste, romans, cycle Breton," etc.

All these conditions existed in the tenth century in France. Allowing for a certain culture among the clergy, the Frenchman of that epoch was even more primitive than his Merovingian predecessor, who had still retained some remnant of earlier Gallo-Roman culture. The age was altogether military, heroically so. It was ever at war, ever in arms, never in repose of any length. Hardly did it take time to ease itself of its armor. For instance, the great William "au court nez," who, after his disastrous defeat by the Saracens, returns all weary and blood-stained to his castle, but, at the exhortation of his equally heroic wife, rests not in well-earned repose, leaps again to saddle and rides hard on to Paris for reinforcements. So it was war all the time and everywhere—war with the pagan Northman, the Mahometan Saracen, among the Christians themselves. Moreover, the Franks were become slowly but surely solidified in a natural unit by the definite formation of a common tongue, by the constant attacks of a common enemy who was as well the implicable foe of their common Christian faith, by the gradual rise of the Capetian dynasty to the headship of the former political chaos. Nor were great and disastrous events wanting to inspire the Trouvères. Popular legend told of the victory of Charles Martel in 732, the defeat of Roland at Roncevaux in 778, that of William at Villedaigne in 793. Heroic figures there were in Homeric abundance. Towering above them all, the well-nigh superhuman figure of Charlemagne "à la barbe fleurie"; gigantic in stature as well as in mind and heart; the wise legislator, the zealous missionary, the patron of learning, above all the invincible conqueror, whose armies for over forty years held in awe all Europe from the Ebro to beyond the Rhine; the only solid rock of unity against which the multitudinous waves of political confusion had dashed themselves in vain. Soldiers, clerics, all saw in him the depository of their religious and natural hopes —the Napoleon, so to speak, of the early middle ages, for whom the admiration of succeeding generations lives on despite the knowledge of his vices. Legend clusters around him until he becomes even like a Josue at whose bidding the sun stands still so as to allow him time to avenge Roland's defeat. Around him gather Roland, Oliver, William, Ogier, like Achilles, Diomed and Ulysses around Agamemnon. Surely with memories such as these, in such favorable conditions, a people must have been sad indeed could they not have found in them sufficient inspiration for a national epic.

France did respond to the impulse. Under the guidance of that strange moving which comes to individual men and people, at certain crises the Trouvères break forth into song—the chansons de geste begin their long and glorious existence. But the Trouvères owed much to preëxisting tradition and poetry. From time immemorial the deeds of Charlemagne and his twelve peers had been the subject of traditional tales; above all, they had given birth to the "Cantilenes"—these short, lyrical popular songs composed in German like that of "Saucourt" or in romance like that of "Saint Faron." These were the immediate inspiration of the chansons de geste. The Trouvère collected them, drew from them his inspiration, often his subject, occasionally his very words, and thus composed his own poem which issues partly from his own brain, partly from tradition, partly from ancient popular poetry. Like Shakespeare he works on the rich ore of the past, and by his dramatic skill fashions his own poems by the force of his own native genius: and like Shakespeare again, his remote inspiration was a great national development; for Shakespeare it was Elizabethan England; for the Trouvères it was France of the first Crusade.

Our earliest version of any chanson dates, as we have above said, from about 1175. That is the "Chanson de Roland," the "Iliad" of France and of the Middle Ages; at once the most vigorous, the noblest, the purest of all, compared to which the rest, however ancient, evidence decay. Along with it the most ancient are the older branches of the geste of William of Orange, such as "le Charrois de Nimes" and the "Moniage Guillaume"; then "Ogier le Danois," the ferocious "Raoul de Cambrai," "Garin le Loherain," "Amis et Amiles," "Jourdain de Blaives," "Girart de Roussillon." These earlier chansons constitute, as it were, the heroic age, lasting up to about A. D. 1137. To this succeeds the semi-heroic from the time of Louis VII up to St. Louis (1226): lastly the literary, from the 1226 to Philip of Valois, about 1328. Of the total number, we now possess about one hundred divided into the various major cycles (cycle du Roi, cycle de Doon de Mayence, cycle de Garin de Montglane) and minor cycles like the typically feudal "cycle des Loherains," the cycle of "Raoul de Cambrai," and lastly that of the "Crusades."

Now what is the spirit of these chansons de geste? It of course varies according to the spirit of the age which produced them, *i. e.*, the heroic, semi-heroic, or literary age. According then as a chanson approaches the first epoch it is more vigorous, more typical, less alloyed with foreign elements, less corrupt. To those earlier poems, therefore, must the reader turn who wishes to see them at their best, indeed, the typical medieval civilization in its pristine vigor. The tests are simple enough according to which he will be able to tell whether or not a particular chanson belongs to the heroic age—by heroic meaning "un mélange de vertus et de vices spontanés, de pensées naïves et d'actions viriles, d'idées jeunes et presque enfantines, de conceptions sauvages et de mœurs presque barbares.

Mélange singulier et qui est particulier aux époques primitives.''[1] They are the following: first, war and not gallantry is the dominant note; second, woman consequently plays a subordinate rôle; third, the supernatural, *i. e.,* Catholic faith, is supreme and unmixed with pagan mythology or Celtic fairy lore; fourth, legend is more prominent than mere fable, because legend is nearer to history which is always the remote basis of the epic, while fable is essentially unhistoric; fifth, simplicity of thought and expression, ignorance, *i. e.,* the innocent ignorance of children; sixth, vigorousness, energetic motion, healthy life as opposed to convention or formula.

Such, in a general way, are the characteristics of the earliest and best of the chansons de geste; the absence of any of them is a sure sign of the influence of a more refined spirit which begins to manifest itself about the middle of the twelfth century, which is alien to the true spirit of the Middle Ages, however fascinating it may appear in the Round Table romances and the chansons de geste influenced by them.

The reader however will understand these characteristics better after a study of the various ethnological and religious elements which went into the construction of these epic poems. But before taking up his study, he had best make peace with all his literary enemies, for his road is verily a dangerous one, leading often into unfriendly countries of criticism where his every step is dogged by literary foes. He might wish to be impartial, so far as not to choose sides between the conflicting claims of Teuton and Celt. But he will soon see his error. Choice is necessary. The Celt yet clamors for at least some share in the glory of having composed the chansons de geste, though apparently content with leaving most of it to the Teuton —his conqueror in this branch of literature as well as in politics.

He must be indeed an enthusiastic Celt who can see in the ''chanson de Roland'' any Celtic characteristics other than an occasional ''opiniâtreté,—certaines finesses et gouailleries.''[2] They are, in fact, poles apart. So with the earlier chansons generally. They have neither Celtic traditions, nor Celtic heroes, nor Celtic myths, nor Celtic names, nor Celtic ideas. The Romances of the Round Table are not Frankish, the chansons not Celtic. True, the later chansons will show the influence of the Round Table, but that will happen in an age of decadence, in the second epoch when much of the real heroism of the epic has softened into gallantry; when war gives way to women; faith to a musing, delicious scepticism or mocking raillery; the feudal warrior to the carpet-knights of the Bayard stamp; when Roland is forgotten in Du Guesclin, and knights read Froissart instead of singing the old chansons de geste; when Launcelot, the skilful, the handsome mythical Launcelot, will reign king of hearts both of ladies and men; when—well!—when heroic Roland dying, at Roncevaux for the defence of France, is no longer remembered by his own people all taken up with their admiration for the handsome seducer of his own king's spouse. So much for the Celtic in our chansons de geste: be it said with all due respect for those who differ from us.

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[1] "Epopées Françaises," I, p. 197.

[2] Op. cit., p. 16–18.

Besides the Celt there are two other elements that demand passing attention. To the Roman the chansons owe their language, which is basically Latin: also a few souvenirs of Roman past. Otherwise they are Roman in neither manners, ideas of government, of law, nor in love of country, of "douz France." To Christianity, however, they owe their religious spirit entirely, at least until Celtic paganism infected them with its love of the marvellous. To it they owe their constant belief in a God, in "Dex l'espirital"—the antithesis of paganism: in God the Creator as opposed to the pagan belief in the eternity of matter; hence the so frequent expression "Par Dieu le creator," "par Dieu qui tout forma," "qui fist la rose en mai": in the divinity of Jesus Christ, "de Dieu, le fils de sainte Marie"—repeated with almost intentional anti-Arianism. So also to Christianity they owe their firm and constant belief in the Christian idea of man's destiny, in the ministrations of angels who carry to heaven the souls of the warriors fallen in fighting against the Musselman, carrying them "dans les saintes fleurs du Paradis." All this is so evident as to need no discussion: suffice to remark it here as an evidence of the lack of Celtic influence, which, despite its general

Christian character, never was completely depaganized; its belief in magic, fairies, "good people" lasting—shall I say to 1250?—yea more—to 1902.

Allowing, therefore, for the great influence of Christianity from a religious point of view, the element most predominant in our chansons de geste is Teutonic: they are Teutonic in origin. But here we speak, not of proximate or immediate origin, *i. e.,* the Épopée developed in France not directly from a German source, but at an epoch when the various nationalities—Gaulish, Latin and Frankish, were no longer clearly separated, but were sufficiently fused to have each lost many of its characteristic traits; when from the mixture of races had issued a new nationality known as "romane." Moreover the Épopée never took into itself any of the German epic properly so called. We say only that of these three elements, the Teutonic has entered more profoundly, more directly into its formation despite the fact of its language being romance; that its spirit is German despite its romance form. "Le fond des sentiments, des idées et des mœurs est tout germanique. . . . L'épopée française, du moyen age, c'est l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane. . . . germanique par son origine et romane dans son développement."[1] A closer study will evidence the truth of this position.

M. Gautier's opinion that, were it not for the German custom of singing of their ancient history and heroes, we would probably never have had a French epic, will doubtless seem rather extreme in view of the existence of the same custom among the Gauls. Still it is true in so far as the latter would hardly have found any inspiration for singing except in the ancient lore of *their own* history, and would have produced (what they really did later on) the Romances of the Round Table, which we agree with the eminent author in considering not epic but a degeneration of the epic spirit. At all events these same Germans did so sing, as Tacitus tells us: "Celebrant carminibus antiquis originem gentis conditoresque." Eginhard repeats this later on, when he tells how Charlemagne "barbara et antiquissima carmina quibus veterum actus et bella canebantur scripsit memoriæque mandavit.'' These ''carmina'' are the remotest ancestors of the chansons, and so the spirit of the Epopée is profoundly German. Study, for instance, its conceptions of war. The names of the warriors are German—Roland, Charles, William, Louis, Gautier, Regnault, Raoul. So also their method of warfare—rude, ferocious, pitiless; detesting peace, during which they are ''dediti somno vinoque . . . mira diversitate naturæ cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem,'' as in the days of Tacitus; their valor undisciplined—in every respect the opposite to the systematized, rational though equally pitiless, disciplined valor of the Romans or Gallo-Roman auxiliaries. Its idea of royalty neither that of absolutism, imperial Cæsarism, nor yet that of the hopeless political inconstancy and disunion of the Celt, but that of a monarchy firmly set as the keystone of political unity, though limited by the power of great feudataries. And here we see the most characteristic imprint of Teutonism—the feudal spirit, for the French Epic is merely feudalism put into action. All the chansons are about the seigneur and his vassal. ''Pour son seigneur on doit souffrir grands maux,'' says Roland when about to die. Hence the chansons of private wars so well exemplified in Raoul de Cambrai. So too the notions of law and justice are Teutonic and feudal—the Torture, the Plait Royal, the Duevel, the messe du Jugement, Hostages, mode of punishment. Even the religious spirit, though profoundly Christian, still retains some of the savage Teuton's directness, naïveté, childishness, so opposed to either the soberness of the Roman mind or to the Celt's ineradicable love of the marvellous, of magic. In its concept of woman we seem to see a German imprint. Woman in the chansons is very far from the Christian ideal of feminine purity, but she is equally different from the refined Julias of imperial Rome, from the delicate though unchaste Guineveres and Viviens of Arthur's court, or even from the utterly shameless Ethné Ingubé and others of the Irish Epic. She is not always even as noble and chaste as ''la belle Aude,'' Roland's promised spouse. On the contrary, she is (especially before marriage) passionate, frankly so, and makes love often without the slightest shame. ''A la vue du premier jeune homme, sans hésitation, sans pudeur, elles se jettent à ses pieds et le supplient de satisfaire la brutalité de leurs désirs. . . . Décidément, disent-elles, il est trop bel homme.'"[1] These are hard words. But granting their truth in many cases, still the women of the French Epic somehow or other do not impress us as so absolutely devoid of continence as those of the Irish Epic: with all their young passionate ardor, they are at bottom infinitely more heroic, even as women, than those of the Round Table, and somehow or other their very lasciviousness compared to the latter seems healthy, if such an adjective can be applied. Lastly, the very idea of the one God—so childish, so simple, so exquisitely familiar, is toto cœlo different from either the idols of the pagan Romans and Celts, or even the metaphysical subtleties of Roman Christianity.

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 36, 37.

To this deep Teutonic influence the French Epic owes both its literary virtues and faults. Take the earliest chansons as the best representatives, and what are their characteristics?

Only slightly touched by Roman or Greek civilization, these early poems are singularly wanting in art either of composition or of expression. "L'art est absent, la composition presque nulle, il y a, ça et là des vivacites et des bonheurs d'expression; mais point de style, cette délicatesse savante des esprits cultivés, le goût, fait absolument défaut. But withal they possess a charm which is irresistible, a grandeur which more than once reminds us of Homer. What then is the secret of this marvellous power? It lies in its fresh spontaneity, as young and nervous with life as the springtime. "Tout y est plein, nerveux, serré . . . le métal est de solide aloi. Ce n'est ni riche ni gracieux; c'est fort comme un bon haubert et pénétrant comme un fer d'epée. Les vers . . . se suivent et retentissent pareillement l'un après l' autre comme des barons pesamment armés."[2]

The reader involuntarily thinks of the Iliad when he comes across the fiery description of some combat between two heroes like Roland and Oliver, or hears such peculiarly Homeric epithets as "L' Empéreur à la barbe fleuri" like Homer's Achilles "aux pieds legers," or when applied to a young woman "au clair visage" like the ox-eyed Juno of Homer. Utterly unconventional (except as to rhythmic composition) because they were not written at first but sung in the banquet halls before young knights eager to imitate Roland, or older warriors who had scaled the walls of Acre and Jerusalem or perhaps even crossed swords with Saladin. It is only when we come to the Round Table romances that we will meet with a striving after art, delicacy of expression, and a certain conventionalism. Just now our Frankish baron is too much of a soldier to bother his thick head with such subtleties, and so his poetry is, like himself, rough. But withal it is intensely human in so far as it is a faithful picture of early medieval society, "la peinture sincère des moeurs féodales saisie dans leur vivante originalité . . . le reflet d'un temps que les chroniques françaises, nées plus tard, n' ont pas connu dans sa primitive rudesse.'"[1] And now then what portrait does this poetry give of the typical feudal Frank warrior in the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century? Was he, according to it, a dreamy, cultured Launcelot or still more polished Bayard? By no means. The protrait reminds us more of the ferocious though brave Richard Plantagenet. That of a man whose character was childishly simple, as quick to weep over a fallen comrade as to slay a Saracen in cold blood; pitiless towards his enemies and expecting no pity in return; loving woman, of course, but subordinating that love to love of country, sweet France: loving mother Church at least enough to fight against her eternal Mahometan foe, though none the less careless of her anathemas when his own private interests were at stake. But war, incessant war, was his absorbing passion. He jousted before the ladies, not unmindful, it is true, of their admiration, but chiefly for the savage delight of the fighting. Far more than the blood that came and went on the cheek of his lady, he loved the sight of an enemy's blood staining his huge, straight sword up to the very hilt. In a word, a simple character. In it no shading of virtue into vice—no dreamy, introspective, myriad-colored soul of Launcelot, half pure, half false. It is either heroically good or hopelessly evil: either a Roland or a Raoul de Cambrai. Not the character of a mature intellect but of an overgrown child. Such is the portrait given by the epic, "poésie d'enfant; poésie d'improvisateur; poésie de chanteur populaire . . . qui est assuré d'être toujours goûté par un public dont il est l'écho."[1] The reader will easily see that it is always a portrait, with the distinctively Teutonic features, of the early Middle Ages, despite the Latin and still more faint Celtic traits that appear here and there.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 31.
[2] "Aubertin," I, p. 275.

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[1] "Aubertin," ib.

The above description refers, as already remarked, chiefly to the early chansons, because the later ones of the thirteenth century lose much of primitive vigor as the result of that gradual softening of manners so noticeable in the second half of the twelfth century. They do then become somewhat like in tone and style to the new literature demanded by the times. Our rough old knight begins at last to yawn a little over the interminable Roland and Oliver and "William of the short nose." And so he turns to the new Celtic literature that suits better his more refined tastes—to the romances whose heroes are more like himself, voluptuous, mystic, brilliant, forever making love to beautiful women, all the more tempting if the wives of others; or else perpetually jousting (rather harmlessly) on gay-caparisoned horses, clothed in highly colored, emblazoned and plumed armor before a galaxy of melting ladies; or wandering off in search of adventures into a weird world of giants, dwarfs, of enchantment and magic. True! the later chansons will strive to revive his flagging interest by adopting much of this new spirit, but their day is past. Our baron's chief Trouvère has now become Chrétien de Troyes; his typical hero not Roland but Launcelot: the angels who hovered over his forefather at Roncevaux are changed into the fairies of that unknown land of enchantment that belongs to no race or country or time; Charlemagne "a la barbe fleuri," gives place to Arthur; firm, undoubting Catholic faith to Celtic mysticism; the Saracen? Oh! well! Saladin is not such a bad fellow after all, even if he is a Saracen—besides these Crusades have become too frequent and expensive, and after all is it not better to negotiate instead of fighting? And so forth. In a word, the dominant passion is no longer war but love. It has been remarked that man is capable of but one great passion at a time. Our study affords a confirmation of the statement. At least the medieval knight was capable of but one at a time. In the beginning his great passion was war, and so he sang of it in the chansons de geste. Now it is love. Hence welcome to the Romances of the Round Table, to Arthur, to the "Cycle Breton."

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[1] "Epopées Françaises," ib., p. 502.

2. THE "BRETON CYCLE."

Like the Épopée, the origins of this second branch of chivalric literature are to be sought for back in the legendary past. Its base is a medley of souvenirs of that long resistance of the British to their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, of yet more ancient traditions, far-away echoes of a racial poetry perhaps common to all Celts—all of which was preserved chiefly in popular songs, like unto the above mentioned cantilenes. Added to this primitive base are certain pious legends relating to the establishment of Christianity in Britain, certain fables from the Orient spread throughout the West by Jews, Spanish Moors and pilgrims from the Holy Land; also a motley collection of distorted facts and mythology from classic Greece and Rome. All these, taken as a whole, represent the convictions, the reveries, the regrets, the hopes religious and national of the Briton, understanding by that name the Celt chiefly in French Britanny, England and Wales. They constitute, to use a consecrated expression, the "matière de Bretagne." How far back it extends into the Celtic past is matter for conjecture. A more satisfactory subject is the study of the means by which it was preserved from generation to generation, until it came under the wizard touch of the Anglo-Norman prose and poetic writers of the twelfth century and with a bound sprang into the front rank of current lay literature. These means were principally the popular poetry (lais, corresponding to the cantilenes) and history.

It has been remarked above that the habit of preserving the knowledge of the past in song is characteristic of all peoples in their political infancy. Hence by the side of the Teutonic scalds singing their lieds or the jongleurs their cantilenes, the ancient Breton harpers are found composing their lais like their predecessors the ancient Gaulish bards. Thus in France, even after it had become politically separate from Germany, we notice a double current of legendary, popular poetry—one Frankish, the other Celtic. To some extent the currents intermingled. Some of the most ancient chansons de geste, like "Astremont" make allusions to Breton poetry. Occasionally the Trouvères themselves enrich their repertoire with translations of the same, modifying the meter of their own poems to suit. The later chansons in fact very frequently show the marks of Celtic influence. However, the two currents in the main kept apart—one remaining basically Teutonic, the other Celtic. The former preceded the latter by at least a century so far as the ultimate perfection of development is in question, in spite of the peculiar view of M. Villemarqué who, in opposition to even his fellow Celts, would have the Breton Cycle existing as early as the seventh century; a view which, if sound, would rob the later French Trouvères of all claim to originality. Leaving aside then such controversies, we can regard as generally admitted: first, the existence of ancient poetry of Celtic origin containing in germ form the legends of the Breton Cycle; secondly, the fact that these legends and primitive poems are the common heritage of the British Celts of England, Wales and French Britanny; and lastly that they owe their preservation chiefly to the Breton harpers up to the Anglo-Norman writers in prose and verse.

Chiefly! because also to history is due in no little measure this preservation. Of that great struggle between Saxon and Celt in Britain, the accounts are meagre and obscure. The Saxon account is very brief. On the Celtic side we have but the confused and incomplete narrative of Gildas (about A.D. 550). Then silence until the appearance of the famous "Historia Britonum" of Nennius—about the close of the tenth century, a history wherein in the midst of confused Christian legends and ethnological fables appear certain evidences of British national poetry. There Arthur is mentioned for the first time, but not the legendary and imperial Arthur of the Round Table. He is not even a king, merely a military chieftain who vanquishes the Saxons in twelve battles. Then there is no mention of the Round Table, the Holy Grail, Tristan and Iseult. Merlin appears as the representative we may take it of ancient Druidism, but even he is far from the mysterious Merlin of the later romances. After Nennius history is again silent until the advent of the Norman. And so it is to the popular poetry that we must turn—the poetry of the conquered race not unwelcome even to their Saxon masters. This preserves the rich material upon which was to work the genius of the Norman, that wonderful genius which created nothing but became everything and ruled everything.

With the advent then of this new race, Celtic poetry became the vogue in cultured lay society. Various causes contributed to this change of taste. The indirect and general cause was the increasing refinement of manners which had set in as early as 1108, immediately after and largely as the result of the first Crusade. The period before that was an heroic age, and heroism is largely coarse. The more cultivated society of the succeeding epoch, therefore, required literature somewhat more refined than the chansons de geste. A more direct cause was the development of French prose, above all of history. It was verily an age of history, when the false chronicle of Turpin rivals in interest the chansons de geste, when Suger reunites the ancient Latin texts of the early annals. Above all the Normans loved history—witness the galaxy of Anglo-Norman historians of the epoch, Orderic, Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, etc.

This is the turning-point in the development of the Breton literature, because this Norman passion for history so largely accounts for their interest in the unearthing of the historic past, not only Norman, but Celtic and Saxon as well. Added to this merely literary cause was a political and a racial one. To understand it we must remember the strong bond of race and intercommunication between the Celts of Britain and those of French Britanny. Add the close alliance of Britanny with Normandy, the significant fact that Bretons fought under William at Hastings, and the blood-relationship is established between the oppressed Celts and the Norman conquerors of their Saxon oppressors. Legend helped on the process. An ancient prophecy told of how Arthur was one day to return and conquer his ancient foes. Celtic imagination could therefore well see it fulfilled by the victory at Hastings; and Norman sagacity could equally well see good politics in flattering this strange sentiment, in posing as the Arthurian avenger of the Celts, in unearthing their past, collecting, memorizing and modeling the Celtic legendary lore.

A last step in the process. The Normans were, of course, more French than English. Through them England for the first time becomes a factor in continental Europe. Therefore by their very position they were the logical link uniting the Celt with France and the rest of the medieval world. Moreover, too, their French language drew then into the French world of letters, which then as now gave the tone to all Europe. And so through the Normans the Celtic romances find their way into continental Europe, above all into France, where the Trouvères receive them, draw from them their inspiration and compose the "Breton Cycle" just at the lucky moment when medieval society was eager for a new literature to satisfy its more refined taste.

This is the story in a few words. The final process through which the "matière de Bretagne" passed ere it came forth completely polished from the pen of Chrétien de Troyes is well enough known to dispense with a lengthy notice. The predecessors of the Trouvères in this matter are known to all. Following the example of Geoffrey of Monmouth, others like Wace, Robert de Boron, Walter Map, and that later crowd of anonymous imitators and compilers in prose steadily developed, added to, recast the ancient material, and then handed it over to Chrétien de Troyes, who between 1170 and 1190 put into verse the prose romances of "Perceval le Gallois, Le Chevalier au Lion, Erect and Enide, Cliges, Lancelot du Lacou, Le Chevalier de la Charrette." Chiefly to him is due the introduction, the naturalization of Celtic lore in French literature. Above all he it is who, continuing the transformation of the national legend already initiated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, made these romances the mirror of society and chivalry in the thirteenth century to the detriment of the earlier pattern of the chansons de geste. As such he is the last in the long list of prose and poetic laborers beginning with Gildas and continuing with the anonymous popular lais, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, Robert de Boron and Walter Map.

So far most writers agree. But the study of the spirit and the ethnological elements composing these romances offers an ample opportunity for diversity of opinion. From the outset, therefore, it should be remembered that allowance must be made for much that is hypothetical and obscure, owing to the fact that all peoples, both Teuton and Celt, have many tendencies in common. The following conclusion, then, is offered as very largely tentative, though to the writer it seems rather secure.

Just as faith and war are the predominant elements or passions of the chansons de geste, so love is the main inspiration of the Round Table romances. It is only when the reader comes to study this statement in the details of its fullest meaning that he sees the difficulties in his path and realizes his dangers.

Faith, to begin with. In the earliest chansons de geste it is simple, undiluted Catholicism: in the Round Table romans it has degenerated into a mixture of Christianity, paganism and modern melancholy scepticism, despite the fact that Arthur in general is an enemy of the pagan. Angels give way to the fairies, giants and mythological beings of uncertain parentage: healthy faith to vague, morbid, introspective, though often delicious, musing. Allowing, of course, for the evil influence of the Oriental fabliaux or contes brought into Europe through the double pathway of Byzantium and the Strait of Gibraltar, also for the general decline of religious earnestness apparent even at the close of the twelfth century, the main racial cause is undoubtedly to be sought for in the peculiarities of the Celtic genius. In proof the reader can consult two works which illustrate the Celtic cast of mind at its earliest appearance: the ''Mabinogion'' and the ''Épopée Celtique en Irlande'' forming together the ''Cours de Littérature Celtique'' of D'Arbois de Jubainville and J. Loth. The Irish Epic is both the richest in manuscripts, the most ancient of Celtic literatures, and is descriptive of the Celt scarcely yet touched by Christian influence, despite the fact of its manuscripts having come to us through a Christian medium. Its oldest manuscripts date perhaps as far back as the seventh century. The collection of old Welsh texts known as the ''Mabinogion'' contain stories some of which in spirit carry us back to the very beginnings of Celtic literature, such as those of "Pwyll," "Branwen," "Manawyddan," "Math." So then we are dealing with the Celt in his original simplicity. Now what is the characteristic of his religion as herein portrayed? It is precisely just what we find in the Round Table romans—their distant descendants. The Irish Epic, allowing for a Christian faint shading, is thoroughly mythological and charged with that love of the marvellous not altogether yet eradicated from the modern Irishman with his fairies and "good people." So too the Mabinogion are saturated with the same spirit. Giants, fairies, magicians, all the machinery of the Round Table, are there. So much for the love of the marvellous, of magic superadded to the simple Catholicism of the chansons de geste. But we are not so sure whence come the other traits of mysticism, of melancholy, of morbid introspection, unless we regard them partly as consequences of this love of the marvellous, of that world of vague adventure, of uncertain wandering, which reflects itself in the journeyings of the human mind through equally vague lands of doubt, partly also as the echoes of the eternal lament of the Celt over his misfortunes.

As faith, so also the second great passion of the chansons de geste changes in the Breton Cycle. True, the wars of Arthur are in a general sense national and consistent with a general aim; but even in the pages of Nennius they have already taken upon themselves that fragmentary, individualistic character which is at bottom adventure. Later on they have become nothing but adventures of single knights in defence of some princess held in bondage by a dragon or giant, or heaven knows what. War has become less real, often trivial, without even the epic grandeur of the feudal contests of Raoul de Cambrai. No longer huge masses, thousands of mail-clad warriors driving themselves like one mass of steel against the Saracen—pitiless and expecting no pity—all for one great glorious cause—the defence of religion and of France: only a plumed dandy, brave, it is true, but a dandy who goes off on silly adventures out of pure ennui.

Here the influence of the decline of the Crusading spirit is evident, as well as the general softening of manners which must ever be well kept in mind. But here too, we again discover a strong Celtic influence. In the Irish Epic war is pretty much of this same character. Though more sanguinary and predominant as a general theme of the poetic "filés," nevertheless it bears that eternal fragmentary, individualistic character so typical of everything Celtic. The private wars of the Gauls mentioned by Cæsar find their counterpart in the internecine warfare described by the Cycle of Ulster, the Cycle of Leinster and the Mythological Cycle of the Irish Epic. Cuchulain, despite his paganism, would have found himself very much at home in Arthur's court. In the Mabinogion, even in the most ancient accounts, war occupies even less space and degenerates into downright military drivel, so to speak. We are toto cœlo distant from Aliscans and Roncevaux.

We now come to the subject of love—a passion slightly influencing the early chansons de geste, which are fundamentally military and Catholic. Now it becomes the all-absorbing motif of the new romans. The causes of the change are not so easily distinguished, excluding such general causes as the so often mentioned softening of manners, contemporaneous with the appearance of the Breton romans, and the civilizing influence of Christianity. Perhaps the origin of gallantry will never be settled completely. However, personally speaking, we would allow much in favor of the influence of Celtic genius on the one hand, and of Provence on the other.

Even an ardent Celt like M. Villemarqué will not allow to the Celt the creation of this system of knightly courtesy known as chivalry; at most he will admit that Arthur was "le point de départ d' une chevalerie idéale, armée par la foi et l'amour."[1] Our own position would be that the foundation of this amorous chivalry was Celtic, but the subsequent fashioning of it was due to a Provençal impulse.

In proof take again the Celt at his earliest, so far as we know, as depicted in the Irish Epic. The position of woman as therein given was, I grant, shockingly low: marriage "annuel, par vente, par enlèvement"; the almost absolute power of man over the lives and virtue of his children and wife; the low price of women in the eyes of the law; lastly the prevalence of what is known in Latin as "Jus primæ noctis," in French as "Droit du Seigneur"; the absolutely animal methods of extending hospitality to male guests, all tell a tale of revolting obscenity. The texts we could not quote even in a French translation. So also in the earlier Mabinogion the accounts reach a depth of immodesty that is even more shocking, and we mean from a purely pagan point of view.[1]

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[1] "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," pp. 164, 165.

Yet admitting all this coarseness of sexual intercourse, all this contempt for woman both in law, in language and in manner, nevertheless one fact stands out with striking force—namely, the prominent rôle of woman as a motif of the action of the poem and the narration. She occupies a place in the early Mabinogion almost as prominent as in the latter which are contemporaneous with the poems of Chrétien de Troyes; and even in the Irish Epic, woman and woman's love is far more of a motif than in the chansons de geste; in fact she then appears as the earliest manifestation of the gentle ladies who are to rule over Arthur's court in the subsequent romans: all that is required to make Guinevere out of Emer or Ethné Ingubé is a little Christianity, more refinement, and above all (pardon the expression) a short residence in Provence, this said despite the opinions of those who commence gallantry with Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The second powerful influence in the development of this amorous side of chivalry seems to us undoubtedly Provence—the land of love and sunshine, of amorous Troubadours and fair listening dames, of just that style of illicit love-making so characteristic of our Launcelots: of knights who cared little for war with the Saracen, who sang no chansons de geste, whose Catholicism was largely diluted with Manichæism—who loved above all another man's wife, rendered all the sweeter by the adventure and danger attending the pursuit. Here was the Round Table already formed in spirit. Now it is worthy of note that the best exponents of these Breton romans were precisely people who were Provençal by birth or dwelling or influence. The Normans were always by their possessions more in touch with southern than with northern France: above all was it the case since the day of Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose daughter was the French Sappho—Marie de Champagne, who herself had as chief poet Chrétien de Troyes. Surely it is hard not to see here a powerful and direct Provençal influence.

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[1] "Cours de Littérature Celtique," Vol. V, preface, passim; also pp. 29, 366, 367, 406, 451, 456, 486, 380–383. "Mabinogion," III, pp. 99, 95; above all the "Story of Math," pp. 145 sqq.

While we admit, then, that the Breton romans, in their original simplicity, did not bear that stamp of refined gallantry which they afterwards received from Geoffrey of Monmouth and the later poets, it would seem, nevertheless, that the prominence which the Celtic imagination, seen in its earliest beginnings, gave to woman and to the love of woman as a motif, as the great controlling passion (coarse and brutal though it was) indicates that the originals of the Breton Cycle did contain the germ of that same gallantry, thereby marking them off as so radically different from the cantilenes, the originals of the chansons de geste. This germ was developed under the softening influence of Christianity and still more so (too much so) by the softer, more refined and corrupting influence of Provençal civilization represented by Eleanor of Aquitaine, the Norman Trouvères, above all by Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes.

So much for the general tone, spirit and soul of this cycle of romans. Correspondingly, the direct, simple, vigorous, but artless style of the chansons de geste gives place to a greater delicacy of expression, subtlety in the turning of words to express shades of meaning. The verse becomes more musical, the descriptions more diffuse and sentimental, the range of topics seemingly inexhaustible. Above all for the first time in medieval lay literature we meet with that analysis of sentiment so peculiarly modern. "C'est dans la déscription de ces langeurs et de ces tendresses," says M. Aubertin, "dans l'analyse délicate du sentiment, dans cette éloquence diffuse, molle, subtile, mais pénétrante de la passion que les Trouvères du Cycle Breton ont excellé."[1] Yet they are not modern altogether. They have the faults common to most medieval productions—prolixity, monotony, endless detail.

Lest the present study should develop the same faults it brings itself to a close with this parting observation. The modern world knows full well and loves greatly the Arthurian romances told so sweetly by Alfred Tennyson. Perhaps it is yet too much under the spell of his magic verse to care for the ruder melody, too un-Catholic to feel the spirit of the chansons de geste, those pictures of chivalry in its primitive vigor. Be it so, though the thought is saddening. But at all events, let the world at least know of the existence of this earlier chivalry. Let it be told, even if somewhat rudely, that Tennyson and Walter Scott give but one view, that there is another of which they and their pigmy imitators never dreamed. We will then have the satisfaction of at least understanding better the Middle Ages, even though we are denied the pleasure of bringing the modern world around to our own opinions. Needless to state the preferences of this sketch. All the beauty and glamor and music of the Arthurian romances can not lessen our admiration for the sterner heroism of the chansons de geste. Launcelot is indeed a man "made to be loved," but as Mirabeau said of a political opponent, "there is no divinity in him." At all events he is not epic like William "au court nez" or Roland. Pleasant reading indeed are the Idylls of the King, but the pleasure leaves a stain. The "Chanson de Roland may be less pleasant, but it leaves one ennobled. And so we repeat with Charlemagne weeping over the corpse of his slain nephew:

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[1] Aubertin, ib., p. 339.

"Amis Rollanz, de tei ait Deus mercit,
Unques nul hom tel chevaler ne vit."

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The History of Mary I., Queen of England, as found in the Public Records, Dispatches of Ambassadors, in original Private Letters and other contemporary documents. By J. M. Stone. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 545.

The historian's reflections are anything but cheerful when he considers how often a one-sided and uncritical history moulds for centuries the thought of whole peoples. The famous "Book of Martyrs" published by John Foxe in 1563 is a classic instance. In spite of its mediocrity it attained a position amongst English peoples almost on a level with the Bible itself, by the side of which it was quite frequently placed, even in the parish churches, soon after its appearance. To it, more than any other book, is due that distorted idea of Mary Tudor, so wrongfully, but even yet persistently branded as "Bloody Mary." But it is a long lane that has no turn. And the long lane that leads from John Foxe to the present time has at last come to its turn in the book before us. The change towards a better understanding of that much-abused woman began to manifest itself some time before this, but the present work is, we might say, an epoch-making one. Hereafter, the enemies of Mary the First must at least be more cautious in their accusations, even if they be not more convinced that they have been all along bedevilled by John Foxe. The author certainly makes out a strong case for his client. Among the most striking points brought out are those relating to the question of tolerance, above all of Mary's tolerance, taking this word in no equivocal sense. That Mary burned heretics no one of course denies, but the points to be kept in mind, and well brought out by the author, are that the number has been outrageously exaggerated by Foxe and his imitators, that many of the executions were rather political than religious, that they were more the work of Mary's ministers than of herself, that punishment for heresy in those days was accepted by all, reformers as well as Catholics, as an incontrovertible principle of law. Regarding the political character of many of the executions, we are given the words of the Venetian ambassador (p. 354): "Certain knaves in this country endeavor daily to disturb the peace and quiet state of the kingdom, so as if possible to induce some novelty and insurrection," etc. These knaves are some of Foxe's martyrs.

On pages 357–359 we are supplied with some very salacious quotations from the reformers advocating the very intolerance so censured in Mary. Such were Beza, Calvin, Knox, Cranmer himself, and others. We find (pp. 364–365) that Mary's personal views were opposed to persecution except where absolutely unavoidable, but they were overborne by the advice of her council, composed chiefly of laymen. "Although so many of them (her enemies) were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely upon her Majesty's will, not one of them, perhaps, would have been enforced; but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others, rather than with her own" (p. 319). And, more surprising still, her own tolerant views were shared by the supposed arch-persecutor, Philip II. of Spain. The bishops unwillingly acquiesced in the persecution; the Cardinal Legate opposed them; the King's confessor preached against them. So that the blame, such as it is, must be laid, not at Mary's door, but at that of Parliament and her ministers. Lastly, let it be borne in mind that even they, in punishing heresy with death, did no more than what had been done in previous reigns, and was to be done in the succeeding ones for over a century.

Coming to Mary's character, the author presents us with more surprises. Even Catholics have insensibly fallen into the way of disparaging poor Queen Mary, in so far as they have accepted as true the opinion that she was of a stern and gloomy temperament. The present sketch shows her as being of a naturally buoyant and cheerful disposition, ardently affectionate, loyal in her friendships, keenly sensitive to every act of fidelity. To the poor, for whom she is supposed to have been a tormenting inquisitor, she was ever kind, and by them ever beloved. "She visited them in their own homes . . . would sit down familiarly with them, and inquire into their manner of living, talking kindly to them while the poor man ate his supper, after his day's work in the fields, little thinking that he was confiding his troubles to the Queen" (p. 353). And if beauty be an index of anything good, Mary had that also, though the accompanying portraits most assuredly do not bear out her reputation on this point. Of her other virtues none dispute—her justice, charity, scrupulous honesty, untarnished purity. Her Court was as chaste as herself, a compliment we cannot pay to that of her much-lauded successor, Elizabeth, sometime "Virgin" Queen. The author, of course, does not pretend that she was a perfect character. Certainly in the matter of her forced confession of the invalidity of her parent's marriage (p. 127), she is excusable only on the rather weak plea of having been ill-advised. But allowing no great fault, even in that instance, her character seems to have been somehow lacking in the rougher virtues that make a ruler successful. Her distinctively feminine virtues raise her to a level, infinitely above the coquettish, vulgar, jealous Elizabeth. As a ruler she was more just, more tolerant, more loving towards her people, less extravagant, more careful and attentive to business, far less autocratic, more respectful of the people's representatives. Withal, as a political genius, Elizabeth throws her in the shade. Perhaps Mary was too consistent, too honest, too truthful, to wend her way successfully through the maze of the English politics of her day. Elizabeth did so, largely because of her untruthfulness, tyranny and hopeless inconsistency, and thereby proved the more able ruler. It is a sad thought, but English history has proved almost to a truism that virtuous rulers are only too often unsuccessful rulers—witness Saint Edward, Henry III., Mary; compare them with such unscrupulous characters as William the Conqueror, Henry II., and Elizabeth. The reason we leave to others as well as this most interesting and able vindication of a much-maligned woman—Mary Tudor. After over three centuries of undeserved abuse it is a pleasant task to see laid upon her tomb this tribute of praise, with the regret that it should have come so late.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The Life of Bartolomé De Las Casas and the First Leaves of American Ecclesiastical History. By Rev. L. A. Dutto. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 592.

This book deserves to be read and pondered on by every Catholic desirous of knowing under what auspices and with what intentions the Spanish colonization of the New World was carried on. The greed, violence, and inhuman cruelty of the "Conquistadori" are very well known, and all who share their faith must at the same time reject and disapprove their treatment of the natives, notably in Hayti and Cuba, and the islands generally. How many, on the other hand, know that a splendid resistance to the exterminating policy of the "Conquistadori" was inaugurated and carried on by Spanish Catholic priests, notably by Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566)? This son of an original Spanish settler of Hispaniola, bred to the law at Salamanca, was the first priest ordained on American soil (1510). Almost from the first days of his priestly life he gave himself to the cause of the native Indian populations. Before he died he was hailed the world over as the "Protector of the Indians." In their interest he braved, again and again, the dangers of the Atlantic; he argued with all the authorities of Spain; he pleaded before kings and princes; he roused the pope himself. For fifty years he stood out against the fatal system of the "Repartimientos," and the result lies before us to-day in the large native Indian population of South America. There is no romance of history to compare with the life of Las Casas. And Father Dutto has told it as it was never before told in English. He has managed to compress into less than six hundred pages the main outlines of the first half century of the Catholic Church in America. That story centers about the person, the convictions, the labors, the plans, the writings of Las Casas. Catholicism, like all other noble institutions, is to be judged by its best specimens, not by its poorest; the former are its ideal products, the proofs and illustrations of its truth and its power; the latter represent the results of human interference with its elevated purposes. Our readers will doubtless be pleased to read a paragraph from the last will of Las Casas—it sums up in his own words the spirit of his life and labors.

> "Inasmuch as the goodness and the mercy of God, whose unworthy minister I am, called me to be the protector of the inhabitants of the countries, which we call the Indies, who were once the lords of those lands and kingdoms; inasmuch as he called me to protect them against the unheard of persecutions and oppressions, of which they were made the victims by the Spaniards; inasmuch as he called me to protect them from the violent deaths which desolated, frequently under my eyes, and continue yet to desolate, thousands of leagues of territory; therefore I have labored in the court of the Kings of Castile, going and coming from the Indies to Castile, and from Castile to the Indies many times for about fifty years, that is, from the year 1514, for the love of God alone and through compassion, seeing those great multitudes of rational men perish, who originally were approachable, humble, meek and simple, and well fitted to receive the Catholic faith and to practice all manner of Christian virtues. As God is my witness that I never had earthly interest in view, I declare it to be my conviction and my faith (and I believe it to be in accordance with the faith of the Holy Roman Church, which is our rule and our guide), that, by all the thefts, all the deaths, and all the confiscations of estates and other uncalculable riches, by the dethroning of rulers with unspeakable cruelty; the perfect and the immaculate law of Jesus Christ, and the natural law itself have been broken, the name of Our Lord and his holy religion have been outraged, the spreading of the faith has been retarded, and irreparable harm done to those innocent people. Hence I believe that, unless it atones with much penance for those abominable and unspeakably wicked deeds, Spain will be visited by the wrath of God, because the whole nation has shared, more or less, in the bloody wealth that has been acquired by the slaughter and extermination of those people. But I fear it will repent too late, or never. For God punishes with blindness the sins sometimes of the lowly, but especially and more frequently of those who think themselves wise, and who presume to rule the world. We ourselves are eye-witnesses of this darkening of the understanding. It is now seventy years since we began to scandalize, to rob, and to murder those peoples; but, to this day, we have not yet come to realize that so many scandals, so much injustice, so many thefts, so many massacres, so much slavery, and the depopulation of so many provinces, which have disgraced our holy religion, are sins or injustices at all."

Fr. Dutto writes with justifiable enthusiasm, but the style of his narrative remains always simple, clear, and straightforward. The diction is crisp and vigorous, and the figure of Las Casas is never clouded or reduced by needless disquisition or reasoning—the facts are permitted to exercise their own natural eloquence. For the first time many important historical documents are translated into English from the writings of Las Casas, a fact that will always lend the volume a special interest and utility. In the writer's opinion, it would have been better to collect all these documents at the end of the work, in a special appendix. Apropos, the last chapter is too long—it might well be made into two. The writings of Las Casas are described, it is true. Would it not have been better to devote a special chapter to the literary remains of the great Dominican? All the more, as so little that is definite is accessible to English readers. The various sources for the story of Las Casas original and secondary, direct and indirect, might well have been briefly described, in a separate chapter or excursus. There is no index to the book, a very grave defect in any writing of a historical character. It is a pity that Fr. Dutto did not prepare a bibliography of works that deal with the person and writings of Las Casas, also an account of the editions, whole or partial, of his writings, their vicissitudes, the uses made of them by later writers. Something, too, of the posthumous respect and veneration of Las Casas among his own people would have been welcome. Perhaps, if the history of the anti-slavery movement in Europe were to be traced to its origins, the figure of Las Casas would soon stand out among its first promoters. These remarks affect rather the external form and academic usefulness of the work, that really deserves to be raised to a standard publication, abundantly illustrated, and enriched with English translations of valuable Spanish and Latin documents.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Le Ultime Vicende della Biblioteca e dell' Archivio di S. Colombano di Bobbio. By Achille Ratti. Milano: Hoepli, 1901. 8°, pp. 43.

No mediæval library has a more interesting history than that of the Old-Irish Abbey of Bobbio in Northern Italy. Since the year A. D. 1000 its treasures have been scattered through Europe, notably in the fifteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It remained for the armies of Bonaparte to commit a last depredation on the poor remnants that Rossetti could yet look on and utilize. Don Achille Ratti of Milan publishes in this brochure three documents from the episcopal archives of Bobbio. Two of them are inventories of the books existing in the library and archives when (1801–1803) they were dispersed and sold to the highest bidder. The third document is the act of sale of the books. Of the hundred and more "Codices" only a few ever reached the Library of Turin. Peyron had more than seventy-nine at one time in his hands. He says that between 1822 and 1824, some thirty were deposited in the same library. A certain "Citizen" Buthler (!) bought six hundred and sixteen of the books—perhaps he was some Irish Benedictine, some travelling English Catholic. In view of the high antiquity of many Bobbio manuscripts a great interest attaches to these "Codices" scattered by the Revolution. Do any libraries of Europe now possess whole or partial manuscripts of Bobbio outside of the Vatican, the Ambrosiana of Milan, and the Nazionale of Turin? And if so, how did they come by them? Is it true that in Europe very ancient Bobbio manuscripts are passing from one private collection to another? One such, at least, was sold not long ago for more than five hundred dollars (Ratti, p. 39).

Thomas J. Shahan.

Vie de Saint Ouen, Evêque de Rouen (641–684), Etude d'Histoire Mérovingienne. By E. Vacandard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 394.

The distinguished historian of Saint Bernard presents in this life of Saint Ouen (Audoenus) of Rouen a bird's eye view of the history of the Christian Church among the Gallo-Franks of what became later the land of Normandy. The original materials are, of course, scarce. Few of the saintly figures of the seventh century stand out in the clear light that genuine lives, letters, documents and monuments alone furnish. The oldest Vita of the saint (Acta SS. Aug. IV, p. 805) was perhaps composed, in part at least, shortly after his death. Such as it is, it had probably taken on its present form early in the eighth century. Such a "Legenda" is usually retouched by the monastic brethren for public reading in their refectory; then the translation of the body and other events demand additions—the text gradually departs from its original purity, even when ignorant copyists or abbreviators do not alter the same. Under the Karlings, many an old Merovingian saint got a new "Vita" or "Legenda." The process may be read in Wattenbach, and now in the excellent treatise of Molinier. The "sermo incultus" of the seventh and eighth centuries made the better educated monks blush for the memory of their founder or benefactor. So they rewrote the original simple-hearted stories that, naturally, no longer found copyists or readers. Two such lives of Audoenus have come down, dateable somewhere in the latter half of the ninth century. As to original writings of the Saint, there are a letter of his to Rodobert of Paris in which he offers him a "Vita" of Saint Eloi (Eligius) written by himself, and some monastic charters signed by him. Fortunately, the lives of his contemporaries throw light upon his own. Thus the "Vitæ" of Saint Columbanus of Luxeuil, Saint Desiderius of Cahors, Saint Leger of Autun, Saint Bathildis, help to fill out the meager outlines of his story. The annals and chronicles of the time are still more meager—the continuator of Gregory of Tours known as Fredegarius, and the author of the "Liber Historiæ Francorum." The Canons of the Merovingian Councils, lately re-edited by Maassen (1893) in the "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica" (Leges, III, I) are a precious source of enlightenment as to the moral and social conditions of the period. Finally the histories of great mediæval abbeys, like Fontenelles, Jumièges, Corbie, Fécamp, that were founded in this century, furnish in their "vitæ" and "diplomata" many items for the life of such a man as Audoenus.

The Abbé Vacandard has rendered a real service to all who would like to know how the great nobles of the Franks accepted Catholicism; what was the life, literary, social, monastic, episcopal, of the seventh century; how the splendid abbeys and monasteries of mediæval France arose; what benefits they conferred in their infancy upon an ignorant and warlike race; what was the morality of the seventh century; what the struggle between the churchmen and the beloved "paganiæ" of barbarism; how the rule of Saint Columbanus was first merged with and then lost in the more temperate and moderate rule of Saint Benedict, and many other instructive phases of ecclesiastico-civil life in that period. Indeed, the life of Audoenus belongs, in a way, to the church history of Ireland, for he received in his cradle the blessing of the great Irish monk Columbanus; his mother Aiga and his father Autharius, principal nobles among the Franks, had entertained in their villa of Ussy-Sur-Marne the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio. He was then on his way to Switzerland and Northern Italy, but wherever he passed he left behind him some spark of that "strenuitas," that overflowing energy which Jonas (c. 61) tells about. This is not the only instance which shows how impossible it is, henceforth, to write the ecclesiastical history of the Franks and the Alemans without some account of the Christian priest who came out of Ireland to develop in them Christian character and idealism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes. Edited by B. De Mandrot. Vol. I (1464–1477). Paris: Picard (Collection de Textes, etc., fasc. 33), 1901. 8°, pp. 473.

This new edition of Commynes offers the text of a hitherto unpublished manuscript written about 1530, and originally the property of the niece of Commynes. Four other manuscripts of the sixteenth century, and the best previous editions of the "Mémoires" (1524, 1528, 1552, 1747, 1840–47, and 1881) have contributed to establish a text that cannot now be far from the original autograph of the Sieur d'Argenton. A scholarly introduction, always a feature of these "Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire" will appear in the second volume. In the meantime we recommend to teachers and students of history this excellent edition of a writer who is at once, in point of time, the last of the old chroniclers and the first of modern historians. The political soul of the "Quattrocento" as it existed in the feudal nobility of France is faithfully mirrored in the pages of Commynes. He is less picturesque and romantic than Froissart, less naïve than the sage Joinville, less gossipy than Villehardouin. In return he is a grave and thoughtful writer, a kind of Christian Thucydides, bent on finding and exposing the causes of political events. Diplomat, traveller, administrator, Commynes was one of the best informed men of the fifteenth century. It may have been well for French literature that his education was somewhat neglected by reason of poverty. Had he known Latin, his style would have been less idiomatic and original. As it was, he found himself compelled to draw on the native resources of the French tongue for countless shadings of thought and expression as he developed grave theses of morality and politics. He has been accused of being the teacher of Macchiavelli, whom indeed, he might have met in Italy in 1494. The accusation is not true; yet it is significant enough that it could have been made. Though Commynes "Mémoires" contain many noble considerations of a genuine Christian character, they also show that he could cover with specious names very wicked deeds and policies. The only excuse is that, owing to the endless shifting of interests and conditions, the educated classes of the time had come to believe that there was a public as distinct from a private morality, that each was based on peculiar and distinct principles, and that one could praise the "virtues" of Louis XI. while upholding a divine government of the world, providence, retribution, and the like. Commynes is excellent reading for all who are interested in the political origins of the great states of Europe, the beginnings of French literature, the processes by which the mediæval soul was modified and transformed into the soul of the modern man "toujours ondoyant et divers," itself the center of all things, their criterion and touchstone. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Sources de L'Histoire de France, I. Epoque primitive, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens. By Auguste Molinier. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. viii + 288.

French professors and students of history have long wanted a work that should take the place of the incomparable "Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen" of Wattenbach (to 1250) and O. Lorenz (to 1500). They had, it is true, the "Histoire Littéraire" of the Benedictines, kept up by the Academy of Inscriptions, the useful Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age" of the abbé Chevalier, the works of Ebert and Potthast—but for one reason or another, none of these quite served the daily needs of a French school of history, or the individual worker. M. Auguste Molinier, of the Ecole des Chartes, has conferred a great boon on all mediævalists who need to study the history of France, and what mediævalist can avoid it? In the first volume of a series that will eventually reach the year 1500, M. Molinier deals with the historical "sources" or original authorities for the period of the Merovingians (Merwings) and Carlovingians (Karlings), *i. e.*, he reaches to about the year 1000.

A preliminary introduction presents the authorities for the history of Gaul before the Frankish invasion. Thereupon appear Gregory of Tours, the so-called Fredegarius and his continuators, the contemporary Italian, Byzantine, and Spanish annalists or chroniclers, the "Vitæ Sanctorum" of the sixth to the eighth centuries, treated topographically (a valuable chapter and admirably divided), then some "general chronicles" that follow more or less the imperial tradition. In the second part one may obtain correct, succinct, fresh knowledge about the writers who have illustrated, in prose and metre, the origins of the Karlings, their ancestry, their great chief, their family troubles. The story of the "Reichsannalen," one of the curious and brilliant historical discoveries of the nineteenth century, and of the great abbey-annals, is here—"*quod requiritur et sufficit.*" The "Necrologia" of the Benedictines and the "Epistulæ" of the ninth century receive needed illustration, and the historians who tell of the Northmen invasions and of the ninth century as it wore away in France, are described. We often hear of Abbo and Aimoin, of Regino of Prüm and Liudprand of Cremona, of Widukind and Flodoard, Gerbert and Richer—perhaps, at a pinch, we might find some ancient and musty learning about them in an encyclopedia. But the latest and best is here, as in the sixth edition of Wattenbach. Only, the point of view in Molinier is particularly French, rather than German and imperial. The work is a boon—to have read and mastered it is a revelation of history and an education in the field of research. From knowing who and where are the sources of history, it is but a step to make their acquaintance, than which there is no more genuine delight, no more useful propædeutic for the only apology that is lasting, because scientific, that based on facts.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Francois De Fénelon. By Viscount St. Cyres. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 311.

It is rarely that one runs across a book as valuable and as interesting as this. It is complete in every respect. The author has gone straight to his sources, studied them carefully, weighed the evidence judiciously, and then written in a style that is simply fascinating. Numerous portraits, a good chronological table of events, an excellent bibliography and index, clear print, light paper, attractive binding—everything is here to make the book attractive and useful, in general, the best life of Fénelon we know of, and one of the most absorbing books of any kind which we have read. The captious, of course, will find here and there a slip, but these cannot seriously injure the general character of thoroughness and brilliancy.

If we indulged in comparisons we would call best the chapters on "Jansenism," "Maxims of the Saints" and "At War with Bossuet," and of these the second is the most brilliant of all. Despite the fact that the writer handles there the deep and dry subjects of mysticism, his stylic genius invests it with fascinating coloring. How fine is the passage which refers to St. John of the Cross (p. 103) that "tremendous countryman of Cortes (who) had voyaged through strange seas of thought to islands that mariner never saw!" How tersely put is that little defect in the make-up of the great Bossuet who "did not scruple to turn all the artillery of heaven against a fly" (p. 139). Just such striking passages are met with on almost every page, yet with all his "verve" the author keeps his head cool and gives a history as judicious as it is brilliant. He shows very plainly in the chapter on "Jansenism" that he is not a Catholic, but nowhere do his religious convictions seriously affect the impartiality of his judgments. After reading we feel that we know Fénelon and his age about as well as is possible. To completely understand Fénelon seems to be impossible, considering the enigmatic character of that great man who could be tolerant yet intolerant, courteous to all but friend of no man; an educational reformer without the courage of his convictions; a zealous pastor of his flock, yet ever somewhat disdainful of the common people and a lover of the classics; thoroughly conscientious, yet indirect; a fascinating conversationalist, but a poor orator; a mystic dwarfed into a haggling, microscopic director of pious souls; who was ever taken up with close introspection, but confessing that he never understood himself; possessed of brilliant talents, which somehow or other accomplished very little—a veritable sphinx. We do not understand him, but we thank the author of this book for giving us a first-rate portrait of the great archbishop of Cambrai.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Dubois, Cardinal et Premier Ministre (1656–1723). By P. Bliard. Paris: Lethielleux, 1901. 8°, pp. 424, 488.

The figure of Cardinal Dubois will be forever an interesting, though never a sympathetic one. The tutor of the nephew of Louis XVI., that great nobleman, who held the Regency as Duke of Orléans (1715–1722) for Louis XV., and inaugurated, then and thereafter, the carnival of immorality and blasphemy that wound up in the French Revolution, has been made to bear no little of the odium that history rightly attaches to the Regency. Now, for the first time, Father Bliard, S.J., subjects the life of Dubois to a minute examination, the results of which are rather surprising. The work is based throughout on the correspondence of Dubois and other unedited contemporary materials in the Archives of the Ministry "des Affaires Etrangères," also on contemporary memoirs and authentic public documents of the time. That Dubois was a bold, pushing, ambitious man, is clear from this painstaking investigation; that he looked on ecclesiastical offices and dignities as mere stepping stones to political greatness, is also true; that he intrigued openly and shamelessly for the cardinal's hat as a confirmation of his career and a prop to his influence, is now proved in abundant and minute detail. On the other hand, he must be declared guiltless of the charge of treason and corruption so often urged against him—there is no proof of his having accepted a pension from the Court of St. James. If he yielded too often in the long and intricate negotiations with England, it was because he knew only too well the military and economic weakness of France that the next fifty years were to emphasize only too painfully. He has been atrociously calumniated, it seems, for it results from these studies that his ecclesiastical life was free from the gross immoralities that he has been charged with. He stood in the way of many men after the death of Louis XIV. The Jansenists loved him not. The ungrateful, arrogant, mendacious Saint-Simon has made himself the mouthpiece to posterity of all the contempt, jealousy and dislike of the "Grands Seigneurs" of France for the apothecary's son who seized on the rôles that should have been theirs. These volumes deserve an attentive reading. In their chapters stand out, illuminated by abundant documents, Orléans and Alberoni, Saint-Simon and Law, the hopes of the Stuarts and the fears of the House of Hanover, the blind pride of the Spanish Bourbons, the waste and folly of the upper classes of France, the shrewd and calculating policy of England, all the lights and shadows of a period of history, when dynastic interests outweighed national ones, and the rights, comforts and happiness of the plain people of France well-nigh disappeared from view. It had not always been thus; were it not for the absolutism and the ruinous ambition of Louis XIV, a Dubois would have been impossible. The vast natural resources of France, the military genius of her children, her admirable position in the heart of Europe, the union and mutual respect of all classes, would have enabled her to withstand in the Old World and the New the rising fortunes of England and Prussia. But national prosperity that is based on continuous wrong and calculated injustice shall not long sustain itself. Is there in all history a stronger proof than the history of France since the death of Dubois?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Mémoires de l'abbé Baston (1741–1825). Paris: Picard (Société de l'Histoire Contemporaine), 1897–1899. 3 vols., 8°, pp. xxix + 438, 423, 372.

In these "Mémoires" we have practically the autobiography of a French priest from 1741 to 1825, *i. e.*, the whole stirring period of the French Revolution, in its remote and near preparation as well as in its final outcome. The good abbé Guillaume Baston has left us in these pages a simple fresh and fascinating account of French life, social, political and ecclesiastical, as it appeared to a daily and capable observer of it in the eventful decades from Louis XV., to Louis XVIII. The greater part of the first volume is taken up with the description of ecclesiastical education as carried on in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and the Sorbonne at Paris, in the days of the old régime. These chapters are an extremely interesting contribution to ecclesiastical pedagogics. Exiled from the diocese of Rouen, as the result of his refusal to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the abbé Baston became one of the heroic band of French émigré priests who disproved by their lives a multitude of false accusations against the old clergy of royal France. His experiences in England, Holland, Belgium and Westphalia, furnish the bulk of his diary. In the latter country he found an affectionate welcome. And he has well repaid the sturdy Catholic peasantry of Coesfeld by his kindly and shrewd description of their habits and customs, social and religious. Exile, poverty and sorrow did not make him a cynic, neither is he an absolute admirer of the conditions of French life before 1789. There is in most of his judgments a sturdy Norman good sense, a moderation and gentleness that shed honor upon the men who trained him for the service of religion in its stormiest days. He returned to France, with joy, after the Concordat of 1801, and was honored with the office of Vicar-General in his native diocese. The violence and perfidy of Napoleon prepared, once more, evil days for the venerable ecclesiastic. Gallican in his views of Church government, he had a sincere admiration for the Emperor. Hence, when the latter thrust out from his see of Séez, very unjustly, (1813) Mgr. de Boischollet, he named as successor the abbé Baston. In spite of the refusal of Pius VII., prisoner at Fontainebleau, to accord canonical institution to the Emperor's nominees, the abbé Baston accepted the dignity and took the oath at the hands of Marie Louise. It is well known how the imperial government tried to turn the Pope's obstinacy by causing the new bishops to be associated by their respective chapters with the existing vicars capitular. Though his position was false and irregular, the abbé Baston seems to have been in good faith. His one year of episcopal administration (April 30, 1813–June 11, 1814) was a painful period. At the age of seventy-three, this confessor of the faith retired to the peasant's cottage where he was born, disgraced and abandoned. However, the closing years of his life were made more agreeable by the restoration of his earlier dignity of vicar-general. He died March 26, 1825, at the patriarchal age of eighty-one. The abbé Baston is yet remembered for a refutation of the errors of Lamennais in his "Essai sur l'indifferénce en matière de religion," a reply to the anti-Gallican views of De Maistre in his "Du Pape" and some canonical writings. He will live, however, more surely in the pages of these "Mémoires" certainly one of the most truthful and luminous pages that have been written on the French Revolution, and the most valuable issue of the series of contemporary sources published by the "Société d'Histoire Contemporaine." Apropos of the divorce of Josephine, there is (Vol. III, pp. 148–149) the statement of a French fugitive made to the abbé in Westphalia, to the effect that in 1796 he had been an eye-witness of the marriage of Josephine and Bonaparte, in a private chapel, by a non-juring priest. It is known that the Emperor always denied this, yet he might have easily acquiesced in such a demand on the part of Josephine. It is said that Danton himself, at the height of the Terror, was married by a non-juring priest (Belloc's Danton, p. 232).

Thomas J. Shahan.

Les Etapes d'un Soldat de L'Empire: Souvenirs du Capitaine Desbœufs. Par Charles Desbœufs. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8°, pp. 224.

In this humble Odyssey of a soldier of the Empire (1800–1815) the reader obtains a glimpse of the superhuman courage and sacrifices of the brave men who filled the armies of France in the days of her supreme struggle to impose on the world of Europe the will of the Revolution. Alas, how soon the idealism of the Girondists was swept away and the stern cruel realism of Bonaparte was accepted as the proper philosophy of the new propaganda! Within ten years men had marched upwards to the horizon whence the "perfect state" was in sight, and had gone backwards to the political lust, ambition, and violence of Louis XIV. The great brain that planned was that of Napoleon, but the weapon was the French soldier, yesterday a peasant, to-morrow a legionary. These wars tore from the soil a discouraged and apathetic race, hurled it, rightly and wrongly, against one mighty coalition after another, filled with the wisdom of experience and travel the little farmer who had never gone beyond sight of the village church-steeple, and the small townsman whose ambition was satisfied with a trip to Paris and Versailles. In these wars France won a new glory, a new romance, a new outlook on all life—and the paladins of victory were Pierre and Jean and Louis of the fields, the hostler's son, the famished notary, the village inn-keeper. In this diary of Marc Desbœufs (1782–1859) son of a village physician of the Roussillon, the sufferings and the victories of the "Armée d'Italie" are told with vividness and clearness, also the campaigns that ended gloriously at Wagram and the not less trying but more inglorious campaigns against Spain. Here is all the injustice of Napoleon, but also all the romance of war. As one reads the tale told his grandchildren by this soldier of the Empire at the end of a long life, the songs of Bérenger come back to memory, and the "petit caporal" takes on again the grandeur of Cæsar, and one understands why the soul of France instinctively yearns for another mighty man, another gigantic soul, to break the long reign of the trivial and the commonplace.

Thomas J. Shahan.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform, an account of ecclesiastical legislation and its influence on affairs in France from 1789 to 1804. By William Milligan Sloane. New York: Scribner's, 1901. 8°, pp. xviii + 333.

The name of Professor Sloane is a guarantee that his accout of the ecclesiastical legislation of the French Revolution will be notable for scientific form, conscientious efforts at accuracy, and breadth of treatment—both as regards the use of original sources and the temper in which they are summarized and presented. His long service as a teacher of history and his "Life of Napoleon" have earned for him the respect of historical students at home and abroad. Therefore, one listens earnestly when he offers us his view of the causes that were responsible for the awful convulsions through which the French people of a century ago worked their way from a mixture of absolutism and feudalism to a *sui generis* democracy. In the preface (p. vii) to this book, the substance of which was delivered in eight lectures before the Union Theological Seminary of New York, Professor Sloane lays stress on the importance of ecclesiastical history for any philosophical account of the institutions and vicissitudes of Christian society. He believes that we should give due place to the Church as a social and political factor everywhere and at all times.

> "The stubborn efforts," he says, "to explain mediævalism with little or no consideration for the unifying political influence of the Church are pitiful; the widely heralded discovery that the Thirty Years' War ended ecclesiastical politics is fantastic; the so-called secular history of the révolutionary epoch, relegating Church influences to a few paragraphs, utterly fails to satisfy the demand for logical sequence. When we consider the splendor of the Roman Church in its long intervals of sanity, the sound views it held of life, the brilliant leadership it exercised in philosophy, literature and art, the lofty aims it exhibited, the ameliorations of social life it secured, the constancy of its work, the continuity of its life, the comprehensive bond it was for all civilizing agencies—we can not wonder at the hold it kept on men's imaginations even during its lapses into worldiness." Similarly, he recognizes (p. xxiv) that "the single greatest fact of secular history was the emergence of Christianity from behind the veil of persecution, not as an adjunct of the Empire but as a distinct human power with a complete separate organization of its own." And (p. xxvi) we read that "in the necessary (mediæval) conflict between the social and ecclesiastical authorities as represented by the Church and the Empire the former was in the main victorious; in the scheme of public life it relegated military force to a level beneath that of moral power; it exalted the value of love, charity and holiness as the aims of private life.

With such views Professor Sloane is certainly not an unsympathetic observer of that decade which inaugurated the new life of human society. Why was it, now, that these ten years were marked by violence, savagery, sanguine injustice, and a general reign of unreason? Professor Sloan, admitting the fiscal bankruptcy, the survival of secular feudalism, the vague but sure upheaving force of universal mental exaltation, and the coöperation of all, is of opinion that the Revolution, at first wholesomely and normally French in precedent and tradition, was balked of its proper course by "ecclesiastical fanaticism, both positive and negative." It is the purpose of his book to bring out this fact as the mightiest obstructive force of the Revolution. In keeping with this assertion, the resistance of Catholicism to the so-called reforms of the ephemeral gatherings of French legislators is laid at the door of Jesuitry and Ultramontanism. This is certainly misleading, to say the least. The phase of modern Catholicism strictly known as Ultramontanism was almost non-existent in those days, or at least weak enough in France; and it is forcing even the most odious sense of the word Jesuitry to designate thereby the simple, brave, uncompromising and entire conduct of the great multitude of French ecclesiastics whose withdrawal from the public life of the nation, constant protest against the acts of the sectarian doctrinaires, and frequent sacrifice of life, show that they looked on the situation as involving the denial and ruin of all that was essential to Catholicism. The bone of contention, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, was the work of infidels, embittered Jansenists, and even Protestants. Not the resistance of the Catholic clergy, but the cool malice of those who hated them, drove the Revolution into the heart of the storm and tempest, and made a reconciliation impossible until it withdrew its own insane act, or abdicated in favor of an emperor, after slaughtering a king. If we understand by "ecclesiastical fanaticism" the rabid unreason of the enemies of the Catholic religion, the words are correct. In all this decade the unity of Catholicism was at stake, no less than in the days of Luther. The last humiliation of national apostasy would have fallen upon the Church of France, were it not for the sublime courage of the clergy, both episcopal and presbyteral. Professor Sloane is correct enough in his general remaks about the frivolity and worldliness of a large percentage of the contemporary higher clergy of France, though generalizations are at all times subject to criticism. The volumes of Abbé Sicard on "The French Clergy before the Revolution" are worth careful perusal before the last word is pronounced on that peculiarly constituted hierarchy. So too, we would like to call the attention of our readers to the admirable work of De Tocqueville on "L'Ancien Régime." In the second chapter of the third book (pp. 219, 231, ed. of 1887) he has put his finger on the real and immediate cause of the French Revolution—the unchecked license of an impious literature, that roused only destructive forces—infidelity, hatred, contempt—and escaped restraint through the dissensions and factions of churchmen and the favor of an immoral court. These men of letters preached passionately political equality to a people long deprived of free institutions, unaccustomed to the handling of their own affairs, the victims of a royal centralization that had gradually made Paris more the mistress than the capital of France. The bookish abstract theories of these philosophers were suddenly and violently put into execution by an undisciplined mob of men without experience or balance—village lawyers, rude peasants, scatter-brained demagogues, political mystics and dreamers. In a word the true cause of the astounding paroxysms of the French Revolution is the previous condition of the nation, social and industrial, as well as political and religious. Another and almost equally strong impelling force is the racial character of Frenchmen. I translate the following page. Though severe, it comes from the pen of one who knew his own people.

> "The French Revolution," he says (op. cit., p. 310), will be forever shrouded in obscurity for those who look only at its immediate workings. In the preceding time alone can the proper light be found to illumine its course. Without a clear notion of that "ancienne société," its laws, its vices, its prejudices, its varied unhappiness, its grandeur, no one will ever understand what the French accomplished in the sixty years that followed its overthrow. Nor would the intelligence of these previous decades suffice without a profound study of the French character.
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> "When I reflect upon the character of that nation, I find it more extraordinary than any of the phases of its history. Was there ever a nation of such marked contrasts, so extreme in every action, guided more by feeling and less by principle, always better or worse than was expected, now above and again below the average human level; a people that varies so little in its chief instincts that its features are still recognizable in the portraits sketched some two thousand years ago, and yet so mobile in its daily thoughts and tastes that it ends by becoming an object of wonderment to itself, and is often no less surprised than are strangers at the contemplation of its own deeds. Left to itself, the French people is the most home- and routine-loving of all, yet when torn unwillingly from its hearth and usual habits, it is ready to range the whole world and to attempt any bold enterprise. It is a people of an indocile temperament, yet it more easily puts up with the arbitrary and even violent, domination of a prince than with a legal and free government by the principal citizens. To-day it is the sworn enemy of all obedience; to-morrow it puts on the livery of servitude with an eagerness that is unknown to those nations that are best fitted to bear its yoke. If no one offers resistance, this people is led by a thread; does a protest arise, it becomes at once ungovernable. Thus it deceives forever its masters, who either fear it too much or too little. It is never so freedom-loving that one need despair of enslaving it, never so enslaved that it can not break the fetters that hold it. This people has aptitudes for all things, but excels in war alone. The bold risk, the play of force, noise, brilliancy and success, are dearer to it than true glory. It is better fitted for acts of heroism than for works of virtue, for the deeds of genius than for a life of common sense, quicker to outline vast plans than to execute thoroughly great enterprises. It is at once the most brilliant and the most to be feared of the European peoples, in turn an object of admiration, hatred, pity and terror, but never to be looked on with indifference."

It might have been well to state (p. 88) that the condition of prisons and asylums throughout Europe previous to the French Revolution were not much better if any than in France. In rich and liberal England the worst conditions prevailed, if we believe the poet Crabbe, when in "The Village" he describes for us the average "workhouse" wherein every form of misery and poverty was wretchedly housed.

It is not quite fair to refer (p. 41) to Cardinal de Rohan as a "typical ecclesiastic." If public opinion held him to be such, it was in spite of the fact that one hundred and twenty of the one hundred and thirty-seven bishops were good and capable men, that there were fifty thousand honest laborious priests, illustrious for the purity of their lives and their faithful performance of duty, that the parochial clergy exemplified the highest virtues of their class. These are the words of Professor Sloane (p. 42). Many of the scandal-giving beneficed noble "abbés" were really vicious laymen, masquerading in the clerical wardrobe. They got these titles and revenues from other laymen in most cases, by a system that had grown up in spite of the Church and in defiance of her. As to the monasteries and their corruption, is it not true that many of the accusations come from their sworn enemies, who profited at once by their downfall, got their fine lands cheaply or for nothing, or needed a scapegoat for their own fanatical sectarian conduct? Even so it was once fashionable to denounce the English monasticism of Henry VIII's time. Yet writers like Brewer and Gasquet, the one Protestant and the other Catholic, have so well revealed the personal and interested animosity of their legal accusers that this mendacious thesis may be said to be demolished. With regard to the famous deception attempted by Napoleon on the occasion of signing the Concordat (p. 271) it is not without parallel in modern French civil diplomacy. Bernier, whose friends cast a doubt on the candor of Consalvi's conduct, was an obsequious, and, it is said, a treacherous agent of the First Consul (cf. the able articles of d'Haussonville, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," 1865–1869). A similar act of violence and deception was the insistence of Napoleon on including ten constitutional bishops in the new hierarchy. The last chapter of Professor Sloane's book deals with the course of ecclesiastical legislation in France during the nineteenth century, and touches on questions of a mixed or ecclesiastico-civil nature. Naturally, the difference of standpoint affects his appreciations. It is very difficult to apply to the ecclesiastical conditions of France any of the simple criteria that work fairly well elsewhere. It is clear to-day that in some lines the Revolution was for France more a hurricane than a genuine transformation. It has left standing and vigorous many deep roots of ancient institutions, has spared many ancient forms and channels of thought that are and will be forever fruitful sources of conflict. A multitude of thinkers, both within and without France, both friends and enemies, are of opinion that the disestablishment of Catholicism would be more likely to invigorate than to destroy these institutions and this temper. The student who reads the work of Professor Sloane would do well also to read Crétineau-Joly "L'Eglise Romaine en face de la Révolution" (1855) and the voluminous work of the Comte d'Haussonville, "L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire"—also "Le Concordat" of the Duc de Broglie (1893) and the numerous articles on mooted revolutionary questions of a religious interest in the "Revue des Questions Historiques." Not the least valuable of sources for the real spirit and temper of the Revolution is the voluminous correspondence (1794–1815) of the man who summarized and organized its activities, Napoleon Bonaparte. As to the famous trial of Calas (p. 27) it may be well to recall the fact that the innocence of Calas *père* is by no means admitted by all historians (cf. "Le Correspondant," Vol. XXXV, pp. 690–721, and "Mensonges et Erreurs Historiques," 1886, pp. 1–72). It is of course a slip of the pen when (p. 41) Professor Sloane calls de Maistre an "ecclesiastic." Professor Sloane repeats with hesitation (p. 79) the story of the trampling of the "cocarde tricolore" by the Life Guards of Louis XVI. It has always been vigorously denied that the scene of the banquet in the theater at Versailles (October 1, 1789) took place as described by Lecointre and Gorsas. Aulard himself (in Lavisse et Rambaud, "Hist. Générale," VII, p. 72) speaks only of "anti-revolutionary scenes." As a matter of fact, there are two schools of history when it is question of facts, as well as of principles in the French Revolution. There is perhaps, no field of history where the student needs to walk with more caution, for under thin disguises, that are not yet cast off, the whole movement partook of a religious character. This is, indeed, the thesis of Professor Sloane, and before him de Tocqueville had concluded that its external career, at least, bore all the earmarks of a religious revolution (op. cit., pp. 15–20). Fifty years ago Montalembert could speak of "les fils de Voltaire" and "les fils des croisés," and have his crisp formula adopted by both. As in some deep mine a half smothered conflagation burns on forever, so the fires of this religious feeling, whether of attack or defense, are yet burning brightly in France. It is in their lurid light that the origins of the stupendous conflict will long be studied, accepted, and narrated—I say stupendous, for, whatever be the degree of diminution of the political prestige of France, her long intellectual hegemony has not been broken, *pace* German erudition and philosophy. It is not in vain that France remains the social and civil link that binds the latest times and the newest states with the Roman Empire and the political wisdom of antiquity; that she remains, too, the heiress of all Catholic ages. In other nations it is individuals and corporations who teach. France is essentially a teaching nation; only, *manet alta mente repostum* who shall be her mouthpiece in the end.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Cavour. By Franz Xaver Kraus, Mainz: Kirchheim, 1902. 8°, pp. 100.

The last lines from the indefatigable pen of Franz Xaver Kraus were devoted to a sketch of Cavour, the creator of Italian Unity. In bold but picturesque outline he relates the early career of Cavour, and the various phases of the political history of the Italian states previous to the tragic events that culminated in the overthrow of the temporal power of the popes. The sympathies of Dr. Kraus, always an ardent Ghibelline, are entirely on the side of Cavour, and against the defenders of the territorial independence of the Holy See. Yet he could not refrain from acknowledging the selfish views of the Piedmontese royalty, and the deception again and again practised on the Holy See in the course of the unification of Italy. Nor could he fail to record the disappointment of many hopes once cherished by the founders of the actual Italy. It was likewise plain to him that the Italian revolutions of the last century had always in them a large element of fierce sectarianism that is now manifesting itself in those dissolving forces of radicalism that threaten the happiness, if not the existence, of the Italian monarchy. Few men in Europe detested more thoroughly than Cavour and his biographer the social democracy that is to-day the ideal of so many Italians—yet Camillo Cavour was obliged one day to enter into relations with its first apostles, a symbol, perhaps, of the last phase of the monarchy of Savoy. Without the *piazza* it would never have unified Italy. It looks as if the hour were once more at hand when the *piazza* will again impose its fatal direction on the statesmen of Italy. The elegant brochure is one of a series of character-sketches published by Kirchheim (Mainz) and designed to place before educated readers the epoch-making figures of history. The writers are German Catholics of note. Besides the production of Dr. Kraus, there have already appeared "Saint Augustine and the Decay of the Antique Culture" by Dr. von Hertling; "The Great Elector and the Renaissance of Germany in the Seventeenth Century," by Dr. Martin Spahn; "King Azoka and the Culture of India when Buddhism flourished," by Dr. Edmund Hardy. These brochures are very elegant in form, and richly illustrated. Each writer is allowed the largest freedom compatible with a sense of Catholic duty. Clearness of style, objective content, practical nature, distinctness of outline, are aimed at. It is hoped that the series will be of great utility to German Catholics as active members of the great modern state to which they belong.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. Sheild Nicholson. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xi+441.

This is the third and the concluding volume of Professor Nicholson's work on the principles of political economy, and it is fully up to the high standard set by the two earlier volumes. The author has aimed to do for economic science to-day what J. S. Mill did for it in his day—to give, from a positive view point, a comprehensive summary of economic principles in the light of all previous advances, and to provide an introduction to the deeper study of the economic side of social questions. The present work, however, is very far from being a mere compilation, for many of its chapters are distinct contributions to economic discussion. Throughout the whole work the treatment of topics is scientific in spirit and aim, but an effort has been made to avoid purely technical language, whereever this has been possible; and the successive chapters are marked by the literary touch and the brilliancy of exposition that characterize the other writings of Professor Nicholson. This is particularly true of the concluding chapter of this volume, in which are discussed "the relations of political economy to morality and Christianity." This discussion is marked by that deep and abiding recognition of the nature and the force of Christianity, and of its dominant rôle in the domain of social study, which one would naturally look for in a Scotch university professor. It also contains sympathetic appreciations of the Catholic viewpoint that betoken a judicial mind and the best instincts of unbiased scholarship.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

The Lyric and Dramatic Poems of John Milton. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Martin W. Sampson, Professor of English in the Indiana University. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1902.

In this compact little volume there is contained the necessary information for an intelligent study of the great poet. The introduction presents an appreciation of Milton's poetic quality, which the editor finds to be "eminently beautiful and eminently lofty." It summarizes the possible sources of "Comus," gives an instructive sketch of the development of the mask, and considers "Comus" as a mask. It contains also, a careful study of the dramatic structure of

"Samson Agonistes" in discussing which the editor paradoxically says that Milton has succeeded in imparting "a true dramatic movement by the very negation of positive action."

The notes are full, even to superfluity. Many words and allusions are explained which need only the most common works of reference for their interpretation. If the volume was intended for those just beginning the study of the author, and not supposed to have the materials at hand for individual research, the plan followed would be appropriate but for advanced students, who already know something of the methods of studying literature, there is much needless editing.

A very suggestive list of questions and comments on the poems, and a short article on Milton's metres, close what is undoubtedly an excellent introduction to the study of the poet, who, in English literature, by almost universal consent, ranks below no one save Shakespeare.

The thoroughness of Professor Sampson's work is shown by a very ingenious emendation of line 1218 of "Samson Agonistes," that reads in all editions:

> "And had performed it if my known offence."

The editor would read:

> "And had performed it if mine own offence,"—

a reading which renders the meaning of the line clear, and brings it into decided antithesis with the following line:

> "Had not disabled me, not all your force."

As the editor remarks, Milton was blind when he composed the line, and the mistake could easily have been made by his amanuensis.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

Lalor's Maples. By Katherine E. Conway. Second Edition. Boston: The Boston Publishing Company, 1901.

Miss Conway's new novel is an essay in legitimate realism. It is a much better book than its predecessor, "The Way of the World and Other Ways," which was mainly a study in morbid psychology, it is better because the author has forgotten her thesis against the world and its ways and permitted her natural and thoroughly wholesome delight in human nature to have play. One of the charms of this novel is its truth to conditions that are as a rule described with either supercilious or bitter satire. John Lalor and his wife are not only distinct personalities but types. Miss Conway is much to be envied for the discovery of a new atmosphere in American literature. Mildred is everything that a heroine ought to be, and we can really understand why Palmer Ellis fell in love with her, but not so easily why she did not fall in love with him, as he is much more of a man than Raymond Fitzgerald, who is simply the "second juvenile lead" without any special character at all; but he answers very well the purpose of the author. Margaret Lalor is vital, and so tolerantly drawn—without the faintest hint that she points a moral—that one hopes the creator of the Lalors may yet give us a heroine who will not be a sweet girl graduate still in the clutches of the prefect of discipline. It is needless to say that this novel is irreproachable in manner and that it has the quality of interest. The melodramatic villainy and the unnecessary invention of Palmer Ellis's racial apostacy are the only artistic fault of the book. In "Lalor's Maples," even more than in any other of her works of fiction, Miss Conway has earned the right to be taken seriously as a writer of American novels. A mere *succés d'estime* is not the sort of success that ought to satisfy a writer of her talent, receptivity, and balance of mind.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

La Chiesa. By Mons. Geremia Bonomelli, Milano: Cogliati, 1900. 8°, pp. 382.

The venerable bishop who has governed for thirty years the see of Cremona, and whose name is well known as that of a vigorous and earnest leader of men, gives to the world in these pages sixteen conferences that deal with the necessity and nature of the Church, her constitution, powers, teaching office, the obligation to belong to her, her means of preaching the faith, her right to existence and self-preservation. Particularly recommendable are the conferences on the Inquisition, the Church and Civil Society, the Church and Modern Liberty, the Fixity of Dogma and Scientific Progress, and Ecclesiastical Celibacy. This little volume is the third of a series entitled "Let us be reasonable" (Seguiamo la Ragione). One feels that the author of these eloquent discourses is a reasonable and reasoning man who has seized on the great facts of modern life. The illustrations are drawn frequently from the physical sciences; the right and due of progress are not denied or belittled; the expression of old and eternal truths is very modern, direct, and intelligible by the least cultivated minds. Incidentally no few theses of Church history are touched on, always with as much candor as learning. It is truly a father of his people who speaks in these homilies, for they have the simple, direct, evangelical content of homilies. It is necessary to read them through to understand how large and accurate a view of modern conditions is here presented, and how prudently the doctrine of the Church is preached with a view to the permanency of these conditions.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Der Totemismus Und Die Religion Israels, ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und zur Erklärung des alten Testamentes. Von Fr. Zapletal, O.P. Freiburg (Schweiz): Kommissionsverlag der Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1901. 8°, pp. xiv, 176. (Fascicle II. of the new series of the *Collectanea Friburgensia.*) $1.80.

This book is not, as a superficial reading of the title might suggest, an exposition of the religion of Israel in its relations to Totemism. The author denies altogether the existence of such a relation. His book is of an entirely apologetical character. It is the counterpart of the current Totemistic theories as expounded chiefly by the late W. Robertson Smith in his different publications, more particularly in his last two famous books.[1]

After a careful, and as far as we can see, impartial examination of the various arguments on which the English scholar props his leading theories, Professor Zapletal comes to the conclusion that those arguments are anything but convincing. The animal names we find in the Old Testament are not numerous enough to justify their explanation from an ancient belief in kinship between men and animals. They occur far more frequently with peoples who certainly were never addicted to Totemic practices. The few instances of animal-worship related in the Bible are not conclusive, for not one of them refers to *living animals,* which is an essential point in Totemistic rituals. The dietary laws that make a disinction between clean and unclean animals can be explained far more satisfactorily from non-Totemistic reasons. As for sacrifices of animals, nothing in what Professor Robertson Smith has gathered with so much erudition goes to prove that their end was to preserve and strengthen the bonds of natural kinship between a Totem-god and his worshippers.

Altogether, Professor Zapletal's book is a useful and most needed contribution to Biblical Apologetics. The author is evidently well informed, having traveled through a portion of the Arabian lands, and made quite a number of interesting observations on the topics he deals with in his book. We strongly recommend all students in Biblical Archæology to read carefully Professor Zapletal's work. We need not insist, however, that they should make a previous study of Professor Smith's "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites." This all-important work Professor Zapletal quotes from the German edition of Stube, 1899. We regret that he did not think fit to add the references to the second English edition. This would have much increased the usefulness of his book in English and American circles.

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[1] "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" (Cambridge, 1885) and "Lectures on Religion of the Semites" (Burnett Lectures, 1888–1889, 2d edition; revised throughout by the author, London, Black, 1894).

H. Hyvernat.

Timothy; Or Letters to a Young Theologian. By Dr. Franz Hettinger. Translated and Adapted by Rev. Victor Stepka. St. Louis, Mo.; B. Herder, 1902. Pp. ix+155. $1.50.

The presentation in an English dress of Hettinger's well-known work was certainly a laudable undertaking. The "Timotheus" ranks among the best modern books on ecclesiastical education and deserves an attentive perusal by every student and teacher of theology. Written by a man of culture and experience, it stimulates and directs the young seminarian, while it exhibits, in their true proportions, the various subjects comprised in the seminary course.

Such being the character of the German original, its treatment in this translation is regrettable. There is not a word of information concerning either the author or the book itself. The preface written by Hettinger and the other from the pen of Dr. Stamminger, who edited the work after Hettinger's death, are omitted along with the two indices that appear in the original. Six of the "Letters" are left out, though their subject, the earlier education of the theologian, is of the highest importance. The appendix on the "Kreuzweg" also disappears. Minor liberties taken with the references and notes may as well be passed over.

Presumably, there was some reason for these copious omissions; but it can only be surmised, as there is no translator's preface. The word "adapted" appears on the title-page; and adaptation is of course an excellent thing. But there must be something strange in the purpose or in the environment that requires such radical changes in a book intended for the edification of young ecclesiastics.

Edward A. Pace.

The Insect Book. A popular account of the Bees, Wasps, Ants, Grasshoppers, Flies and other North American Insects, exclusive of the Butterflies, Moths and Beetles, with full Life Histories, Fables and Biographies. By Leland O. Howard, Ph.D., Chief of the Division of Entomology, U. S. Department of Agriculture. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

Dr. Howard is considered the foremost authority on the subject of this book, which is presented to the American public with the intention of making the inclination and taste of the amateur of nature the ways, to some degree, of scientific method. "The principal aim of this book is to encourage the study of a rather neglected aspect of nature. The groups of insects which it considers are of very great extent. The wealth of material is so great that it has been only with the greatest difficulty that the book has been held within reasonable bounds. We have other books on insects, many of them much better from several points of view than this can hope to be, yet there has been a distinct object in writing this one, and if I had not thought that it was needed I should never have written it. One of the main desires in my mind in planning the method of treatment has been to encourage the study of life-histories of insects.''

Dr. Howard's presentment of the life-histories of the insects which he makes interesting has a charm of personal expression, unusual in books of this sort. He is a master of the art of saying things accurately, and yet with a personal color. This is probably one of the reasons why ''The Insect Book'' has been so warmly received, even by persons who do not take the scientific point of view. There is a delicate humor in some of Dr. Howard's adjectives that add greatly to one's enjoyment of his terse sentences. Although this volume—which has 300 text cuts, 16 colored and 32 black and white pages, made from life—has been welcomed cordially abroad, the insects are all indigenous to the United Staes. It is too large, too comprehensive, too important to be called a ''handbook,'' yet it has all the qualities that a well-written and accurately illustrated handbook ought to have. It is a dictionary of insect life in the United States, and one that cannot be superseded, though it may be supplemented.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

The Theory of Prosperity. By Simon N. Patten. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. ix + 237.

Western Civilization. By Benjamin Kidd. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. vi + 523.

In the ''Theory of Prosperity'' Professor Patten takes issue with those who assume that social evils are purely economic in their origin, and that poverty and misery are synonymous. ''It is a mistake to associate misery with production, and to assume that it is due to poverty. They are not the same, though both make men suffer. Poverty is a lack of resources, the result of definite economic causes; while misery is non-adjustment due to a lack of harmony between effort and result. The smallness of the result means poverty; the uncertainty of the result, or the failure to produce the desired result, is misery. . . . The breach is not between effort and return, but between the goods of which the return is made up and the mental states their use is supposed to create. Effort produces goods, but goods do not create happiness. Men attain happiness, not by creating a great product of goods, but by reaching the goal for which they set out. The task involves the whole complex problem of adjustment, and not the simple one of production. Poverty has its causes in the present environment, while the general failure of men to get in touch with nature brings misery, whose causes go back hundreds of generations and affect every relation into which men enter.'' Starting from this analysis, Professor Patten maintains that the social problem presents two distinct aspects ''which will not blend into any simple scheme''; neither will the evils that they respectively reveal yield to the same remedies. The social problem is then resolved into a question of income, presented under the two aspects of ''income as determined by existing conditions,'' and ''income as determined by heredity.'' The analysis of the first phase of the subject is styled ''a study of effort and satisfactions,'' and that of the second, ''a study of discontent and its remedy.'' The concluding chapter of the book is devoted to an interesting discussion of ''economic rights.'' This bill of rights of a twentieth century economist is one of the most interesting features of the volume. The rights demanded are classified under three heads, and are as follows (1) Public or Market Rights: the right to an open market, the right to publicity, the right to security, the right to coöperate; (2) Social Rights: the right to a home, the right to develop, the right to wholesome standards, the right to homogeneity of population, the right to decision by public opinion; (3) Rights of Leisure; the right to comfort, the right to leisure, the right to recreation, the right to cleanliness, the right to scenery.

The ''Theory of Prosperity'' is interesting and suggestive—as is everything that comes from the pen of Professor Patten. There is an earnestness in it that compels attention, and a high-mindedness that must win admiration. But it is permeated with the philosophy of Utilitarianism, and sees in the whole struggle of life nothing more than an attempt to work out, according to a calculus of pleasures and pains, an ideal state of ''adjustment'' in which the pleasurable has no alloy of pain. One lays down the book with admiration for the author, but with a feeling of regret that he has not a nobler philosophy from which to draw his inspiration.

2. Mr. Kidd's work, ''Western Civilization,'' presents, in many respects, an interesting contrast to the work of Professor Patten discussed above. The two books alike display minds of strong grasp and wide range. Yet in certain directions the mental horizon of each is closely shut in by their unreserved acceptance of theories which loom

to the eclipse of everything beyond. Mr. Kidd is no utilitarian, as Professor Patten is. The looming shadow on his horizon is Evolution. He regards Utilitarianism as an outworn creed—one which, indeed, in its day, did good service in unhorsing older errors and leading Western Liberalism to its earlier successes; but which, in its turn, has become *passé,* and which, from a stimulating force has degenerated into an obstacle to progress and an element of reaction. Mr. Kidd is the prophet of evolution; not the gospel of evolution as Darwin delivered it, and Spencer and Huxley preached it. Darwin, according to the view of Mr. Kidd, grasped a true and fundamental principle in his theory of "natural selection"; but failed to understand it in any but its rudimentary applications. He viewed the struggle for existence only as it affected the individuals for the time being engaged in it. The survival of the fittest meant, for him, the fittest for the then existing environment. Understanding the hypothesis of evolution only in the same rudimentary sense as did Darwin, Spencer and Huxley, and their school, missed its deeper content entirely, and in their application of the principle of evolution to the theory of social progress they traveled backward and taught the same conclusions as did the Utilitarianism of Mill and the Materialism of Marx. Their teachings were decked out in the phraseology of modern evolutionary science; but this only served to trick and to lead astray the masters themselves, as well as their disciples. Mr. Kidd bows to Weismann rather than to Darwin as his master, for it was Weismann who first grasped the deeper significance of the principle of natural selection. This deeper fact is that the interests which determine fates in the struggle for existence are the interests, not of the strugglers themselves, so much as those of the unborn future. The truer, the abiding significance of the term "fittest" has reference not so much to the environment in which these "fittest" themselves exist as to a future environment that they will never see. The operation of the principle of natural selection in social evolution is thus formulated by Mr. Kidd. "In the first epoch of social development the characteristic and ruling feature is the supremacy of the causes which are contributing to social efficiency by subordinating the individual merely to the existing political organization." This aspect of the struggle for survival of a type is the only aspect that Darwin saw. It was as deep as Huxley or Spencer sounded. But Mr. Kidd's second thesis is, "in the second epoch of the evolution of human society we begin to be concerned with the rise to ascendancy of the ruling causes which contribute to a higher type of social efficiency by subordinating society itself with all its interest in the present to its own future." This aspect of evolution is one that was hidden from the earlier prophets of the gospel. It has been hinted at by Weismann, and by some others, but its clear appreciation and its formulation Mr. Kidd claims as his own contribution. It is in this second epoch of development that we live to-day. And to the failure of its leaders to grasp this all determining fact is due the stagnation that marks the course of Western Democracy. The principles which vitalized the first movement of Western Liberalism—principles dimly felt, and lacking clear formulation even in the minds most influenced by them—were idealistic and had their roots in religious sentiments. But in the course of that movement it has had foisted upon it the gospel of utilitarianism, and its creed has been given expression in the terms of a materialistic interpretation of history. The transcendent interests of the future have been subordinated to the selfish interests of the present by a shallow philosophy which contemplated only pleasures and pains, which placed interest above duty, and tried to express all the aspirations and the motives of human activity within the limits of an economic formula. The strength inherent in the idealism of the movement was sapped, the enthusiasm of its earlier stages deadened. The resulting spectacle that to-day presents itself "is that of the hosts of the great army of progress . . . standing grim, silent, scornful, before the professors who know only the materialistic interpretation of history. It is an army which moves not. Restive, sullen, majestic, it waits for the restatement of its faith in other terms." It is the basis for the restatement of faith that Mr. Kidd essays to supply in "Western Civilization."

We need not agree with the philosophy of Mr. Kidd, we may not accept all his statements, and we may differ from his conclusions; but we cannot fail to appreciate that the present work is one of strength and power. Even where we least agree with it, it opens up a field of thought rich in suggestiveness. As an evolutionist of the evolutionists, and as a writer jealous in the extreme of his role of "scientist," Mr. Kidd has pronounced bias against any religious or theological phraseology. We shall therefore find no such words as God, Providence, divine plan, moral ordering, etc., in his vocabulary; but none the less one cannot escape perceiving how "natural selection," in the theory of Mr. Kidd, stands out as something more than blind nature, or even nature following steadily her own automatic laws. From behind the "natural selection" described in "Western Civilization" there peers out constantly a necessary intelligence which knows the remotest future and unerringly orders all things towards a far-off event, which transcends both the interests and the intellects of the individuals of any given present. Our author may use or decline to use words, at his pleasure; but between, or rather behind the lines of his book there are suggestions that must do much to strengthen the position of those who have held to the older faith. If "Western Civilization" shall prove the epoch-making book that some believe it to be, it will—however remote from its purpose, or even opposed to it this may be—strengthen the cause of religion. For it recalls us to the consideration of the spiritual factors of human life and development, and says emphatic No to those who attempt a purely materialistic interpretation of the history of the race, and who regard it a high triumph of "science" to compress all the activity, the aspiration, and the life of man within the narrow limits of an economic formula.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

Difesa Dei Primi Cristiani e Martiri di Roma di avere incendiata la Città. Rome: Federico Pustet, 1902. Pp. 249.

The persistency with which the Roman writers of the pre-Constantinian imperial times ignored Christianity has left us with scarcely anything pertaining to the history of the early Church emanating from pagan sources except a few scattered references in Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, and the writers of the Augustan history. The value of these passages, however, is in inverse ratio to their scantiness. To the famous passage in Tacitus (Annals, book xv, chap. 44) we are indebted if not for the fact, at least for what we know of the details of the Neronian persecution. Everyone is familiar with this chapter which relates Nero's attempt to divert from himself the anger of the populace for having set the city on fire, by throwing the blame on the Christians and putting numbers of them to death in his gardens on the Vatican. In recent years attempts have been made to exonerate Nero and to consign this page of history to the realm of forgery or fiction. In the year 1885 M. Hochart took the ground that this passage of Tacitus was an interpolation.[1] Internal evidence alone was sufficient to prove the absurdity of this contention.[2] Driven from his first position M. Hochart did not abandon his main thesis and in a subsequent work undertook to prove that all the historical writings of Tacitus were forgeries.[3] His efforts in this direction were equally unavailing, and met with little sympathy and much opposition.

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[1] "Etude au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron," Paris, Leroux, 1885.

[2] Vide Douais, "La persécution des Chrétiens de Rome en l'année 64." Revue des Questions Historiques, vol. XXXVII, 1885, p. 337.

[3] "De l'authenticité des Annales et Histoires de Tacite," Paris, Thorin, 1890.

The discussion assumed a new and more acrid phase in 1899, occasioned by the extraordinary popularity of Sienkiewicz's "Quo Vadis." Moved by the novelist's description of Nero's duplicity and cruelty, Gaetano Nigri essayed the task of exonerating Nero from the charge of burning the city and from that of accusing the Christians.[1] Shortly after a pamphlet was published by Carlo Pascal, a professor at the Liceo Manzoni, in Milan, who, besides defending Nero, attempted to show that the real culprits were the Christians.[2] Since the appearance of Pascal's paper, a flood of literature pro and con has come forth in which many new aspects of the problem are discussed.[3] It is needless to say that Pascal's theory was not allowed to go unchallenged. Among the more extended and successful refutations which have appeared are those of U. Benigni,[4] and the author signing himself "Vindex," the title of whose work is given above.

In this book the author first makes good use of the fact that among the many charges laid at the door of the Christians by their pagan traducers during the first three centuries, there was never any accusation of complicity in the conflagration of Rome. From a close and detailed study of a passage in the "Natural History" of Pliny the Elder, he shows that in Nero's time the prevailing opinion was that the Emperor was the real culprit. In several well-digested chapters Tacitus' methods and reliability as a historian are set forth, followed by a clear textual commentary which brings to light, from a comparison with other texts, that Tacitus considered Nero to be the author of the fire. An interesting chapter drawn from the silence of Suetonius and Dio Cassius, who make no mention of the Christians and accuse Nero, adds considerable strength to the chain of refutation. From the letter of Pliny to Trajan and the Emperor's reply, it is clearly demonstrated that the official mind of Rome never regarded the Christians in the light of incendiaries. In chapters nine and ten the author gives some new arguments for the opinion that the Christians were not persecuted and punished under the general laws prohibitory of illegal associations and foreign religions, but in virtue of a special edict issued by Nero which made the profession of Christianity a capital offence. The remaining chapters are devoted to the consideration of some other accusations which Professor Pascal makes against the primitive Christians: viz., that the Church was composed of slaves and the lowest dregs of the people; that they were guilty of atrocious crimes; that the Church was split into factions; and that the Christians were always ripe for sedition. These with other statements incriminating the Christians and showing that the burning of Rome was in keeping with the belief in the millenium, and that the world was to be destroyed by fire, are disposed of summarily but in a thoroughly satisfactory manner.

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[1] "Nerone e Il Cristianesmo," *Rivista d'Italia*, nos. 8–9, 1899.

[2] "L'Incendio di Roma e I Primi Cristiani," Milan, 1900.

[3] Vide *Nuovo Bullettino* for December, 1900.

[4] "I Cristiani e l'Incendio di Roma," Pustet, Rome, 1900.

In a work of such erudition, and one which will doubtless be the last word on the subject, it is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to give an extended bibliography, or at least to supply more copious references. Neither is there sufficient stress laid on the last sentence in Tacitus' description in which he speaks of the revulsion of popular sentiment in favor of the Christians, impossible if they had confessed themselves guilty, or if only a few had suffered the death penalty. The author's clear and accurate grasp of the subject, his thorough equipment, and the cogency and order of his arguments have, it may be assumed, disposed of Pascal's theory as thoroughly as other critics disposed of M. Hochart.

Patrick T. Healy.

The Italian Renaissance in England. Studies. By Lewis Einstein. New York: The Columbia University Press (Macmillan), 1902. 8°.

Mr. Einstein's book is a very valuable contribution to the study of comparative literature. It is a serious effort to find the common impulse running through the Italian influences in England. The existence of this influence in English poetry is so evident that it is taken for granted. From Chaucer to Browning, it permeates and moulds the thought and form of English verse; but the movement in Europe and in the life of England which made this influence possible and enabled the English people to appreciate it has not been fully discussed. Mr. Einstein's chapter on "Italian Influence in English Poetry" is very carefully conceived and admirably written. While it is true that Wyatt preceded Surrey, it is too much to say that Wyatt was the father of modern English poetry. Mr. Einstein calls Chaucer "the father of English poetry," modifying the phrase with "modern" when he comes to Wyatt. The debt of English poetry to Wyatt and Surrey is great; but that they exceeded Chaucer in the musical poetic form or were more seminal is at least doubtful. Chaucer's form is so influenced by Italian influence that it requires no training in Chaucer's metrical art to enable any Italian or Spaniard, with a fair knowledge of English pronunciation, to fall into the verse swing at once. In fact, he more easily acquires it than the native-born Englishman or American. The Italian influence of Dante and Petrarch is as plain in Chaucer's poems as that of Ariosto is in Spenser's. This influence culminates in Browning's work where all Italy gleams and flames.

Mr. Einstein's analysis of the condition of learning at the court of Henry VIII is suggestive and illuminating. He accentuates the influence of such men as More, Erasmus, and the coteries about them, Ammonio, Silvestro Gigli, Adrian de Castello, who knew More and probably Wyatt. The literature fostered by those men was not of the people; it was as exclusive as that of the Hotel de Rambouillet. The Italian Renaissance appealed to the sense of form, which the English poets had rather lost sight of since Chaucer's time. Wyatt and Surrey concentrated the Italian influence, making way for the splendors of Dryden and the decadence of form through excess of polish in Pope. It is only necessary to go back to and compare the crudity of Laurence Mivot and the Scotch group of poets with the musical flow of Chaucer to realize what English poetry would have been had Dante and Petrarch been unknown to Chaucer. The influence of Italy on Court politics in the sixteenth century and on the social life of the young men who had gone abroad for culture was not good. The Englishman in Italy as a traveler took too readily to those indulgences, intellectual and sensual, to which the paganized Italians were given. Unbelief—encouraged by the advanced among the Reformers under the guise of free thought—found itself expressed in exquisite forms. The "Italianate English" became a phrase of reproach well deserved. It was not of papistical leanings he was accused, but of atheism and effeminacy. Mr. Einstein's study of the English point of view of this class is excellent. The last chapter on "English Catholics in Rome," in which slight allusions are made to Campion and Southwell, more space being given to Parsons, is interesting, as much for the references Mr. Einstein gives as for the facts. The Italian influence on "Venus and Adonis" might have been traced to different conclusions in Southwell's "Burning Babe." It is a great pleasure to recommend this sincere, careful, if somewhat limited, series of studies.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de la France au XIXième Siècle. By Albert Houtin. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 324.

M. Houtin excels as a "rapporteur" of certain large historical problems. After his account of the controversies aroused by the question of the apostolic origin of several churches of France, we have now from his pen a very interesting exposé of the course and the details of Biblical Apologetics in France. The book helps us to grasp more clearly the movement of illustration and defence of the Bible as understood by French Catholics, some of whom have been conservative in the extreme, while others have leaned in the other direction. It is valuable especially as a résumé of the domestic controversies that have arisen within the last decade about the writings and the person of the abbé Loisy, one of the most learned and acute of modern Christian biblical scholars. The work is well worth careful study on the part of every ecclesiastic who would keep abreast of the latest phases of the relations between the Bible and the sciences of modern times.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Abbaye de Moyenmoutier de l'ordre de Saint Benoit, en Lorraine. Etudes d'Histoire Bénédictine. Par L. Jérome. I. L'Abbaye au Moyen Age. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 592.

The history of its great abbeys is largely the history of France from the sixth to the sixteenth century. This is particularly true of the popular, social and intellectual life. One of the most illustrious and deserving of these religious homes was the famous monastery of Moyenmoutier (Medianum Monasterium), situated where the foothills of the Vosges rise from the fertile plains of Lorraine, in the present canton of Sentones and arrondissement of Saint Dié. In the world of ecclesiastical letters it is forever famous for having sheltered men like Dom Calmet and Dom Ceillier, who gave so great an impetus to theological learning in the eighteenth century, and for its share in the intellectual and religious reform that endowed France with the works of the Benedictines of Saint Maur. M. Jérome has undertaken to recast and complete the eighteenth century Latin story of the abbey as told by its learned abbot Dom Belhomme. It is no small praise that the first volume of his work has won the official approbation of a territory that has always been rich in local historians and antiquarians. In these pages we are first introduced to the original sources for the history of Moyenmoutier. It is the old story—rarity and weakness of the documents that deal with the foundation-period, abundance and indecision in those that fall well within the historical period. M. Jérome dissects with critical skill the oldest lives of St. Hidulph and St. Dié (Deodatus), reputed founders of Moyenmoutier. For Hidulph he inclines to accept the end of the seventh century, rather than the traditional epoch of a century later. Local pride in the house of Charlemagne acted as the confusing element at a period when the great emperor's personality was entering upon its romantic transfiguration. Similarly, the oldest authorities for the life of the monastery are enumerated and judged according to the periods they deal with. Only then does the author take up the biography of the abbots from Hidulph to the sixteenth century. It is a fascinating tale that some day can be worked over in a popular form. There are the usual elements of foundation; the rich nobleman and ecclesiastic aweary of the world, the flight into solitude, the following of friends and admirers, the huts and little chapel in the clearing made by their hands, the astonishing virtues and labors of the first monks, the rapid endowment of their corporation by the rich and powerful. Emperor, duke, and bishop appear alternately upon the scene, first as friends and later as adversaries or accusers. It is precisely in the first thousand years of the life of Moyenmoutier that the kingdom of France worked out its salvation. Here you may see how the men of France learned to admire their priesthood, how the countless hamlets of Lorraine and Alsace arose around the lonely forest cells of monks and hermits, how law and procedure actually developed, how the internal conflicts of feudalism now furthered, now arrested ecclesiastical life. Fervor and apathy, energy and indolence, zeal and coldness, have each their pages. The history of ecclesiastical property in the middle ages, how acquired, how administered, how divided, how wasted, how held by conflicting titles, how given through love and alienated through rapacity, negligence or avarice, is all here, and a wonderful story it is. Moyenmoutier had its mediæval glories; St. Leo IX (Bruno of Toul) was its neighbor and friend; through him Humbert, a monk of the monastery, was given high office in the negotiations with Constantinople. He is famous as Cardinal Legate of this great German pope (1049–1054). To-day its ancient buildings are the home of a flourishing industry, but no toil can surpass that of the good men who built up Christian character in an age of ignorance and disorder. Moyenmoutier went down in the storm of the French Revolution, despite the fact that it had never been more a home of piety, learning, beneficence than in the last two centuries of its existence. The work is enriched by an account of the numerous manuscript sources and by an extensive bibliography, the mere perusal of which shows us to what degree Lorraine enters into the mediæval life, ecclesiastical and civil. We shall await with impatience the second volume of this work, that promises a literary interest second to none of the excellent books that have lately appeared within this province of ecclesiastical history.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Propædeutica, Introductio ad historiæ ecclesiasticæ scientiam. By Humbertus Benigni. Rome: Pustet, 1902. 8°, pp. 129.

We can recommend this booklet to students and teachers of history. Its doctrine is sound as far as it deals with the nature, principles and method of criticism in the pursuit of historical research. The greater part of the work is devoted to considerations of a philosophical character. The reader can only be edified, and will often be agreeably instructed, by the large and vigorous concepts that, unfortunately, are often set forth in too terse a style. Had the author cast his views into his native Italian, the work would have gained not only in literary grace, but more especially in that favor which the modern mind more than ever bestows on writings that pay homage to those vernaculars which are its own peculiar and beloved work. As a proof of this we may refer to the increasing popular interest in the writings of Father Semeria.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Relation de Terre Sainte (1533–1534). Par Greffin Affagart; publiée avec une introduction et des notes par J. Chavanon. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. xxvii + 245.

The lover of curious books of travel will read with great pleasure this account of travels in the Holy Land by a French nobleman of the sixteenth century. It is replete with curious personal details. His notions of geography and history are often enough hazy, and his critical temper not much beyond the average of his time, yet he was a shrewd and close observer. Palestine of the sixteenth century stares at us from his pages with all the difficulties of travel, extortions of Greeks and Turks, obstacles of every kind. It was to rouse the decaying love of the Holy Land that this descendant of a Crusading family wrote these pages which even at that date take on the form of a modern guide. Very quaint and melancholic are the lines (p. 20) in which he laments the decline of the mediæval fondness for the holy places: "depuys que ce meschant paillard Luther a régné avec ses complices et aussi Erasme lequel, en ses Colocques et Enchiridion, a blasmé les voyages," etc.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Saint Hilaire (310–(20)–368). Par le R. P. Largent, de l'Oratoire Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. (Les Saints.) 8°, pp. 184.

Saint Boniface (680–755). Par G. Kurth. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 200.

Saint Gaëtan (1480–1547). Par R. de Maulde La Clavière. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 201.

1. Father Largent's life of the first great Western doctor of the faith, Saint Hilary of Poitiers, though necessarily very brief, gives an excellent popular account of the career and works of one of the most remarkable churchmen that the wonderful fourth century furnished. He has woven into the text of his narration several brilliant literary and dogmatic appreciations by Dom Ceillier, Cardinal Pie, Villemain, the Duc de Broglie. Similarly the writings of Ebert, Richard Simon, and Bardenhewer, have been drawn on, not to speak of the inexhaustible mine that Tillemont offers forever to the seeker after the truth of ecclesiastical history. Perhaps the exposition is a little seamy and uneven—it is no easy task to write a biography and renounce the usual aids of historical background and digression. Following in the wake of Cazenove (London, 1883), Barbier (Paris, 1887) and Dom Chamard's Saint Martin (Paris, 1873) this life of Saint Hilary cannot fail to arouse fresh interest in the immortal story of the conflict for the divinity of Jesus Christ.

2. The indefatigable pen of M. Godefroid Kurth loves to delineate those chapters of the history of the Church whose materials are found in the three long centuries that follow the overthrow of the Roman authority in the West. After Clovis and Clotilde, after his lengthy but admirable "Origines de la Civilisation Moderne" (Paris, 4th ed., 1898) he presents us with a life of Saint Boniface in which the surest erudition is allied to elevation of thought and dignity of style. There are in this little work twelve pages (183–195) of a critical bibliography that lend it a special value for the student of the beginnings of the Church in Germany. M. Kurth is a poet and a romantic soul among historians, hence many pages of this volume reveal certain rare literary qualities—inspired, no doubt, by the fact that the author chose to produce the work at Fulda within the shadow of the great monuments that yet recall the memorable career of the Apostle of Germany.

3. It would not be easy to find a more competent hand than that of M. de Maulde La Clavière, to which might be entrusted the story of the life of Saint Cajetan. This author, only lately known among us through the English translation of his learned work on the Women of the Renaissance, is in reality a profound student of the sixteenth and seventeenth cnturies, and distinguished in France for a long series of erudite volumes that deal with events and persons of that period. Saint Cajetan is a great central figure in the movement of the Counter-Reformation. In him and about him gather most of the influences, traditions, tendencies, aspirations that made it morally impossible for

the crude Protestantism of the sixteenth century to succeed in Italy. Every page of this portrait is worth careful reading, from the brief but weighty preface to the last chapter in which the unbroken influence of the Apostle of "Divino Amore" is sketched for us, also the serious tragedy of the stern, even fierce reaction that marked at Rome the declining years of the founder of the Theatines.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Monuments of the Early Church. A Handbook of Christian Archæology. By Walter Lowrie, M.A. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xxii + 432.

We have long wanted in English a reliable handbook for the study of the monuments of the Early Church, particularly those that have been made known in the nineteenth century, or were then for the first time properly illustrated. Mr. Lowrie, a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, has produced such a book. It deals with the Catacombs or early Christian burial-places, the architecture of the primitive Christians, their uses of the fine arts—painting, sculpture, mosaic, and what we yet conventionally call the minor arts because their materials are slight in size, or fragile and perishable, such as glass and textile stuffs. A chapter on civil and ecclesiastical dress in Christian antiquity completes the book and makes of it a useful and in general trustworthy guide. The doctrine is very often borrowed from the most authoritative of the Catholic archæologists of Rome, naturally because they have been the foremost and the most scientific workers in this field. But it is always well-grasped and attractively presented, *e. g.* (p. 229), the account of the well-known "Fractio Panis" discovered by Wilpert. The writings of the latter distinguished student are frequently referred to, notably in the chapter on ecclesiastical dress that we commend to all our readers. A sufficient and luminous introduction and a very good bibliography add to the merits of the volume. Though written by a non-Catholic, its tone is habitually reverent and earnest. The book would furnish excellent side-reading for young theologians in the first year of their studies and delightful instruction to those who have grown old in the service of the ministry. There are only wanting two chapters—one on Christian Inscriptions and another on the Acts of the Martyrs—to make this work a good companion-volume to the best manuals of Early Church History. Both might be worked into the volume without doing violence to its original scope. In a brief notice of so useful a work there is scarcely need to call attention to minor details that perhaps justify some measure of criticism. Would that its content were assimilated by every young student of the history and the theology of the Church! THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Student's History of Philosophy. By Rogers. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. xi + 519. $2.00.

This volume is intended for use in the college course. It covers the whole ground of the history of philosophy and follows the chronological order. As stated in the preface, its purpose is rather "to create certain broad general impressions, leaving further details to come from other sources." The author, in fact, is fully aware of the difficulties that beset such an undertaking; but by keeping the need of the student in view he has succeeded in giving us more than a mere outline or synopsis.

The teacher, however, who adopts this book for his class-room work, will have occasion to note and possibly to correct some shortcomings. The account, for instance, of the mediæval period is compressed into sixteen pages, though the author admits that it is "intrinsically of great importance." Surely, the sense of proportion is one of the results that an introductory history of philosophy should aim at. Another point, of minor importance, perhaps, is the unsatisfactory presentation of the literature. It was an excellent idea to close each section of the book with a list of references; but it is doubtful whether the lists as given will encourage the student to extend his reading. At any rate, he should not regard them as models in the simple but neglected art of bibliography.

EDWARD A. PACE.

The Teaching of Mathematics in Prussia. By J. W. A. Young. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 16°, pp. xxi + 141.

Theory of Optics. By Paul Drude. Translated from the German by C. Riborg Mann and Robert A. Millikan. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xxi + 546. Illustrated.

Alternating Current Machines. By Samuel Sheldon and Hobart Mason. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1902. 8°, pp. iv + 259. Illustrated.

The Common Sense of Commercial Arithmetic. By George Hall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901. 16°, pp. vi + 187.

1. The author spent nearly a year in an examination of the Prussian High School System, personally visiting the institutions, and gaining the information for his book, partly from the directors and

instructors themselves, partly from the official and other publications relative to schools.

The book contains a general sketch of the Prussian High School System, with a more detailed description of the work in mathematics. The author shows that the successful outcome of the study by the Prussians of educational problems is evinced by a satisfactorily working High School System. The teaching of mathematics is the fruit of long labors by a people which stands to-day in the forefront of educational progress, and it is the spirit of the teaching of mathematics that dominates the system.

The writer has carefully substantiated his statements by facts and figures, and has excluded mere personal opinions or impressions. The work that he undertook has been done excellently. The skill of the printers has not been taxed very severely to make the book attractive.

2. Dr. Drude is preëminently qualified for writing on the subject of optics. For more than fifteen years he has devoted himself to the experimental and mathematical study of the most difficult problems in light, namely, those concerning the behavior of light at the surface of media, in absorbing media and in crystals. The results of his experimental researches are of very great importance. With them he has given the theory of light a development such as few physicists before him have been able to bring about.

No ordinary compilation, as are most of the works on optics that appear in these days, could come from the pen of Dr. Drude. Old matter is given interest and freshness through its treatment from the point of view of one who has been a discoverer of important facts, and a maker of consistent theories. New matter, much of which appears for the first time in a general treatise, both that resulting from Dr. Drude's own researches and that from other recent investigators, is presented clearly.

The translation seems to be a faithful rendering into elegant English of matter which, while clear enough in the original German, is very difficult to translate, especially because of the lack of English words, or even phrases, that exactly represent the ideas. The translators have done a service to those who might care to use Dr. Drude's treatise, but who have no acquaintance with the German.

3. This book, which is a companion to the volume on Direct Current Machines by the same authors contains, in a simple form, much of the matter concerning alternating currents taught at technical schools in this country. The illustrations are good, and the book is well printed. The mathematical treatment is too brief in most cases. Those using it would need extensive supplemental reading from such authors as Bedell and Crehore, Steinmetz, etc.

4. The book treats in a simple way of percentages, insurance, discount, commission, stocks and bonds, banks and banking and exchange. The practical side of those subjects is more definitely presented here than in the usual text-book, and the problems are more interesting than is generally the case, being chosen, apparently, from actual business transactions.

Daniel W. Shea.

Sacerdos rite institutus piis exercitationibus menstruæ recollectionis. Auctore P. Adulpho Petit, S.J. Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie. Series I–V, 1898–1899. 8°, pp. 340, 456, 268, 372, 378.

These five little volumes form an admirable compendium of the sacerdotal life from the point of view of spiritual perfection. The Meditations, Contemplations and Considerations are based on the gospel story and on the great lines of Catholic theology. Many a clergyman prevented from making an annual retreat, or engaged himself in conducting such a holy work, will find these pages of Fr. Petit a great help and consolation. The work deserves a place in the ascetical library of every priest.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Passion. Historical Essay. By R. P. M. J. Ollivier, O.P.; translated from the French by E. Leahy. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 439.

The studies which this volume contains were first utilized as sermons and delivered at the church of St. Roch in Paris, during the Lenten season of 1887. A genuine debt of gratitude is due the translator for having made them available to English readers. The work is divided into six sections covering all the incidents in the last days of the Life of Christ under the following headings: Jerusalem, Gethsemani, Mount Sion, In the Antonia, From the Antonia to Calvary, At the Tomb. While confining himself to a recital of facts as they are attested by the gospel itself, Catholic tradition, or contemporary history, and disclaiming all intention of raising the Revelations of St. Bridget, the Venerable Mother Mary d'Agreda and Catherine Emmerich to the level of historical sources, the author makes use of these writings "for their delicate and powerful intuition which throws a flood of light on the Gospel narrative and gives it life." Copious and constant use is also made of the works of rationalists and Protestants, especially those of the English school, who in the opinion of Father Ollivier, have done the greatest service of all. Written in a spirit of real faith these studies have all the value which comes from a thorough knowledge of the literature on the subject and a wide acquaintance with the contemporary history and archæology.

A Devout Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, drawn chiefly from the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. By A. Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 244.

Besides the text and commentary of the epistle this book also contains a brief introduction and a useful analytical index. It is intended for spiritual reading, and will be found extremely helpful by those who have neither the time nor the opportunity for an extended or critical study of the Scriptures.

Practical Explanation and Application of Bible History. Edited by Rev. John J. Nash, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1902. 8°, pp. 518.

The value of this book, intended as a catechetical guide to the Old and New Testament is considerably diminished by the fact that no indications whatever are given to the places in the Bible on which the different chapters are based.

The Life of Christ. By Rev. Walter Elliott, of The Paulist Fathers. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange, 1902. 8°, pp. 763+xxv.

There can be no doubt that Father Elliott's labors in preparing a new life of the Redeemer will meet with wide appreciation. The constructive tone of the book, written in a spirit of the most ardent faith, is in refreshing contrast to the many critical and analytical lives which the last fifty years have produced.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages. By Rev. Horace K. Mann. Head Master of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I, in two parts. The Popes under the Lombard Rule. St. Gregory the Great to Leo III, 590–795. Part I, 590–657. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xii+432. $3.00. (St. Louis: B. Herder.)

Die Oracula Sibillina. Von Dr. Joh. Geffcken. (Vol. VIII of the "Greek Christian Writers" in the Kirchenvæter Commission series.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8°, pp. liii+240. Marks 9.50.

Etudes d'Histoire et de Théologie positive. Par Mgr. Pierre Batiffol. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. viii + 311.

The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary Schools. By Henry E. Bourne, B.A., B.D. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. viii + 385. (American Teachers Series.)

L'Emancipation des Femmes. Par Simon Deploige. Louvain: 1902. 8°, pp. 46.

The First Irish in Illinois. By P. T. Barry. Chicago: Newspaper Union, 1902. pp. 16.

The French Association Law, its Motives and Methods. By the Rev. John Gerard, S.J. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. 62.

The Invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce. A Thesis (University of Pennsylvania). By Caroline Calvin. Philadelphia, 1901. 8°, pp. 62.

St. Jerome et la vie du Moine Malchus le Captif. Par Paul van den Ven. Louvain: Istas, 1901. 8°, pp. 161.

Bibliothèque des Bibliographies Critiques, publiée par la Société des Etudes Historiques: Hoffman, par Henri de Curzon; Epigraphie Latine, par René Cagnat; Les Conflits entre la France et l'Empire pendant le Moyen-Age, par Alfred Leroux. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 9, 24, 73.

S. Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Tractatus contra Origenem de visione Esaiæ quem nunc primum ex Codd. Casinensibus Ambrosius M. Amelli monachus archicoenobii Montis Casini in lucem edidit et illustravit. Tipografia di Montecassino, 1901. 8°, pp. xxiv + 23.

Petite Introduction aux Inventaires des Archives du Vatican. Par le R. P. Louis Guérard, de l'Oratoire. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8°, pp. 39.

Ueber die Entwickelung des katholischen Kirchenrechts im XIX Jahrhundert. Rektoratsrede, Basel, 1901. Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr. 8°, pp. 31.

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN.

Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, died in that city, May, 1902.

Michael Augustine Corrigan was born in Newark, N. J., September 13, 1839. He received his early education in Seton Hall College and entered the American College, Rome, as one of its pioneer students in December, 1859. He was ordained priest November 19, 1863, and was appointed President of Seton Hall in 1866. This position he held until May 14, 1873, when he was consecrated Bishop of Newark. September 29, 1880, he became coadjutor to Cardinal McCluskey, and succeeded him in 1885 as Archbishop of New York.

Archbishop Corrigan was a charter member of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University. He was assiduous in his attendance at the meetings of the Board and in the discharge of the special duties which devolved upon him as a member of the Executive Committee. He contributed generously to the Library of the University and to the fund created for special endowments. From the Archdiocese of New York the University has received the Eugene Kelly Chair of Ecclesiastical History, the Margaret Hughes Kelly Chair of Holy Scripture and the scholarships founded by the Messrs. Benziger, the Duke de Loubat and Rev. Dr. Burtsell. These three scholarships were established for the benefit of theological students; and it is to the credit of the Archbishop that these positions have always been properly filled.

As a trustee of the American College, Rome, he showed an active interest in the development of the institution, and secured for it a large number of students. Seton Hall College also is deeply indebted to him as a friend and benefactor. But St. Joseph's Seminary, at Dunwoodie, N. Y. may well be regarded as a monument to his zeal for the education of the clergy. Its foundation, equipment and endowment were his particular work; and to it during the last few years of his life he devoted much of his care and energy.

That in the midst of the absorbing occupation which fell to him as head of the greatest diocese in America, he should have found time to labor, in so many directions, for the cause of education, is evidence of his superior ability. His was a character of exceptional strength and tenacity of purpose. To his ideals of ecclesiastical life he was faithful in the highest measure. He was always and principally a churchman, and as such will long be remembered in the annals of the Church in the United States.

EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OF RT. REV. PHILIP J. GARRIGAN, D.D.

Right Rev. Dr. Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University since its opening in 1889, was consecrated first bishop of Sioux City, Iowa, on Trinity Sunday, May 25, in St. Michael's Cathedral, Springfield, Mass., Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beavan, D.D., the Ordinary of that diocese was the consecrator. He was assisted by the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., titular bishop of Samos and Rector of the Catholic University and Rt. Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D., Bishop of Mobile.

The officers of the Mass were the following:

Assistant Priest, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Griffin, D.D., Worcester; *Deacons of Honor,* Rev. M. Ronan, Lowell, Rev. M. Dolan, Newton; *Deacon of Mass,* Rev. Eugene Toher, Leominster; *Sub-deacon of Mass,* Rev. Joseph H. Hayne, Irvington, N. Y.; *Masters of Ceremonies,* Rev. B. S. Conaty, Worcester, Rev. E. S. Fitzgerald, Springfield; *Chanters,* Rev. John Lee, Jefferson, Rev. H. J. Mulligan, Hingham, Rev. W. T. Sherry, Springfield, Rev. J. C. Ivers, Holyoke; *Chaplain to the Consecrandus,* Rev. D. F. Feehan, Fitchburg; *Notary,* Rev. W. J. Kerby, D.D., Washington, D. C.; *Thurifer,* Rev. P. J. Lee, Worcester; *Acolytes,* Rev. J. F. Ahern, Springfield, Rev. F. A. Lane, Springfield; *Cross-bearer,* Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, Clinton.

The bishops present, beside the consecrators, were:

Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Boston, Most Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., Dubuque, Io., Rt. Rev. Denis M. Bradley, D.D., Manchester, N. H., Rt. Rev. Mathew J. Harkins, D.D., Providence, R. I., Rt. Rev. P. A. Ludden, D.D., Syracuse, N. Y., Rt. Rev. Henry Gabriels, D.D., Ogdensburg, N. Y., Rt. Rev. John Brady, D.D., Boston, Rt. Rev. John S. Michaud, D.D., Burlington, Vt., Rt. Rev. Michael Tierney, D.D., Hartford, Ct., Rt. Rev. Thomas M. A. Burke, Albany, N. Y., Rt. Rev. M. J. Hoban, D.D., Scranton, Pa., Rt. Rev. William H. O'Connell, D.D., Portland, Me.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor John Edwards, New York City, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas Griffin, Worcester, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas Magennis, Jamaica Plains (Boston), Rt. Rev. Monsignor Denis O'Callaghan, Boston.

Very Rev. William Byrne, D.D., V.G., Boston, Very Rev. John J.

Swift, V.G., Troy, N. Y., Very Rev. Eugene M. O'Callaghan, Concord, N . H., Very Rev. John T. Madden, V.G., Webster.

The following clergymen were present:

Rev. Charles F. Waldron, Charitan, Ia., representing Bishop Cosgrove of Davenport; Rev. J. L. Smith, Taunton, Mass., Rev. Joseph H. O'Neill, Philadelphia, Pa., Rev. N. J. Drohan, Hubbard, O., Rev. T. Danahy, Newton Upper Falls, Mass., Rev. M. Clune, Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. J. B. Delany, Manchester, N. H., Rev. William J. Fitzgerald, Millville, N. J., Rev. J. R. Slattery, St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, Rev. M. Dolan, Newton, Mass., Rev. W. H. Grant, Catholic University, Washington, Rev. Dr. Kerby, Catholic University, Washington, Rev. Louis S. Walsh, Salem, Mass., Rev. William P. McQuaid, Boston, Mass., Rev. P. J. O'Connor, Sioux City, Ia., Rev. J. F. Brennan, Fonda, Ia., Rev. H. J. Lynch, Danbury, Ct., Rev. Charles B. Schrantz, President St. Charles College, Ellicott City, Md., Rev. John M. Cummings, Arlington, Ill., Rev. John J. Gilday, South Lawrence, Mass., Rev. E. R. Dyer, D.D., S.S., Dunwoodie, N. Y., Rt. Rev. Abbot Hilary Pfraengle, O.S.B., D.D., Manchester, N. H., Rev. Dr. M. J. Lavelle, New York City, Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Catholic University, Washington, D. C., Rev. J. L. Reilly, Schenectady, N. Y., Rev. D. J. Kelly, Wall Lake, Ia., Rev. Daniel E. Maher, S.S., President St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass., Rev. Austin E. Doherty, Nashua, N. H., Very Rev. Joseph Vignon, M.S., Hartford, Ct., Rev. John F. Mullany, Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. R. J. Johnson, Boston, Mass., Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, Dubuque, Ia., Rev. James Fitzsimmons, Dunwoodie, N. Y., Rev. William O'Brien, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Joseph F. Mohan, Everett, Mass., Rev. J. C. Harrington, Lynn, Mass., Rev. James O'Doherty, Haverhill, Mass., Rev. John M. Mulcahy, Arlington, Mass., Rev. Daniel P. Duffy, S.S., Baltimore, Md., Rev. W. Shanahan, Sioux City, Ia., Rev. P. Ronan, Dorchester, Mass., Rev. H. J. Mulligan, Hingham, Mass., Rev. P. J. Malone, Providence, R. I., Rev. Jerome Dougherty, S.J., Washington, D. C., Rev. W. H. Fitzpatrick, Dorchester, Mass., Rev. P. M. Kennedy, New Haven, Ct., Rev. George J. Lucas, D.D., Blossburg, Pa., Rev. J. J. Fedigan, O.S.A., Villanova, Pa., Rev. Edward McSweeney, Bangor, Me., Rev. John S. Driscoll, Fonda, N. Y., Rev. R. Neagle, Malden, Mass., Rev. D. F. Sullivan, West Lynn, Mass., Rev. John J. Shaw, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Daniel J. Gleeson, Randolph, Mass., Rev. John T. Twohey, Ossining, N. Y., Rev. H. J. Schleier, Washington, D. C., Rev. James N. Supple, Charlestown, Mass., Rev. James J. Keegan, Woburn, Mass., Rev. Timothy Meagher, Danbury, Ia., Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, Altoona, Pa., Rev.

Owen T. Clark, Providence, R. I., Rev. Joseph V. Tracy, D.D., Boston, Mass., Rev. James Coyle, Taunton, Mass., Rev. Daniel W. Murphy, Dover, N. H., Rev. M. J. Cooke, Fall River, Mass., Rev. J. E. Emery, O.M.I., Ottawa, Ont., Rev. John F. Lowery, Troy, N. Y., Rev. Thomas F. Carroll, Providence, R. I., Rev. C. H. McKenna, O.P., New York City.

Rev. Charles Crevier, Rev. D. Moyes, D.C.L., Rev. J. J. Fallon, Rev. J. T. Sheehan, Rev. H. Hamelin, Rev. E. J. Fitzgerald, Rev. J. J. Rice, D.D., Rev. J. J. Tyrrell, Rev. S. C. Hallissey, Rev. J. F. Griffin (2), Rev. W. T. Sherry, Rev. J. F. Redican, Rev. D. Mullins, Rev. Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J., Rev. D. H. O'Neill, Rev. James P. Tuite, Rev. P. D. Stone, Rev. P. B. Phelan, Rev. T. S. Hanrahan, Rev. J. D. McGann, Rev. D. F. McGrath, Rev. J. Conway, Rev. J. H. Desrochers, Rev. W. J. Power, Rev. James T. Canavan, Rev. M. A. O'Sullivan, Rev. P. F. Hafey, Rev. M. H. Kittredge, Rev. J. F. McDermott, Rev. Robert Walsh, Rev. J. P. Hackett, Rev. R. F. Walshe, Rev. M. J. Murphey, Rev. P. H. Gallen, Rev. Thomas Smyth, Rev. Thomas S. Donoghue, Rev. B. McKeany, Rev. J. F. Lee, Rev. J. J. O'Keefe, Rev. John Kenny, Rev. James Donohoe, Rev. Daniel Shehan, Rev. M. A. Griffin, Rev. John F. Griffin, Rev. P. J. Griffin, Rev. J. J. McCoy, Rev. T. McGovern, Rev. John Lunney, Very Rev. John Madden, V.G., Rt. Rev. Thomas Griffin, Rev. M. J. Ahern, Rev. William H. Goggin, Rev. D. F. McGillicuddy, Rev. B. S. Conaty, Rev. D. F. Feehan, Rev. E. S. Fitzgerald, Rev. J. J. Farrell, Rev. M. A. K. Kelly, Rev. John F. Conlin, Rev. F. A. Lane, Rev. John Daly, Rev. J. F. Ahern, Rev. J. F. Spellman, Rev. John A. Fitzgerald, Rev. L. O. Triganne.

At the conclusion of the service Rev. Dr. Kerby read a cablegram from Cardinal Rampolla announcing the blessing of Leo XIII upon the new bishop, and his congratulations. At two o'clock the visiting clergy partook of dinner in St. Michael's Hall. The eloquent discourse of Archbishop Keane was based upon the wospel of the day. Toward the close he spoke as follows:

"This feast of the Holy Trinity will long be a memorable one to us as the day on which our dear friend and beloved priest, long known as Fr. Garrigan, was exalted to the sublime dignity of the episcopate. Particularly does the Gospel of the day which has just been read make a happy coincidence with this solemn ceremony, which is explained by the words of God. 'All power is given to you on earth as it is in heaven. Go ye therefore teaching all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' In these words our Lord established the apostolic body, in these words consecrated His apostles, and now in participation of this power we are to-day consecrating Bishop Garrigan.

"In this consecration our Lord commands and empowers two things, two great functions. The first is to teach all nations the holy Gospel and the glad tidings of the redemption, and secondly, to bestow on all those who will accept the holy baptism regenerating them into the life of God. This is one of the truthful treasures of our religion. The apostolic ministry is forever to enlighten all nations and spread the divine light of regeneration. It is a verification of our Lord's words: 'I have come that they may have life,' and it renders us participants of the divine nature. The second great function is in the seal of the Holy Trinity, embodying the glad tidings of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

"By these things we can understand fully the grandeur of this day's consecration. Up to this time Fr. Garrigan possessed the qualifications of the apostolic priest to a limited degree. Now by the disposition of the hands and the act of Christ he is given the full powers of the episcopate. All the powers of this creation are now for him and to be transmitted to others that they may carry on the work of Christ after he is dead and gone. The chain has been carried on down long ages and by the words of Christ himself it will last until the end of time. To-day Fr. Garrigan is made one of the golden links in the chain between Christ and his apostles. With a heart full of awe he contemplates this new-found relationship to Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity. It is with a heart imbued with fear, he dwells on this great gift, his for all eternity. Not, however, the fear of hard work in his new career. Too long has he been a soldier of Christ to fear the responsibility he now assumes. It is rather the fear begot from reverence and adoration in this awful relationship with the great God. He welcomes it. He will thank God for it to the day of his death. Yet it is terrible even to a veteran in the ranks of God's workers when he thinks of the millions of souls now given to his charge. But he will have with him a devoted band of priests who will be loyal to him as their bishop and chief. In his new bishopric he will work with redoubled zeal with the band of heroes under his charge for the glory of the Kingdom of Christ.

"He will have with him in the far West many pioneers of the religion in that land, who have retained their fearlessness and indomitable determination by which a foundation so broad was given their religion that future generations may rear images on it of Christ and

Church. He will have a people that any bishop might well be proud of and thankful for. He will find sifted away the bitterness, narrowness and hatred engendered on the old Atlantic shores, with scarce a vestige left, and a people as broad as they are brave, and in him they will find the right man for the bishopric. I have known him well. It has been my privilege to go with him through trials and difficulties such as tax men's souls and show what men are made of. I rejoice to have him with me again for it is in a portion of my diocese, set away for him, that he will be located. I thank God beforehand for the benedictions he will bring. You from your hearts pray for him, that he may bring greater glory to God and to himself. May his administration be prosperous and marked with the zeal that has ever characterized him in the work of the Master."

Rt. Rev. Dr. Garrigan bears with him to Sioux City the best wishes of the University. He has been intimately associated with the work from the very beginning. The material details of the great enterprise fell very largely upon his shoulders—how numerous and exacting were the duties of those pioneer days no one will ever know who has not lived through a similar situation. Amid circumstances naturally destined to arouse criticism he always bore himself with calmness and dignity, and won universal esteem for the goodness of his heart, the rectitude of his mind, and the uprightness of his conduct. The citizens of Washington, with whom he came frequently into contact, bear witness not only to his correct priestly life, but also to the qualities of prudence, vigilance and punctuality that marked his business dealings. Great sums of money passed constantly through his hands. The contracts for the first buildings of the University demanded his closest attention for many years. In the details of these responsibilities he was ever most faithful and gave to the University the fruit of the long experience gathered in the mission-field, where his former parishioners never cease to venerate him. He shared the administration, first with his actual Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Dubuque, and then with the present Rt. Rev. Rector. They testify to his loyalty to the ideals of the founders of the University, to his very strong sense of justice, his habitually equitable temperament, his patience and forbearance amid the many peculiar trials to which a great institution is liable, when it has to make its own traditions and create for itself a permanent place in the sunlight of popular esteem and affection.

In his dealings with the professors of the University he was always courteous and helpful. To the students he bore himself as an elder brother, ever ready with counsel and direction. He took a just pride in the numerous affiliated schools of the University, and was deeply interested in their prosperity, and further increase. It is certain that he gave himself entire and without reserve to the work of the University as far as his office called him or his efficacious sympathy could go.

Our Holy Father Leo XIII has now raised him to another sphere of grave duties. The University extends to him the assurance that it can never forget the debt of gratitude that it owes him for the fourteen years of devotion and loyalty that he gave to it in the most critical period of its life. It says confidently to the clergy of Sioux City that they will find in Dr. Garrigan all the pastoral qualities of a good bishop heightened by a rare and superior ecclesiastical experience. May the spiritual harvest correspond to the zeal and toil of the husbandman and his fellow laborers!

At the June meeting of the University Senate the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas, it has pleased Our Holy Father, Leo XIII, to appoint as first Bishop of Sioux City, the Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D., Vice-Rector of The Catholic University of America; and

Whereas, Rev. Dr. Garrigan has been from its beginning intimately associated with the work of the University; therefore be it

Resolved, that while we regret the departure of Dr. Garrigan from the University, we rejoice at the honor that has been conferred upon him, and be it

Resolved, that in the performance of the difficult duties imposed upon him by the various official positions which he has occupied, he has laid the University under lasting obligations, and be it

Resolved, that the best wishes of the University accompany Bishop Garrigan to the field of labor in which God has placed him for the diffusion of truth and for the glory of the Holy Church, and be it

Resolved, that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Academic Senate and that a copy be presented to Rt. Rev. Bishop Garrigan.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, JUNE 4, 1902.

The annual commencement exercises of the Catholic University of America were held in the Assembly Room of McMahon Hall, Wednesday, June 4, at ten o'clock. The auditorium was decorated tastefully with the college colors, white and gold, American flags, and flowers.

The hall was filled with the friends of the graduates and the University, while on the stage, besides Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, and the officers of the faculty, were present many persons of prominence. Among them were Senor Azpiroz, the Mexican Ambassador; the Right Rev. Bishop Blenk, of Porto Rico; Dr. Edward Minor Gallaudet, president of Columbia College for the Deaf and Dumb; Very Rev. F. X. Fink, S.J., president of Gonzaga College; Rev. John Conway, S.J., vice-president of Georgetown University; Brother Abdas, president of St. John's College; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., superior of St. Thomas' College; Very Rev. J. B. Descreux, S.M., provincial of the Marists; Very Rev. John A. Burns, C.S.C., superior of Holy Cross College; Rev. James Driscoll, S.S., superior of St. Austin's College; Rev. J. F. Mackin, pastor of St. Paul's; Rev. Father Caughy, of St. Stephen's; Rev. Father Joseph McGee, of Sacred Heart; Rev. J. F. X. Mulvaney, S.J., of Holy Trinity Church; Rev. J. A. Carey, of Holy Name Church; Rev. Father Hannan, of St. Martin's Church; Rev. George Lucas, D.D., of Blossburg, Pa.; Rev. Father Bradley, of Philadelphia; Gen. Vincent, U. S. A.; Representative Thayer, of Massachusetts; Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., of New York; Rev. James J. Fox, D.D., of St. Thomas' College, and Father Quill, of Georgetown University.

After thanking the audience for their presence at the exercises, the Rector, Bishop Conaty, spoke of the satisfactory work done at the University during the year in following the schedule as announced in the year book. He also said that the financial condition of the University was satisfactory, notwithstanding the many rumors that have been sedulously circulated. There has been received during the year, outside of the regular revenues of the University, $27,000 in general contributions—$20,000 of this sum being the bequest of Mrs. Reyburn of Baltimore, and $4,700 from the estate of Mr. Andrew Doherty of New York. Of this sum $15,000 has been paid on the general debt. Over $18,000 has been added to the endowment fund in scholarships; the Archbishop Hennessy scholarship for Dubuque; the Dana scholarship for Boston, and the Lindesmith scholarships for

Cleveland. Besides this a guarantee fund for the wiping out of the indebtedness of the University has been established by the bishops, and $6,500 has been received for this fund, making a total of over $52,000 over and above the regular revenue. In addition to this, the University has, by the will of Mrs. Sarah Ferris Devlin of Boston, obtained $50,000 for a professorship; by the will of Mr. Timothy Riordan of New York a scholarship is endowed, and the University is made residuary legatee of the will. We also receive a scholarship, and are made residuary legatees of the will of Mrs. Elizabeth Kernan of Cincinnati. By the will of Mr. Hamilton Willis, at one time of Boston, but a resident of London, England, at the time of his death, the University is made one of three legatees in a property estimated at about $100,000.

The University possesses property, land and buildings, upon which $1,200,000 have been expended, and our trust funds aggregate $860,000. The total indebtedness is $195,000, with an asset in the property recently sold in Long Branch of $27,000, which leaves the net indebtedness of the University at the present moment $168,000 at 4 per cent. On a property on which $1,200,000 are invested this is certainly a satisfactory condition in view of the extraordinary expenses which the University for fourteen years has been obliged to make over and above its regular revenue.

What the University needs to-day is one million dollars, in addition to its trust funds. It needs a library building for its valuable collection of books, and it needs a church. The endowment fund is the most pressing need. There should be no doubt as to the ability of the Catholics of this country to raise that million dollars, provided interest is awakened to the importance of the work. With 14,000,000 of Catholics a million of dollars ought not to be considered an extravagant demand. As Archbishop Ireland recently said in Peoria, there should be $20,000,000 instead of $2,000,000. A hundred thousand people giving $10 apiece would make the million; a thousand giving $100 each would do the same, and so on. Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, Ph.D., of New York, has been selected by the trustees to act in conjunction with the Rector in bringing this matter of the endowment fund to the attention of our people.

Let us be in earnest about it. Let the association which is being formed at the present time assume a national character, that every friend who values the high ideals of Catholicism earnestly cooperate by his contribution to this fund for a period of five years, and there will be no question as to all the means needed to place the University in a position to do the work demanded of it. Universities, like business enterprises, cannot work satisfactorily upon the small capital first invested. The University, like any business enterprise, is pressed by the law of competition. The rule is inexorable, and the success of each succeeding year depends upon the increased capital to meet the business of educational demands. The Catholic University, with small trust funds, has done a tremendous work, and any doubt of its being handicapped in the future should be set at rest by the generosity of the great body of the Catholic priesthood and laity. Let all friends of the University unite in establishing and developing a great national association for five years at least, and let each member of the association bind himself to contribute $100 to the fund. It may be in five instalments, or it may be given at once, according to individual means and individual generosity. In God's name, now, let us work to raise this million dollars, which is very insignificant when we think of the millions that are placed at the disposal of our great American Universities. Let our Catholic University be equipped to do the work of God and of science. I have no doubt as to the result, once our people are awakened to the need of generous coöperation.

During the past year the University has been signally honored by a special letter from the Holy Father, given to his Eminence, our Cardinal Chancellor, in June of last year. The letter was but another proof of the great love and interest of our Holy Father in the success of the University. It was also in recognition of the University the Holy Father chose to bestow episcopal honors upon the Rector, as also to summon our esteemed Vice-Rector to the government of the newly established diocese of Sioux City. Right Rev. Bishop Garrigan for fourteen years has been associated with the University. He was with it at its beginning, he watched over its development and its growth. He superintended the erection of its buildings and cared for them. He gave the best years of his life to everything that stood for the University ideal. The everlasting gratitude of the University is due to him, and its best wishes accompany him to his new field of labor. Very Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan, Professor of Sacred Scripture, has been honored also by a position upon the Commission of Scripture Studies, in recognition of his scholarly attainments as a distinguished teacher of sacred scripture, and also because of his devotion and unselfish service to the interests of the University from its very beginning.

During the year St. Austin's College, for the instruction of young priests of the Sulpician company, has been opened at Brookland, making the fifth college established beside the University, under University influence. The Dominican Fathers, whose traditions are entwined with the history of the great universities of the church, have recently decided to establish their houses of studies at the Catholic University for the education of their own students, and next September ground will be broken for their new college. This is evidence of academic interest in the University's work, and also an abiding faith in the future of the University.

During the year the University has been called upon to mourn the death of a charter member of its Board of Trustees, in the person of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. From the beginning of the University he was a faithful member of its Board of Trustees. His contributions to different funds, and in particular, by valuable collections of theological works, to our library, have placed the University under a debt of gratitude to his memory.

Degrees Conferred.

Presentation of the candidates for degrees then took place. Professor D. W. Shea, director of the School of Technological Science, presented the candidates for their degrees. Professor W. C. Robinson, Dean of the Faculty of Law, performed that service for those entitled to degrees in law. Professor Edmund T. Shanahan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, and Professor Maurice Francis Egan, Ph.D., Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, presented the candidates for their respective degrees.

Bachelor of Science (B.S.).

Wilhelm Ostwald Sauer, *Washington, D. C.*
Primaner (Real Gymnasium, Posen, Germany) 1898.
Philip Benjamin Williams, *Washington, D. C.*

Electrical Engineer (E.E.).

Stanislaus von Prusinowski, *Washington, D. C.*
Primaner (Real Gymnasium, Posen, Germany) 1898; B.S. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.

Dissertation:—"The Electrical Lighting and Power Plant of the Catholic University of America."

Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.).

Timothy Charles Collins, *North Adams, Mass.*
A.B. (Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass) 1896.
Joseph Henry Gainer, *Providence, R. I.*
A.B. (Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass) 1899.
William Martin McCormick, *Providence, R. I.*
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College) 1890.
Denis Aloysius Murphy, *Lowell, Mass.*
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College) 1899.

Abel Eliseo Perea, *Bernalillo, N. Mex.*
A.B. (Villa Nova College) 1899.

Oscar Boyle Polk, *Memphis, Tenn.*
A.B. (Christian Brothers College, Memphis) 1899.

Preston Blair Ray, *Tennallytown, D. C.*
B.S. (Columbian University) 1899.

Augustine Bernard Thompson, *Barstown, Ky.*
A.B. (St. Mary's College, Marion Co., Ky.) 1899.

Doctor of Law (J.D.).

Masatoshi Nishizawa, *Japan.*
LL.B. (Columbian University) LL.M. (ibid.).
Dissertation:—"The Law of Bills of Exchange in the Japanese Commercial Code."

Doctor of Civil Laws (D.C.L.).

William Henry De Lacy, *Washington, D. C.*
B.S. (St. John's College, Washington, D. C.) 1879; LL.B. (Georgetown University) 1883; LL.M. (ibid.) 1884.
Dissertation:—"Obligation in the Civil Law."

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

Herman Theodor Holm, *Brookland, D. C.*
Candidatus Philosophiæ (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) 1881.
Dissertation:—"Some New Anatomical Characters for Certain Gramineæ."

Bachelor in Sacred Theology (S.T.B.).

Rev. Hugh Joseph Bowen, *Archdiocese of Philadelphia.*

Rev. William Patrick Clark, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati.*

Rev. John Joseph Crane, *Archdiocese of Boston.*
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1898.

Rev. James Aloysius Gallagher, *Archdiocese of Philadelphia.*
A.B. (La Salle College, Philadelphia) 1893.

Rev. John Martin Cannon, *Diocese of Erie.*
A.B. (St. Bonaventure's Seminary, Allegany) 1901.

James Martin Gillis, C.S.P., *New York.*
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1898.

Rev. Walter Francis Gottwalles, *Diocese of Nashville.*

Rev. William Hugh Grant, *Archdiocese of Boston.*
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1901.

Rev. Timothy Peter Holland, S.S., *Brookland, D. C.*
A.B. (Ottawa University, Canada) 1896.

Rev. James Patrick McGraw, *Diocese of Syracuse.*
A.B. (Manhattan College, N. Y.) 1897.

Rev. William Bernard Martin, *Archdiocese of New York.*
A.B. (St. Francis Xavier's College) 1897.

Rev. Leo Francis O'Neil, *Archdiocese of Boston.*
A.B. (Boston College) 1897.

Rev. John Stephen Shanahan, *Archdiocese of Dubuque.*

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S.T.L.).

Rev. Thomas Joseph Brennan, *Archdiocese of San Francisco.*
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"Future Punishment of Original Sin."

Rev. Cornelius Joseph Holland, *Diocese of Providence.*
A.B. (Manhattan College) 1895; Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1897; S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Chantry System: A Study in Pre-Reformation Church History."

Rev. Joseph Patrick Mackey, *Archdiocese of San Francisco.*
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Logos Doctrine of St. John, of Philo Judæus, and the Idea of 'Word' and 'Wisdom' in the Old Testament."

Rev. Francis Joseph Mullin, *Archdiocese of Boston.*
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1897; S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"Testimonium Septimæ Manus: A Study in Matrimonial Procedure."

Rev. Francis Clement Renier, *Archdiocese of Dubuque.*
A.B. (St. Joseph's College, Dubuque) 1897; S.T.B. (Grand Seminary, Montreal) 1899; J.C.B. (ibid.) 1900; S.T.L. (ibid.) 1900.
Dissertation:—"Contrition as a Sufficient Means for Justification."

Rev. Manuel Ruiz y Rodriguez, *Diocese of Havana, Cuba.*
S.T.B. (St. Charles and St. Ambrose Seminary, Havana) 1898.
Dissertation:—"Conceptus Gratiæ Sanctificantis: Evolutio Historico-Dogmatica."

Rev. Michael Joseph Walsh, *Archdiocese of San Francisco.*
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Indwelling of the Most Holy Trinity in the Souls of the Just."

Rev. George William Welch, *Diocese of Springfield.*
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1900; S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Concept of Pure Nature and its Importance in Determining the Consequences of Original Sin."

Rev. Malachy Francis Yingling, *Archdiocese of Baltimore,*
A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore) 1896; A.M. (ibid.) 1897; S.T.B. (ibid.) 1899.
Dissertation:—"Christ's Bodily Resurrection an Historical Reality."

Closing Address of the Rt. Rev. Rector.

In his closing address the Right Rev. Rector dealt with the subject: "Culture as a Specific Aim of the University."

He emphasized very strongly the importance and necessity of culture as a result of study in all departments of knowledge. The university is for something higher than mere specializing. It should result in cultivated men, with sympathy for all forms of knowledge. Specialization has many advantages. It has investigated all branches of science, acquired a more accurate knowledge of nature, subdivided and multiplied the sciences, thus increasing and benefitting the world.

Industrial, commercial and financial development is the work of a patient, self-sacrificing investigator, who has not been satisfied until he has reached facts by which nations as well as individuals have been benefited.

The disadvantages of specialization are seen in the tendency to narrowness, to the lack of sympathy for other sciences. It results from the overlooking of the relations in which each truth stands to the whole. Science is not confined to mere physical research, but belongs also to the world of speculation and the things of the mind. A spirit of devotion to culture will save specialization from the disadvantages liable to follow it.

Culture worships the true; it loves the good. Matthew Arnold has defined it as the study of perfection. It is demanded as a social function, by which man and his best thoughts are brought into contact with his fellow men. It broadens man's viewpoint; it gives him growth in truth. Culture makes the gentleman and the scholar, the man of the world as well as the man of thought.

This is particularly true of the university man, who should find in his studies an atmosphere that penetrates and inspires his whole being.

The university is something more than a collection of buildings or an aggregation of faculties. It is the expression of devotion to the advancement of the kingdom of knowledge. It develops a certain temper which expresses itself by love for every form of knowledge, purely because it is knowledge and a special sympathy for the more human forms of knowledge. It does not preclude, but rather produces devotion to some particular form of truth. It produces men with refinement, public spirit, intellectual power, who are constantly adding to the world's sum of goodness and power.

A Catholic university has all of these advantages and more, for it possesses touch with the supernatural; it gives true philosophy and true religion, by which man alone can reach the fullness of his being. The Catholic University carries on in the intellectual field the work of harmonious synthesis by which the church has accomplished her great mission in other spheres. The function of the Catholic University is to do with the sciences what the church has done with the nations, to unite faith and nature, the divine and physical sciences and to make both an influence in the development of man.

The university aims at the coordination of the divine and the human and the natural. The university graduate should be the product of university culture; the result of the union of the divine and the human in the full development of mind and will and heart; he should be a man who thinks and does, whose aim is wisdom, whose view is broad enough to acknowledge truth wherever discovered, while his special studies leads him to special results.

The Catholic University during the past year has coordinated all its studies in such a way that the student has the advantage of development along all the lines that lead to the ripest culture, while taste for special study has been equally fostered.

Bishop Conaty closed with an appeal to university men to be true to those ideals which alone can produce the perfect Christian culture that lends to human life its highest grace, dignity and utility.

CARDINAL GIBBONS' ADDRESS.

The exercises were brought to a close by a brief address by the Chancellor of the University, Cardinal Gibbons. Among other things he said:

"From time to time during the year false statements have been circulated though the press concerning the finances of the University. I have been surprised, and so have the trustees, that there should be found any one so ill-informed as to give utterance to statements so absolutely baseless. As the Chancellor, and speaking for the trustees, I wish to give our Catholic people to understand that there is no truth whatever in these rumors. The finances of the University are in good condition, and there is no danger of financial straits. The trustees, who are careful, prudent men, annually examine into all the details, and they are fully satisfied that the University is doing its duty faithfully and successfully, and that its finances are in excellent condition. It is a young institution and has made wonderful strides. Why should it not be encouraged instead of calumniated? Let there be no fear as to its future. The Holy Father loves it with great intensity. I saw him a year ago, and I know how deeply interested he is in its success. He has signally honored its Rector by giving him the dignity of the episcopate as a distinguished mark of his esteem for his services in the office of Rector. He has recently called the Vice-Rector to the responsibility of bishop in the newly established See of Sioux City, and thus crowned the labors of fourteen years of service. It is a great honor that in the space of a year two such signal favors should come to those charged with the administration of the University, and we all rejoice in this merited recognition.

"Our Catholic people should be more intensely interested in the important work of upbuilding and developing the University. It is young yet, and cannot be expected to do all that older institutions with more experience and unlimited means can do. It has done nobly during its fourteen years of life. All it needs is more generous cooperation, a more extended interest, a greater willingness to help by word and deed. As the Rector has said, it ought to be easy to raise another million dollars, if the people would realize their duty to the greatest institution of learning which the church possesses in this country.''

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—A meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the University May 9.

Anniversary Requiem for Monsignor McMahon.—An anniversary mass of requiem was celebrated on April 15 for our deceased benefactor, Mgr. McMahon. The professors and students assisted in a body at this mark of respect and veneration for the venerable priest to whom the University owes an imperishable debt of gratitude.

Alumni of the American College, Rome.—The Alumni Association of the American College in Rome held its annual meeting and banquet in Washington May 11. Bishop Conaty was a guest at the banquet, and responded to the toast of "The President of the United States." His remarks made a very favorable impression. The following day about forty members of the Alumni came out as guests of the University and spent some time in looking over the different departments of work. At two o'clock they were entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall by the Rector. Toward the close of the dinner Bishop Conaty expressed in fitting terms the welcome of the University to the Alumni Association, and dwelt upon the bonds of affection existing between the Alumni of the American College and the University. The history of the growth and development of the University was briefly detailed, and the place which the University occupies in the educational system of the Church in America was very clearly outlined. Its growth has been marvelous, and its circle of affiliated colleges expresses the confidence of the teaching orders of the Church in its ultimate success. Bishop Conaty expressed the welcome of the University to the Alumni of all Catholic educational bodies, and particularly to the American College, in which several of its distinguished professors have been educated.

Addresses were made by Very Rev. Dr. Grannan, Dr. Shahan, Dr. Shanahan and Dr. Creagh. Rev. John Burke, president of the association, expressed the thanks of the Alumni for the cordial and whole-souled hospitality which the University, through its Rector, had extended to them. The visit was thoroughly enjoyed by the visitors, who were warm in their praises of the work of the University, and of the welcome extended to them by the Rector and professors.

Requiem for Archbishop Corrigan.—On Friday, May 16, a Pontifical Mass of Requiem for the repose of the soul of the late Archbishop

Corrigan was celebrated in Caldwell Chapel. The Right Rev. Rector was the celebrant; the assistant priest being Rev. P. J. Healy; deacon, Rev. William B. Martin; subdeacon, Rev. P. J. McGraw, all of New York, and Revs. Maurice J. O'Connor, of Boston, and C. J. Holland. of Providence, R. I., masters of ceremonies. The professors and students of the University attended the mass in a body.

Public Lecture by Dr. Pace.—Very Rev. Dr. Pace, professor of psychology, delivered the concluding lecture in the University's public course on Wednesday, May 19. The subject was "The Education of Woman in Greece and Rome."

Lecture by Dr. Zahm.—Dr. Albert F. Zahm read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Washington, May 24, on "New Methods of Experimentation in Aerodynamics," presenting an outline of the work of Mr. Mattullath and himself in the Department of Mechanics of the Catholic University during the past year. A description was given of the aerodynamic laboratory and its equipment; the apparatus developed for producing a wind of uniform velocity and direction; the instruments devised for measuring air velocity, resistance, skin-friction, etc. Among the objects exhibited was a pressure gauge graduated to millionths of an atmosphere, which can be adjusted to read less than one ten millionth. The paper will soon be published with illustrations. It is to be followed by a series of papers giving, in technical detail, the results of each experiment.

Baccalaureate Sermon. — The annual Baccalaureate sermon was preached on Sunday, June 1, by the Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, S.T.L., of New York City, president of the Alumni Association. Our former Vice-Rector, Right Rev. P. J. Garrigan, D.D., Bishop of Sioux City, Iowa, sang Pontifical Mass on the occasion. At the end of the mass he delivered a brief discourse, in which he touchingly reviewed his relations with the University since its foundation, and pledged to the good work his earnest sympathy and coöperation in the future.

Early Irish Lyric Poetry.—Dr. F. N. Robinson, assistant professor of Gaelic at Harvard University, who has been conducting a course of instruction at the Catholic University for the benefit of the students in the Gaelic department, delivered, April 21, a public lecture on "Early Irish Lyric Poetry." Invitations had been extended to all those interested in Gaelic literature, and a large number of prominent people were present at McMahon Hall. The Rector, Right Rev. Bishop Conaty, presided, and in introducing Dr. Robinson he referred to the Gaelic literature movement, and acknowledged with gratitude the indebtedness of the University and of all lovers of Gaelic to the Ancient Order of Hibernians for its princely gift by which the chair of Gaelic had been established at the University. He thanked Dr. Robinson for his great kindness in helping the work of the Gaelic endowment at the University.

The lecturer dealt mainly with lyric poetry of the earliest period in Irish literature. He spoke first of the few poems that are found in the manuscripts of the old Irish period, strictly speaking, that is, in the manuscripts scattered over the continent of Europe which contain Irish glossaries, and which were written from the seventh to the end of the tenth century. The literary materials of any sort are scanty. There is very little verse, indeed, he said, but such as there is has a peculiar interest and charm. He gave translations of several fragments that have been discovered in several corners of these old manuscripts. Most of them were scribbled on the fly leaves or in margins of documents with which they have nothing to do.

One of the most interesting of these is an old poem, apparently written by a law scribe, at least as early as the ninth century, which describes the way he lived with a pet cat. It is full of delicious humor and pleasing fancy. The greater number of the poems read are preserved in later manuscripts—in manuscripts of the Middle Irish period—but their language shows them to have been composed, without doubt, many centuries earlier. They have come down to us usually as part of the national hero sagas of the Irish. They are very varied in subject matter, representing a wide range of interests. Some of them are descriptions of nature, some love songs, others have to do with war or travels, and some of the most beautiful are lamentations over the dead.

In closing, Dr. Robinson called attention in particular to a poem recently published by Professor Kuno Meyer, and by him entitled "The King and the Hermit." Dr. Meyer discovered this poem in a sixteenth century manuscript, but gave reasons for believing that it was written as early as the tenth century. It contains exquisite descriptions of nature—birds and trees, outdoor life—and is representative of a large class of anonymous Irish poems which have been for the most part overlooked in the past, and which are among the most beautiful contributions of the ancient Irish to literature.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit,* c. 6.

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THE CATHEDRAL-BUILDERS OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE.[1]

If we observe ourselves and the multitudinous life about us, we shall all agree that most of what is typical, characteristic of our own generation, perishes with us. Man is largely a thing of the present. Most of his time is spent in fighting off decay and death, that, nevertheless, press on him with the slow and certain speed of the Alpine glacier. Of the popular daily life of the middle of the last century, only reminiscences remain; and when those are gone, whose hearts and minds still retain vivid impressions of the past, the tide of oblivion makes swifter haste, and soon obliterates all but the most striking landmarks, those great events and institutions that are the common property of a race or a nation. Even literature, though it is usually said to hold the most sacred experiences of every people, is only a fragment of fragments, retains but a tithe of the passions, the hopes, the struggles, the triumphs and glories, that made up the sum of life as it was actually lived by men and women. As far as the past is concerned, we walk amid shadows and reflections, in an ever deepening twilight.

This thought is of some importance when we look back over the thousand years of the Middle Ages for some great convincing illustration of the spirit and scope of Catholicism, something that shall be as strictly its own work as the Homeric chants or the marbles of the Parthenon are the work of the Greek soul, the great roads of Europe and the Code of Justinian the product of the genius of Rome. Catholic Christianity in that thousand years of the Middle Ages dominated fully and freely the life of European mankind. What legacy has it left the human race, at once monumental and unique, useful and holy, worthy of its own claims, and comparable with those remains by which we judge other religions that lay, or once did lay, claim to universal acceptance? Say what we will, make what appeal we will to the social benefits of a religion, its written documents of a literary character or value, its political uses, its successful molding over of the common heart, its answers to the eternal questions of the soul, the common conscience, its upbuilding of the spiritual man, individually and collectively—develop all these admirable arguments as we will, there remains the deep and just query: What *monuments* has it left behind?

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[1] Discourse delivered at San Francisco, September 20, 1901, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society of that city.

The hand of man is very cunning, and tends very naturally to fashion in some public and permanent manner the ideals that the brain has conceived and the heart cherished. The most refined Greek ethnicism had its Acropolis at Athens, its Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Roman ethnicism had its Temple of Fortune at Praeneste, its Coliseum at Rome. Those philosophies of life that are as religions to the followers of Confucius and Buddha, have each flowered in a peculiar art that may seem fantastic to us, but has yet an intimate relationship with the doctrines that it glorifies and perpetuates. General doctrines, that have got themselves lived out, large and constant views of the meaning, uses and end of human life, usually blossom out in great monuments, almost as naturally as the thought of the brain leaps to the tongue and clamors for expression.

I.

It was as a *religion* that Catholicism dominated the Middle Ages. The natural monuments of a religion are its temples. You may simplify a religion as you will, curtail its functions, reduce its influence—but so long as it pretends to bind man with his Maker, so long will it need places of meeting for its people, and so long will it set up therein some symbol or symbols of its creed.

The refined paganism of Greece and Rome, with which Catholicism came into conflict, had such popular centers of worship—the temples and shrines of its gods. But paganism had nothing truly spiritual about it. It was all based on fear of its deities, was a religion solely of low and coarse propitiation, a mass of deceptive practices, a double religion—base superstition for the multitude, quasi-agnosticism for the elevated classes. It had no fixed doctrine to preach. It had no central fire of love to which all were bidden, no mystic banquet, no divine revelation to communicate. Hence, its temples were only abodes of the mysterious deity. He alone dwelt behind marble walls, within which, as a rule, only the priest went and the needed servants. Outside, on the temple-square, stood the multitudes, watching the evisceration of sheep and oxen, or the other mummeries of paganism, but utterly without any serious share in the act of religion that was entirely the affair of the priests and the magistrates, a state act.

With the Christians, from the very beginning, it was otherwise. They were one body with Jesus Christ, the mystic head. They had been all born again in Him, and the true death was to lose that new higher life. They were destined to union with Him in eternity. They had His history in four little books, and the letters of His first agents, the Apostles. He had fixed a certain form for their meetings, that were to be very frequent, and at which all who confessed His Name should assist and partake of a divine banquet that was none other than His own Body and Blood.

So the Christians needed a large, free space, where all could see one another, where all could hear, where access was easy to the eucharistic table or altar, around which the ministers of the banquet could serve the presiding officer and distribute to all the assistants, in an orderly way, the celestial food. The God of the Christians was no longer far away. He was with them day and night. He spoke to them all with equal love, and demanded from all an equal service. In other words, the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Real Presence, demanded at once and created all the essentials of a Christian church, such as they are found in the catacombs and such as they will exist as long as the religion itself—a table for the sacrifice, a space for its ministers, an open space sufficient for the assistants, light for the performance of the mysteries in which all were sharers and, in a true but mysterious sense, actors, light also for the reading of the gospels, the Old Testament, the letters from distant brethren, the accounts of martyrdom. In time, the pagan had to be kept out, the novice admitted slowly, the unfaithful excluded and chastised for a time, the goods, deposits, plate, records, of the little communities stored away. Thus vestibules, courts and sacristies were added. Thus, too, arose, almost in the Cenacle, the first Christian Church, all whose essential elements are curiously enough foreshadowed in the Apocalypse—indeed, in the Holy Temple of Jerusalem itself.

It is a long and charming chapter in the history of the fine arts how the typical Catholic church grew up. There was the upper room in the residence of the principal Christian of the community; perhaps, too, they hired occasionally a public hall or reading room. Then came the little chamber of some cemetery where an illustrious martyr lay. When freedom came, there was the little overground chapel, with its triple apse and its roofless but enclosed courtyard, just over the martyr's resting-place; then the vast Roman halls of justice were abandoned to them. Sometimes the temples were transformed for Christian service. Soon they built their own—at Rome St. Peter's and St. Paul's, the "Great Church" at Carthage, the "New Church" at Antioch, at Tyre. Emperors paid for them, and crossed the world to assist at their dedication. They were often of the style of the Roman Courts of Justice known as basilicas; again they were octagonal or round. Every city, every village, had its own. But whatever their form of material, they were places of meeting for a community of men and women, therefore roomy and lightsome. By reason of the great central act of the religion, they were decently ornamented, provided with an elevated altar, beneath which lay the body of some distinguished martyr or confessor of Christ, whose death was the pledge of final victory over a bad and unjust society, a seal of hope, an assurance that with faith in Jesus Christ lay the only certainty of eternal life.

The first great Christian churches were owing to the constructive skill of Roman architects and builders. They embodied the best traditions of imperial architecture, such at least as had survived into the fourth century. That they were not in absolute decay may be seen from the splendid ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Salona. But, given the collapse of Roman power, the great building arts could not long survive. Their traditions were easily lost for want of exercise. In the Christian Orient perhaps they lived on much longer, in Greek Constantinople, and the remnants of the Roman power that Islam did not absorb. But in the West, a mysterious transformation took place. We quit the sixth century holding on to traditions of classical forms and workmanship at Rome and Ravenna, but we emerge into the seventh, in possession no longer of what is known as Roman architecture, but of what the historians of art are agreed to call Romanesque. For five hundred years nearly all the churches of Europe are ranged in this category. We have no longer in their purity the solemn, long nave of the basilica, with its noble monolith pillars, tied by correct round arches, on which rests the main roof, while the altar is in the apse, that is solidly built up and holds on its own semi-circle of brick its suitable roof. If side-naves are needed, they are added from without, with their own columns, low roofs and enclosing walls. In place of such majestic buildings that retained no little of the majesty of Imperial Rome, and of which a specimen may yet be seen at Trier on the Moselle, or even in some Roman Churches, we get smaller edifices. For the great monolith column there are low pillars, often made of separate stone drums. The arches are lower, more squatty, and depend on very thick walls for their support. The open upper roof of the old basilica gives way to a few narrow windows, mere apertures, but decorated with pretty colonnettes. An inside gallery, low and narrow, runs around the church just over the pillars. A low roof made of wooden beams gives an air of dimness and depression to the whole edifice.

Where did the Christian architects of northern Italy, in whose cities it surely arose, get the essentials of this style? Did a school of genuine Roman architects and builders survive the downfall of their state and culture? Did they live on Lake Como, and perpetuate there the skill and cunning in building of their Roman ancestors? Are they the real builders of the first Lombard churches, the originators of Romanesque, that afterwards was carried by them into France, and Germany, and England, in which lands one beauty, one utility after another, was added, until such glorious old churches as Worms, Speyer and others of the Rhineland, were created, until St. Ambrose at Milan, St. Michael's at Pavia, and many others, were either rebuilt anew or made over after the prevailing style? Or is the Romanesque church the result of inherited barbarian tastes and traditions struggling for expression at the hands of men yet raw in the history and forms of architecture? Is it the Greek architect of Constantinople, an exile or a left-over from the ruinous exarchate at Ravenna, who himself executed, or gave the first impulse to those curious buildings in which, all over Europe, the traditions of Old Rome are seen to underlie a number of new principles and suggestions? Anyhow, Christian architecture from Roman became European by way of the Romanesque. Specimens of the latter soon arose in every land. The Roman architects and builders who followed Saint Augustine to England, St. Boniface to Germany, built in that style. Those who crossed the Alps at the bidding of Charlemagne, and created the octagonal basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle for him, showed that they were masters of both Byzantine and Romanesque, for they left after them work of both kinds.

Somehow, even though imperfectly, the building-arts were yet taught in Italy, architecture was yet understood in the large style of the ancients. The great models of antiquity still existed—for their final complete destruction dates from the late Middle Ages, not from the time we are dealing with. There was always kept up some interchange of influences between Constantinople and the West, at least until the Iconoclastic follies and excesses of the eighth century arrested the normal development of Christian art in its natural home. From the City of Rome in the West, and the City of Constantinople in the East, were kept up a constant supply and demand of all that pertained to building and the arts that depend on it.

It is now an exploded fable that there was in the year A.D. 1,000 a General Terror among the Christian peoples of Europe at the supposed approach of the end of the world. Nevertheless, the two hundred years that followed did see a general revival of human interests, owing to other reasons. With the civilizing of the Northmen, the last stages of the old classical world of Greece and Rome disappeared. Latin ceased finally to be a spoken tongue. The new vernaculars made out of it began to move independently, to affect a higher range of activity. With these new instruments of thought the life of the peoples of Europe takes on a new character. The last border land of the old and the new is reached. Right here Catholicism entered more profoundly than ever into the lives of these new and ardent peoples. Their wills and testaments show it. The population increased rapidly, new churches were built in great numbers, and old ones were restored or enlarged. Constant demand created a great supply of workmen. The intelligence of Italian and Greek architects, and the devotion and sacrifices of a great multitude of monks, brought about improvements in the ordinary Romanesque. Little by little it graduated into the incomparable Gothic. The round arch gave way to the pointed arch, that could be carried much higher, and needed for its support no thick and cumbersome walls, only a sufficient lateral resistance or pressure to prevent it from falling. Now the heavy stone piers could be reduced in size, the massive walls could be thinned down and cut out, until a new theory stood forth in practice—the building was no longer a roof resting on heavy walls propped up by thick piers that were themselves bound and dovetailed into the walls. It was now a great, open, airy framework, in which the tall main arches were caught precisely at their weakest point by slender but strong abutting piers. The roof rested partly on these arches thus secured, partly on slight but strong shafts engaged in the masonry of the great arches at their springing point. Across the nave independent arches were thrown, always pointed, that showed beneath each vault, upheld it, and produced the new and artistic effect of groining. The light spaces of the clerestory were now raised and widened; the spaces between the great lateral arches were also broadened, until at last almost no solid wall at all was left, nothing but the masonry built up beneath the huge glass windows to support their weight, and enclose the worshippers. Here was at last something absolutely new in architecture. Some modern scholars maintain that its first suggestions came from Constantinople, or from Christion Antioch. Be that as it may, it was the genius of mediæval Catholicism in the West that caught up the idea long dormant. In Normandy and the territory of Paris and Orleans, the new architecture first spread. It is not German, it is not Italian or English. It is French in its original and purest monuments. When you look at the cathedrals of Chartres and Amiens, you see its loveliest chefs d'œuvre; when you go through the ancient towns of Normandy, you see its first examples. Here in the north of France, during the first fifty years of its development, arose many specimens of the genuine Gothic, until all Europe caught the sacred fire. The new style spread from one land to another, was modified somewhat in each, reached its apogee in the early part of the fourteenth century, and then fell into a decline and disuse that it has recovered from only in the last century through the efforts of a Pugin in England and that Romantic movement in Germany which is identified with the completion of the cathedral of Cologne and the names of Joseph Görres, its philosopher, and August Reichensperger, its preceptor.

II.

The mediæval cathedral, house of prayer, museum, gallery of art works, in whatever way we look at, it was the great popular enterprise of that period. It arose gradually, through several generations, and is the true mirror of the ideals and endeavors of our mediæval ancestors. It furnished employment for the major part of the city's craftsmen. It stirred up rivalry and ingenuity, and brought together on one site a multitude of workers whose combined experience alone could raise such buildings. Industry and commerce flourished around it, good taste was exercised and developed by it—the great triumphs of painting and sculpture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are only the flowering of the good seed planted in the twelfth and thirteenth. The life of every family in the city was intimately bound up with the great monument that they had helped to build. Its windows held the portraits of their ancestors. Their arms were blazoned on many a glorious rose or chancel-light, while before the altar lay buried their parents and relatives. When Adam Krafft raised his ineffably beautiful slender tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament at Nürnberg, that reaches from floor to ceiling of the great church, he built it on the backs of bronze figures of himself and his assistants, each with his master's apron and tools. From his workshop to the altar of God there was but a step in his life-time. And he wished it to be so forever.

It is the cathedral that kept alive good handiwork, for all the domestic architecture, all civic and military architecture, of the period is based on the religious, and only follows it, imitates it. The castle, the fortress, the city palace, the town hall, the gates, the bridges, the guild-houses all the civic buildings, copy their ornaments and decoration from the workshops of the cathedral, when, indeed, they were not built by the same architects and workmen. There they found the infinite variety of decoration, the models of bronze and iron-work, the perfect forms of pointed window and stone mullion, the proportion of stories and cornice, the proper precautions for the roof and the eaves, the charming system of fresco-coloring and painted tile-work that lent to every old mediæval town, like Bruges or Freiburg, its haunting spiritualesque beauty, its distinctive *cachet* of personality.

This helps to explain another peculiarity of the great Gothic cathedrals. They had no architects in our modern sense of the word. There was, indeed, a great head whose general plans were known and followed out. But it was a time of *master workmen.* Every one fit to do any responsible work on the building was a finished artist in his own line. Moreover, he had usually a heart and an imagination, those true sources of spontaneity and inventiveness. He had a personal fondness for his work, and a great pride in being a responsible agent in the common undertaking. The individual workmen had much freedom in the execution of their details, a circumstance that aided notably in impressing an air of distinction, a stamp of personal inventive finish on every line and member of the work. Around such buildings as Strasburg and Paris, that were slowly carried to completion, arose *practical schools* of superior masonry, joiner and cabinet work, framing and mortising, carving in wood and stone. Originally all the workmen formed one great corporation, but in time the painters and the sculptors became conscious of their own importance, and established independent guilds or crafts. So with the others. But their real apprenticeship had been on the huge pile that overtopped everything in the city, and their best master-pieces were long to be seen only there. Sometimes one family worked for two hundred years or more at one particular line of occupation in the same building. Thus, all the mosaic altars in the great Certosa at Pavia were built from father to son for two hundred years by the Sacchi family. A moment's reflection will show that in such cases we almost touch with the hand the original workmen of the the thirteenth century. Elsewhere, in northern Italy, one family built during three hundred years nearly all the fine churches of a whole extensive neighborhood.

It is not enough that we should know how a great cathedral got itself built up. It is well to know how it was administered and kept together. After all, it was a center of good government, when good government was rare. At its head stood the bishop, elected for life. He was often a sovereign temporal authority, like the Bishop of Durham in England, or the great German elector-bishops of Cologne, Trier and Maintz. In any case his authority was the source of all rights, and his will the normal spring of administration. For many centuries all his clerics lived with him, ate at the same table, and slept under the same roof. The temporal goods of the see were under the supervision of an officer known as the archdeacon who also looked after the clergy. A cathedral school, where boys were brought up as in a seminary, where the young choristers were trained, was attached to the building. Other buildings were close by, apartments for the clergy of the cathedral, a house for the guests, the pilgrims, the poor penitent traveling to Rome or to Saint James in Spain. In England, a noble circular hall, whose roof was upheld by a single pillar, was affected to the meetings of the clergy and to the synods. Numerous officials were on the personnel of the cathedral—a master of the choir or precentor, a very important office, a chancellor or legal adviser and officer of the diocese, a treasurer, a dean or head of the chapter with its numerous priests or canons bound to sing the psalms at fixed times during the day, and to carry on the services of the cathedral according to the laws of the church. A great number of laymen were usually attached to such a building—caretakers, janitors, laborers, bailiffs, messengers—sometimes the family of the bishop ran up to many hundred heads. A great wall was often drawn about the whole establishment, and the gates closed and patrolled at night as in a little fortress. With daybreak began the round of divine service that almost never ceased, the space between the High Mass and the Evensong or Vespers being filled up with many minor and local ceremonies of great interest—in England, *e. g.*, the distribution of the Holy Loaf, the chanting of the lovely Bidding Prayer, or public petitions for divine mercy, the calling over from the pulpit of the Bede-Roll or names of dead benefactors, the chanting of litanies, the conduct of processions, and a hundred and one forms of religious life that kept the entire clerical force on their feet the livelong day. Besides the varied religious life of the cathedral itself, there was the wonderful social life without—the weekly market, the peddlers and tradesmen, the alehouse that often belonged to the church, the great breweries for a people who seldom drank water, like the English and the Germans, the children at their games, the smithies wide open and resounding, the granaries and stores of the bishop. Between that cathedral and the next great church, there were only hamlets, some monasteries, small ones maybe, and an occasional nobleman's castle perched inaccessible on some high crag. As a matter of fact, here were the original elements of mediæval civil life, here the germs out of which grew first most mediæval cities and small states of Europe, and then our own civilization. When a man of learning and distinction, of high birth and great piety, like a Grosseteste of Lincoln, or a Maurice de Sully of Paris, or an Engelbert of Cologne, presided over such a work, one can imagine how close to ideal contentment the life of his people could come.

III.

The decorations and furniture of the cathedral corresponded to the beauty of the structure. The altar arose on marble or bronze columns, sometimes resting on couchant lions or on human figures. Reliefs in marble or bronze decorated it.

The costliest embroideries and laces were made for it; stuffs of gold brocade, and ornamented with precious stones, were hung upon it, worth a king's ransom. Embroidered frames, richly painted panels, were often used to embellish it on high festivals. Often a great baldacchino, or open roof, held up by columns of costly material covered it. In Germany and elsewhere the altar worked gradually back from the front line to the wall of the apse, whither the relics were taken. In time they were put upon the altar itself, and thus arose the elegant reredos. It is all visible in the painted folding-doors that may yet be seen—lovely work by the schools of Cologne or of Bruges, of Hans Memling, or Albert Dürer. The chalices of silver and gold were gems of artistic skill, covered with precious stones, engraved in niello, heavy with pearls and mosaic, decorated in arabesque or filigree. Though the smallest of them was of inestimable value, yet the richest was looked on as all too unfit for the holy service it rendered. From being round and large they became tall and slender, according as they were more immediately for the personal use of the celebrant. The ciborium for the communion of the people, the pyx for the communion of the sick, the monstrance for the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, were each a new object for the artist's taste and the generosity of the donor. For all of them the pointed arch of the Gothic fixed the shape and the details. The Mass and service books were of enormous size, made of the finest parchment, illuminated by the deftest hands, bound and ornamented with lavish fondness and a skill never since surpassed. Every vessel that was in any way connected with the eucharistic service became at once an art-object—the censer, the cruets, the basin and even the candlesticks and candelabra, the mass bells, the portable crosses, the reliquaries. Even when done in iron or brass, like the massive lecterns, these objects affected the most exquisite forms, and were the starting point of the loveliest work that later generations expended on domestic interiors, or on buildings devoted to civic purposes. The baptismal fonts, round or octagonal, offered the sculptor an interesting field for his inventive genius, and even the well, always found in the cathedral cloister or close, was often seized on for purposes of sculptural decoration. The empty spaces in the cathedral were gradually filled with splendid family tombs of marble or bronze, on which the symbolism of religion and heraldry disputed the palm with the truth and vividness of portraiture and history. The dead bishop and his canons were in time remembered for their services or their legacies. Thus every cathedral was soon a city of the dead, where the effigies of priest and layman, of abbess and noble dame, looked down from their silent places on the ebb and flow of the human life that they had once graced and enlivened. Never was there a more moving and romantic lesson of the transient nature of life than these great cathedral-spaces in their first days when the dead builders stared on the living, and the living felt that day by day they were only drawing closer to the beloved dead. Over them all there is even yet something of a sacrosanct Christian fondness—the knight cherishes yet his falcon or his hound; at the feet of the sweet châtelaine is yet carved the little spaniel, the companion of her leisure and the witness of her womanly virtues.

The railings of the choir, and the screens to separate it from the people; the screens for the altar itself; the pulpit, the tabernacle, the reading desks for the daily office; the organ fronts, the stalls for the canons, the marble pavement, the entire furnature of the cathedral, were turned over to the artists as an inexhaustible province for their skill and genius.

Two great arts formed a congenial home in the Gothic cathedral—the art of painting and the art of sculpture. The mediæval man was color-mad. We see the relics of his great monuments in a faded or colorless garb. When they issued from the hands of the architects and artists they were far different. The roof of the cathedral was finished in colored tiles—red, blue, green—often in tasty designs. The walls within were tinted in fresh and pleasing colors, the carvings of the capitals brought out in red and blue and bold; in the vaults the groined ribs of stone were similarly treated, the doorways were painted and gilded; the pavements often done in mosaic, or in geometric patterns of colored marbles; the ceilings a deep blue, often dotted with little golden stars. Compositions of great size often adorned the vacant spaces—here the Madonna and Child, there Saint Christopher bearing the

Christ-Child, here the Dance of Death with its stern comment on the vanity of human life, elsewhere the prophets and apostles, or martyrs and holy virgins and confessors, met the eye. Sometimes the interior is cold and severe, as at Marburg, and again a great blaze of blue and gold and red as at Assisi. It was the experience thus gained that prepared the way for the lovely Madonnas of the artists of Cologne and Bruges in the fifteenth century, the work of a Master Schöngauer and a Hans Memling, without which a Dürer and a Raphael would be unintelligible.

Nevertheless, the real immortal painting of the Gothic cathedral is not the fresco, no matter how perfect. It is always somewhat out of place and distracts the attention from the sublime simplicity of the architectural lines, from the religious severity of the tall open arches and the sombre masses of stone. Its true and natural painting is the great glass window. Indeed, when finished, a genuine Gothic monument is like a vast transparent house of glass. Originally the aim of the artist in colored glass was to give the impression of a great piece of tapestry covering the open space and toning down the garish light of day. Such tapestries had been much used in the earlier Romanesque churches, and were one great source for artistic education in the numerous nunneries. The bits of glass were put together like a mosaic, each a separate bit, and leaded to one another. All drawing was in outline. It was a handsome shining tapestry that the artists desired to produce, and such is always the effect of the best glass as at Chartres and Cologne. Later, as the windows became only frames for the imitation of painting in oil, the original artistic reason of the great glass windows was forgotten. The accessory had become the principal.

IV.

Although in the treatment of artistic glass, as in other details, there was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a rapid decline of intelligence and pure taste, one great effect was retained in every church that could at all call itself Gothic —an abundance of light, but toned down, softened, robbed of all its heat and blare and vulgarity. An air of religious mystery was thus created throughout the vast building, in which all things were seen indeed, but dimly and with a constant suggestion of the beyond, of a glory and a majesty to which these walls were but the vestibule. The city streets usually led up to the great portals of the cathedral, so much so that in time the lofty transept became almost a highway for the ordinary foot-traffic of the community. The mighty collective work of the population was ever in their very heart, a thing of beauty and joy, all fresh and sharp in its carved surfaces, all grace and slender elegance in the upward sweep of its arches, its roof, its towers and spires, all solidity in its immovable piers and locked buttresses, all variety in the flashing colors of the tiled roofs and spires, the native hues of the local freestone or granite, the broken lines of the external framework, all utility in the thousand uses of daily life for which little by little every member of the splendid pile had been excogitated, all harmony in the blending of imperishable material, plastic forms, molding genius—one mighty architectonic idea imprisoned, but barely imprisoned, throbbing night and day with a celestial music akin to that which the starry spheres are said to emit in their courses. Its glorious chimes flung out the praises of God from a perfect metal, the like of which has never been reproduced in later centuries. But the showering melodies that they loosened in the upper air were as silence compared with the voice of the vast mass itself. It was one great psalm of praise and prayer—the incarnation, as it were, of the divine psalmody that went ceaselessly on beneath its fretted and painted vaults. Not without reason has such a building been called a poem in stone. No ordinary poem indeed, but a solemn epic, in which all the uses of life are transfigured, smelted into unity, uplifted and set in living contact with the Common Father in Heaven. Chartres and Amiens, Rheims and Rouen, Cologne and Marburg, are as surely the interpreters of Catholicism in the Middle Ages as St. Thomas and Dante—nay, in one sense more so—for such solitary voices appealed largely to the reason, or to the reasoning fancy, whereas the Gothic cathedral soars at once beyond the weak discursive or analytic methods, appeals at once to the common heart of the city, the multitude, to all its common emotions, all its collective experiences. It calls out all the idealism latent in the most sluggish soul. The history of the Catholic Church seen from the proper view point, is one of her greatest arguments, one of the deepest sources of her theology and her discipline. But its true folios are not the dusty volumes that lie upon the shelves of libraries. They are rather those great religious buildings of the Middle Ages, every one of which was a forum for the broadest discussions that could engage human thought, every one of which is as a leaf in the annals of her civilizing energy. Who can look upon the white head of Shasta and not feel that peace descends upon him and enfolds him with her wings? So no one can suffer the vision of Strasburg or Freiburg, and not experience a great stilling of the heart, a sensation as of a mother resting her soft palm on one's fevered brow and looking into the eyes unutterable thoughts of pity and consolation and relief.

What is the cause of this sentiment so universal that it cannot be gainsaid? It is something similar to the power exercised over the imagination by a battlefield, an Austerlitz or Waterloo, by the ruins of some great city, Carthage or Antioch or Rome. There the most awful experiences of man with man have gradually but inseparably blended with the surroundings. Here the dealings of God with man lend an unspeakable dignity to the scene of such great mysteries. For centuries the Saviour of mankind has dwelt beneath those holy roofs until every detail, every ornament, every element has become in some way familiar with Him. For centuries the sacraments of the Catholic Church have been administered at those altars, and her solemn services have resounded in every corner of those vast edifices. For centuries a public worship, the offering of the whole heart of man—the act of the society as of the family—has developed and grown in manifold novelty and charm. In all this long time those huge spaces have been the meeting places of heaven and earth, and if some of the dust and stain of the material garment of man still cling to them, they are also full to overflowing of angelic presences and divine emanations. If the muddy currents of life have left their irregular line along the foundations there cling to every altar and shrine countless sighs of genuine repentance, of ecstatic fondness for Jesus, of longing to be one with Him. There is everywhere the aroma of human tears, and human sorrows that are beyond the poor relief of tears. There are the cries of oppressed innocence, of hunted virtue, of outraged justice, of equity foiled and scorned. If each of these noble buildings is a museum, a gallery, immeasurably more instructive than the big lumber-rooms which are dignified with such titles, it is also a battlefield, where the wrestlings of the spirit and the conquests of grace fill out the conflict.

Of our poor little lives, made up of the smiles of joy and the tears of woe, the greater part is generally concern and solicitude. Still, there is the usual percentage of recreation and merriment, without which each heart would cease to be social, and life become an utter burden. So it came about that the Gothic cathedral was not all a creation of unrelieved earnestness. True religion though grave and thoughtful, is also joyous and refined. It has ever been a note of genuine Catholicism that it is in many things the enemy of the extreme, the philosophy of moderation. In its palmiest days the Gothic architecture made a place for the humorous and grotesque, unconsciously perhaps, but instinctively. It was truly the expression of real life, public and private. So, with photographic accuracy, every side of that life must be reproduced. By a great and natural law that ran through the building from cornerstone to spire, everything must be not only useful, but beautiful, must be treated and finished artistically. For instance the ugly water spouts, originally of lead and marble, ran out eventually into monstrous heads known as gargoyles. All the fabled and fantastic beasts of the imagination were made to do similar service. The horror of sin, the reign of Satan, were here symbolized in a way that was dear to the mediæval mind, quite attached to the external and visible, inexperienced in the realm of pure reason and cold exact logic. Here were sermons in stone for the peasant as he looked up on market day at the vast parapet of Rheims or Strasburg. Similarly in a thousand corners of the building the free-working fancy of the artist moulded itself in a multitude of caricatures either personal or symbolical. Sometimes the carving monk cut out a hideous head of his abbot, guilty of too severe principles, too much addicted to penances of bread and water. Sometimes the workmen made ridiculous figures of one another or gave flight to pure invention in the reign of the grotesque. Oftener, however, some general law of symbolism runs beneath all these excrescences of humor. The mediæval man was very much addicted to satire of a drastic type. He must see his victim wince and writhe, must know that the stripe cut into the bone. Yet it was a very healthy thing, and if the clergy, as the ruling power, got their share, perhaps more than their just share, they did not complain. The severest caricatures are precisely on the carved seats of the great choir where the bishop and his priests might gaze almost hourly on them and remember that the world had eyes and ears and a good smart tongue, even if it did not know Latin and could only pray on its beads. The cunning fox come to grief, the gaunt robber wolf laid low, the vanity of gluttony and impurity, the fate of pride and injustice, the shame of meanness and avarice, the comic effects of sloth and stupidity—all these and many other moral lessons were thereon written so large that he must be deaf indeed for whom the stone and wood of his very seat did not daily preach a convincing lesson, did not daily rouse the voice of conscience and the longing for a better life.

V.

Where did the funds come from that built these mighty edifices? Not a few were put up by royal generosity; others by public taxation. But even in such cases, individual help was solicited and given very largely. We have yet the account-books of some of these enterprises, and the entries are very curious. Much of the material—the marble, granite, brick, wood, was contributed gratis. A multitude of peasants offered their horses and oxen and carts to transport the same, and when they were too poor to own such property, they gave their time and labor. Women and children even stood by to contribute such help as their weak hands might offer. Every one felt that here a solemn act of religion was going on, something that transcended all ordinary enterprises. With that strong collective sense that the Church has developed, they moved on, as one man, to the creation of a monument that should bear the stamp of faith—immortality, eternity. Hundreds of noble churches were built in this way, even in small villages. To build a large and lovely house of God, and to dwell within the shadow of its graceful spire, was the one common purpose of every community from Sicily to Norway. One deep vivifying current of religion surged through all Europe, and where it passed, edifices of the highest beauty arose, each an incarnation of profound religious temperament, each a phase of a social life that recognized gratefully the existence of God as the Father of Human Society, and the public duty of the latter to Him. The very poorest contributed—on the account-books you may yet see how one gave a bed, another a coat. The knight sacrificed his gilded helmet and his blade of Damascus, with his coat-of-mail. The parish priest gave up his tithes, the curate his modest salary. The lady sent in her laces and jewelry, the women of the people their little heirlooms of gold or silver, even such neat and desirable articles of clothing as they possessed. The farmer gave his best cow; the peddler offered a choice trinket. The serf came up with his weekly wages. And when men and women were too poor to give anything as individuals, they clubbed together in little associations. Their pennies soon swelled to silver, and the silver was turned into gold, and with the gold they cast in their hearts, and so the stones of the building got each a tongue that is yet eloquent with praise of the popular devotion. Much of the money was gotten by the weekly auction of these articles that was carried on in the public square by the foreman of the works. Indeed, the whole enterprise was like a majestic social song, a solemn hymn, whose notes rose slowly and sweetly from the earth to heaven, telling of the transformation of avarice into open-handedness, of coarseness into refinement, of selfishness into altruism, of blank ignorance and stupidity into a creative faith. Prayer and adoration, propitiation and gratitude, were finely blended in the great popular chorus. King and serf, princess and milkmaid, pope and poor sacristan—the whole of Europe moved in a vast procession before the throne of Jesus Christ, and cast each a stone on the memorial pile of religion. And, for the first time, the quasi-divine hand of art, made infinitely cunning, transformed these crude offerings into ten thousand caskets of rarest beauty, out of which rose forever the spiritual incense of love, the ravishing aroma of adoration, the delicate perfumes of humility and human charity, the sweet odor of self-sacrifice. For a short time in the history of mankind art was truly a popular thing, truly an energizing, softening influence on the common heart. Insensibly artistic skill became common and native. The hand of the European man was born plastic and artistic. His eye was saturated with the secrets of color, his imagination crowded with the glories of form in line and curve, in mass and sweep. His own surroundings were insensibly dominated by the spirit of pure beauty. He was once more a Greek, only born again in Jesus, and seeing now, with the divinely soft eyes of the God-Man, a spiritual world of beauty that Phidias and Praxiteles may have suspected, but only in the vaguest manner.

VI.

Who were the actual workmen on the cathedrals? They were built by corporations of workingmen known as guilds. In the Middle Ages all life was organized, was corporative. As religion was largely carried on by the corporations of monks and friars, so the civic life and its duties were everywhere in the hands of corporations. It was not exactly a government of the multitude—that was abhorrent to the men of that time. It was rather an aristocratic democracy, a kind of government in which men shared authority and power, according to the stake they had in the state, according to their personal intelligence and skill, and their personal utility or serviceableness to the common weal.

These building-corporations or guilds arose out of the very ancient unions of the stone-masons. Perhaps, very probably, these unions were never destroyed even by the first shock of barbarian conquests. On its very morrow palaces and churches and public buildings had to go up or be restored. It is certain that capable hands were forthcoming. In any case, the master-masons were more than mere stone-cutters. They were artists in the truest sense of the word. They must know the capacities of their material, its uses, its appliances, from the moment it is hewn out of the earth to the moment it shines in the wall, all elegance and strength. They were at once engineers and architects, designers and contractors. They are known simply as "Master"—no more. Master Arnulf builds the cathedral of Florence, Master Giotto builds its lovely tower or Campanile. The masters are all bound together in a lifelong union. Their apprentices serve a long term of years, but they serve on all parts of the building. They can handle the trowel or the chisel, the pencil and brush, as well as the jackplane and the hammer. Never was there so unique and so uplifting an education of the senses as that of the mediæval apprentice. One day he will appear in the weekly meeting of the guild, and exhibit some object that he has himself made. It must be useful, and it must be beautiful. It must differ from all similar work, must have an air of distinction, be something highly personal and characteristic. This is the *master-piece,* the proof that he is fit to apply for work in London or Dublin, Paris or Milan. It may be a hinge or a door-knob, a carved head or a tool, a curious bit of framing or a specimen of filigree. It is judged by the criteria I have mentioned, judged by his peers and elders. If accepted, he passes into their society, and is assured of occupation for his lifetime.

He will now attend the meetings, pay his dues to support the sick and crippled members, assist with advice and help at the general consultations, devote his whole time and being to the progress of the cathedral. Whether stone-cutter, carver, joiner, ironsmith, goldsmith, cabinet-maker, it is all one. The building arts are equal, ensouled by one spirit, and aiming at one end. For the present, there is but one corporation on the building. It includes all the workers, and is divided into masters, apprentices and administration. This is the Lodge, the Bauhütte, the Laubia or covered cloister—like the covered walk quite common in North Italian cities—where the finer carving was done, the plans kept and studied, and moneys taken in, the wages paid out, and the whole work or "opera" administered. The shed that yet protects our stone-masons when engaged at a public work, is the modern equivalent of the mediæval Lodge.

On signing the articles of the union or guild, he will learn that it is intensely religious, that he must attend mass Sundays and holy days, lead a moral and Catholic life, abstain from swearing, drunkenness and immorality. He will learn that the guild supports its own chapel and priest to say an early mass daily for them. He will be told that the Lodge or workshop is like a hall of justice, where the rights of each man, above all his free personality, must be respected. He will learn that all teaching is free to apprentices, and that, while there is a preference for the sons or relatives of the masters, natural aptitude and vocation are especially sought for. All this he will learn at Ely or Peterborough as well as at Toledo or Burgos.

Each guild was under the protection of the Blessed Trinity and some saint. It had solemn services once a year in honor of its patron. It buried solemnly its members, and held anniversary services. Gradually its own chapel became the center of its religious life, whose details were carried on by its own priests. Religion covered every act of its corporate life—and in the palmy days of the great guilds, their self-consciousness was striking. They bowed to the bishop, indeed, and the pope, king or emperor, who were often included as members of their roll-call—but he was, indeed, a strong parish priest or abbot whose authority they consented to acknowledge.

In the guild meetings, a regular and perfect administration, of great probity and equity, went on, almost without remuneration. The number of apprentices, the time of their service and the degree of their graduation, the quality and quantity of work in each line, the disputes and quarrels between all workmen, the wages and the sick dues, the charity allowances, the expenses of religion, of feasts and amusements, of public contributions—all these came up in due order, and were one open source of popular education for the uses of real life.

The guild, being a principal element of the civic life, soon had its badges of office, its mace and golden collar, its chains and rings, its great drinking horns and table plate of gold and silver, its countless beautiful masterpieces. It grew rich in lands and revenues, and was a factor to be counted with in every great struggle of the municipal life. In Italy the guilds play a principle rôle in the fierce historical warfare of Guelf and Ghibelline, the adherents of the pope and the partisans of the emperor. They are concerned in every social and political movement, sometimes on the right side, sometimes on the wrong, and it is largely in their history that must be studied the fatal decay of the democratic spirit of the High Middle Ages.

It is not my purpose to treat of their decline, and the reasons for it—that chapter of their history is highly instructive even now. Suffice it to know that they were the real builders of the cathedral, that the principles and spirits of genuine Christian brotherhood were long the bond that held them together, that they were the creation of Catholicism at the height of its earthly power, that they looked on mutual respect and helpfulness as essential to society, that they held labor to be the noblest of human things, that they looked on beauty as an essential of true labor, its smile of contentment, its act of divine adoration; that they were guided by a sense of moderation and fairness in all their dealings; that waste of time and dilapidation of material were looked on as sinful and shameful; that in them each man felt himself a living self-determining element, a member of the whole work, and threw himself into it with a vigor and earnestness, at once entire and affectionate.

Thus the building arose in an atmosphere of religion, all its lines laid by men to whom its future uses were sacred, whose families threw back into the common treasury the surplus of the master's earnings. It was a great trust that was laid on the city—and its execution brought out in the citizens many of the virtues that a trust creates—a sense of responsibility, prudential measures, economic foresight, calm and large and disinterested counsel. In as far as we inherit many distinctive traits of this kind from our ancestors, it is the mediæval church-building that helped originally to create them.

VII.

In her great cathedrals, therefore, the Catholic Church has created durable edifices of popular utility and perfect beauty. The old philosophers used to say that the beautiful was the splendor of the true, in which case the truth of Catholicism as the genuine religion of the people would be amply vouched for. All the arts are dependent on architecture, and conditioned by it. Without its great spaces, there is neither monumental painting nor sculpture, neither music in its highest forms, nor the dramatic movement of public worship. In creating the noble cathedrals of Europe, Catholicism thus created the fine arts, or at least was their nurse and protector. Music, indeed, is absolutely her creation, and can never utterly break away from its original home, however wild and wayward it may seem. It is not the pipes of Pan nor the songs of Apollo that echo even in our most debased modern music. It is the psalm of David, the canticle of the martyr, the praiseful hymn of the morning and the calm, sad song of evening. The cathedral was the workshop of Catholicism during the Middle Ages. It was vast because she had the whole city to train up. It was open on all sides, because she was the common mother of civil society. It was high because she aimed at uplifting both mind and heart, and making for them a level just below the angelical and celestial. It was manifold in its members and elements, for she permeated all society and challenged every activity and every interest. It was all lightsome and soaring, because it was the spiritual mountain top, whence the soul could take its flight to the unseen world of light and joy. It was long drawn out because the long journey of life ends happily only for those who rest in Jesus. It lay everywhere cruciform on the earth, for the shadow of the cross falls henceforth over all humanity, blessing, enfolding, saving. Never did any institution create a monument that more thoroughly expressed its own scope and aims than the Catholic religion, when it uplifted the great mediæval cathedrals. It is said that since the unity of Christendom was broken at the Reformation, no more harmonious bells have been cast, like those of the Middle Ages. So, too, no more great cathedrals have arisen—in more senses than one the mould was broken from whence they came, the deep, universal, practical, intensely spiritual faith of humanity that for once transcended race and nation, set aside the particular and discordant, and created things of absolute harmony, and therefore of beauty as absolute as man may evoke from the objects of sense.

Thomas J. Shahan.

A DEFINITION OF LITERATURE.

It is very hard to find even a working definition of literature. Literature is so closely the expression of life, and the changing conditions of life, that we can hardly limit it, except by life itself. And a working definition must have limitations, though it may not entirely cover the thing intended to be defined. To the Greeks of Athens and the Romans of the city of Augustus, it meant the imitation of elegant models; to us it means the expression of the phenomena of life in the form of written words.

We can understand the meaning of literature only by studying the effects of ethical, social, political movements upon life; and this is best done through the literatures of peoples subject to their changes. The body of Hebrew literature, through which God himself has spoken, is the history of the Jewish people. If it were merely the clear dry annals of the Jewish people, it would be history, not literature. But when we find the minds of David and Job revealed in words, we have essential history, but something more than a mere annal, which is not literature.

Literature, as far as it can be described to-day, is more than the reflection of life; and it is much more than it seemed to be to the Athenian Greeks, the Augustan Romans, the French of the time of Richelieu, or the Italians of the Renaissance; for, in their eyes, it was a narrow thing, capable of rigid definition. It was not what they imagined it to be, and they—as the "Poetics of Aristotle" and its imitations show us—did not really succeed in defining it. It was always elusive, in spite of their fine rhetorical terms. They pursued it, as Apollo pursued Daphne, only, when they came near, to find that the nymph had turned into a bay tree. To them, literature was a Galatea, who, by all the rules, should have been marble, but who, under the very eyes of the critic, amazed him by assuming the life and incomprehensible fantasies of the universal woman.

Literature in general, when we attempt to define it, becomes as elusive as the highest of its forms, which is poetry. Literature reflects life, in all its phases, to use a trite comparison, as some of the old Gothic cathedrals reflect life—from the agonizing figure on the rood screen to the grinning gargoyles on the roof and the vile little demons—the seven deadly sins—carved on the backs of the remote stalls. It has its spires that spring up as high as the clouds, and its crawling things of the earth, symbolical of the vices of the people that produce it. Its form changes, not only with every great impulse of force, but with every slight change of emotion. It expresses, it illuminates, it interprets; it cannot exist without thought, but it is more than thought. It is not philosophy, but it is impregnated with the effects of philosophy. It is not logic or metaphysics, or ethics; but it cannot exist in perfection without a logical basis—and it partakes of metaphysics and ethics. It is neither scientia in the old sense—for pure and colorless truth cannot be literature—or science in the new; yet it exists through truth, and its phenomena are best explained by the methods of science. It is not history, yet it is the beginning of history. It is not the personal word alone, yet the personal word is necessary to its existence. As I said, it is not ethics, yet it expresses the morality of the nation whose life it interprets. It is minutely personal—personality is one of its essences, and yet it represents better than anything else the national life.

It has made war and restored peace; it has raised men to the shining feet of God and led them to hell "to the lascivious pulsings of the lute." Dryden, in "Alexander's Feast," manifests the power of music, but it was not music alone that appealed to the great Alexander; it was literature allied to music—the soul of the body.

The definitions of literature are as numerous and as inadequate as those offered for poetry; and they have given rise to as many misunderstandings. These misunderstandings have induced certain modern scientists to scorn literature as lawless, and to assume the very language of literature to express their jibes. Not always to assume it with grace, but, at any rate, to use it, in order to be heard by all. These jeering scientists have this, at least, in common with the God they doubt—that they, unconsciously imitating Him, took the form of literature when they spoke to man. And the more literary they are, the more the world heeds them. These misunderstandings have led that most methodical and scientific man of letters, Ferdinand Brunetière, to assert that science is bankrupt; it has enormous assets—assets so great that it need not apply to the theologians for the certification of its cheques. Its bad reputation is entirely due to the fact that certain of its stockholders have forced drafts on that great theological establishment which it can neither dominate nor destroy.

Literature is not, as Mr. Louis Stevenson once defined it, a mere *fille de joie,* to be enjoyed and cast aside—a *ballade* for the ears of the banquetting prince, a precious *rondeau* for the languid lady in the balcony. Literature is not, as Cardinal Newman implies, only the personal use of language. It is not as Mr. Matthew Arnold would have us believe, the ethics of the philosophy of life. It is not as Mr. Swinburne insists, at its culmination, only imagination and harmony.

In his "Comparative Literature," Professor Posnett says that works of literature, whether in verse or prose, "are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest number of the nation rather than instruction and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than specialized knowledge." Mr. Posnett goes on to say that "every element of this definition clearly depends on the limited spheres of social and mental evolution—the separation of imagination from experience, of didactic purpose from æsthetic pleasure, and that specialization of knowledge which is so largely due to the economic development known as 'division of labor.'"

We will, I am sure, all consent to the assertion that the value of literature must be sought for in inherent personal qualities, and its source must be looked for in human nature rather than in artful rules gathered from the examination of classic books. We are sure, too, that the maxims of Aristotle—those I mean which are not founded on human nature's love of contrast, hatred of monotony and the desire to be taken out of the bounds of self—fail to indicate the scientific bases of literature because they force the material to suit the shape of the mould they impose. We have gone beyond the blind acceptance of the old standards to which the epic, the tragedy and the lyric were forced to

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adjust themselves. It is as impossible to use them to-day as it is impossible to turn our uninflected English into genuine hexameters. On close comparison with the thing defined, Professor Posnett's definition proves as unsatisfactory as hitherto all definitions have proved.

Let us consider those manifestations of the life of the soul on which he founds this definition. However we may differ in opinion as to the relative value of other works of high literary art, there is only one opinion about Dante's "Inferno." You may argue about the "Purgatorio," or the "Paradiso," if you will. You may insist, too, that Milton's "Paradise Regained" is a failure; but you must admit the eminence of "Paradise Lost." No cultivated man will deny the masterly qualities of the first part of "Faust," though he may be reserved in his admiration of the second. It is agreed that the "Inferno," "Paradise Lost," and the first part of "Faust" are noble works of literature. And it is plain that the object or the effect of these three masterpieces is not to give pleasure —that higher pleasure of which even the Utilitarians admit the existence. The object of Dante was beyond and above the giving of pleasure. When Milton pondered and wrought until "dim suffusion" veiled his orbs, it was not to give pleasure to the greatest number. And who really believes that Keats, wrapt in the vision of Diana and Endymion, spoke with the Utilitarian purpose? And who, knowing how Maurice de Guerin wrote the "*Centaure*" for God, silence and himself, can fail to see that some of the greatest things of literature owe their existence to the desire to express and yet not to communicate?

There are great poems like "Sordello" and the "Ring and the Book" of Browning, that are beyond the liking or understanding of the greatest number. If we leave out the author's intention and consider only the matter of effect, we find, in the sonnets of Shakespere, great literature so personal and yet so appealing, that the interpreters far exceed in number those to whom its beauty clearly speaks. That flower of lyrical literature, the "Epithalamium" of Spencer touches only the few. Admitting that the Inferno is literature, and, leaving out the question as to whether it appeals to many or not, we cannot help seeing that Professor Posnett's definition does not touch it. I accentuate his definition because it is largely accepted and because Professor Posnett assumes that it is scientific. It is evident that in the ''Inferno'' Dante aimed at ''instruction and practical effects''; it is evident that he attained his object by illuminating his processes with imagination and harmony; and yet, if we accept this very modern definition, Dante and Milton must be exiled, as Plato would have exiled all the poets —but for a different reason.

When Orlando carved the name of Rosalind on the bark of the oaks in the forest of Arden, he felt the impulse of many poets—yet he made the name only for silence and himself. Literature cannot be judged as literature by the Utilitarian criterion. To make it a matter for the suffrage of the greatest number is to take it into the ground now occupied by politics. A literary man crowned by the universal suffrage of the American people—if the elect did not mercifully intimidate voters—would be, for all time, a pleasing example of mediocrity.

With the beginning of the new century, the worship of Goethe has taken new vigor. On all sides ascend thick incense clouds to the manes of the many-sided. But why is Goethe acclaimed? Because of the æsthetic pleasure his lyrics give—because of the purely romantic qualities of ''Goetz,'' or the imaginative glow of ''Faust''? Not at all—though these qualities, too, are acclaimed—but because, in his works are said to be found the germs of modern scientific development. He is not regarded as less than a poet for this or less of a man of letters, but as more of a poet and more of a maker of literature. A great part of his claim on the modern mind rests, then, on the very qualities which Professor Posnett eliminates from literature. But, Dante, the poet philosopher who expressed Aristotle and Saint Thomas and all the science of his day, who founded the study of Comparative Philology, would not be lowered in the scale of literature, if all his erudition were plucked from him. Erudition or science or experience are only unpoetical when the poet is too small for the weight he attempts to carry. But Dante was able to give harmony and the imaginative nimbus and symmetry and color to both abstractions and facts. There are poems great in themselves, which are all compact of harmony and imagination—for example, Shelley's "Ode to the Skylark," Keat's "Grecian Urn," Lanier's "Centennial Ode," Patmore's "Ode to the Body." These may be covered by this definition, and still, the mystical bases of one of them, founded on philosophy and theology, come perilously near to ruling it out.

Permit me to repeat Professor Posnett's definition. It is found on page eighteen of his "Comparative Literature."[1] Literature consists "of works which, whether in verse or prose, are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest possible number of the nation rather than instruction and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than to specialized knowledge."

If we deny the value of this definition, how can literature be defined? I am not sure that the big word literature can be defined at all—I am not certain that the great and everchanging subject it stands for will ever be rigidly described. But it seems to me that to-day literature is the expression in writing of thought, experience, observation, emotion, mood, knowledge personally expressed. Newman comes very near to this in his definition of style. Scientia, pure and simple, is not literature. There is no personal expression in the Apostle's Creed, though the personal pronoun is used for the will that accepts scientia. The Apostle's Creed is not literature; it belongs wholly to no one person; it is universal. The epical Isaas, the pastoral Ruth, the lyrical David, are literature. And close are the relations of this literature to the spiritual life.

Darwin's book on the "Descent of Man" is literature, but not of the highest kind. Newman's "Grammar of Assent" is literature, but not of so high a kind as his more personal "Apologia." Tyndall's "Lectures" are literature—more so, from the point of view of style, than Herbert Spencer's. Froude's "History of England" is literature, differing from the two last mentioned books, because it is of the literature of fiction and because it is altogether finer in its expression. Lingard, on the contrary, made good history, but poor literature. The circle of science does not touch the circle of literature when science expresses itself impersonally—anything personally expressed and not inconsistent with the genius of its language is literature; but the degrees of literature differ as the faintest nebulæ from the flashing constellations. This is as far as I can go in trying to describe literature.

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[1] "Comparative Literature," by H. Macaulay Posnett. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1896. "The Science of Comparative Literature," H. Macaulay Posnett, *The Contemporary Review*, 1901.

But life is the pulse of literature—literature marks the movements of the tendencies of life. It progresses as the individual progresses; it progresses as the nation progresses. And yet this progress, so far as the nation is concerned, has frequently ceased; it has ceased even before the death of the nation. The literature of a nation that has been great never dies. Plutarch and Seneca have influenced minds, Theocritus and Horace have influenced hearts more than Cæsar or Augustus ever influences mind or hearts. Life has always turned towards God, and literature echoing life has always written the symbol of God. Life expressed by Æschylus is far from the life that made Racine as he was—life changing with Job is a far different life from the life that Faust loved—and yet from Cædmon to Milton, from Pindar's Odes to Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" life turns to the First Cause. St. Augustine expresses His beauty, Dante His splendor and justice, and Longfellow, drawn by that chain which binds genius to Him, shows His halo on the brow of faithful womanhood. Life cannot escape from its Creator, and literature, pulsating with life, acknowledges His power. Leopardi, Carducci, Swinburne—fallen, clad, to use Ruskin's phrase, in "melancholy gold," curse the flaming sword that will not allow Pan to come back to earth. Leopardi asks for death, Carducci and Swinburne yearn for the time before the Gallilean had conquered. They express tendencies of life, not merely themselves. God, who is the centre of life, is the centre of the written expression of life, which is literature. St. Paul cries, with God in his heart—"Charity is patient, is kind, charity envieth not, dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up. . . . We see through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known." St. Augustine begins a passage full of joy in God. "And thou gavest my mother another answer to her prayers, which I remember.'' All this, coming from the soul of life is literature. If St. Thomas, in the ''Hymns of the Blessed Sacrament'' expresses scientia, his manner is exceedingly personal and literary. The theologian who pretends to despise literature, or to look upon it as a mere toy, as the Turks looked on woman, is likely to fall into the heresy of the Turks and to assume that his mother had no soul.

There can be no doubt that some of the misunderstandings of the relations of literature to life are due to the practitioners of literature themselves. They have claimed to be as mystically irresponsible as the Delphic oracle or the Howling Dervishes. Imagination—untrammeled imagination—was their idol. They pretended that they lived in flashes of divine fire—when, in fact, the clever had frequently caught them trying to strike damp matches upon moldy ''afflatuses.'' There were no laws for them; they sang as the wind sings; they were reeds by the river of the Ineffable. They gushed carefully written impromptus. Order, dignity, knowledge was valueless. And the more ignorant of the cultured took these gentlemen at their own valuation. And hence arose legends of the mad, glad, bad poet. And he warmed his hands by the divine fire in his cold garret. And he had no food but a roast leg of Pegasus served with laurel leaves boiled by the muses. And there was not any such person. And so they called him a Bohemian.

There have been, too, enthusiastic apologists who could not see that the great author and the little author were bound by the conditions of ordinary life. Literature, they have said—literature that comes from great minds, is universal. Its producer knows all things by intuition. But Dante was a hard student; still, there were many things he did not know. Coleridge, like a priest of Isis, gashed himself, to adore Shakespere. The Bard of Avon was all-knowing, of all time—intuition made him so. Law!—gods, what a lawyer he was! Philosopher!—he must have been in dreams, intimate with the Greeks! Zoologist!—how wonderful! In spite of Coleridge, lawyers have shown how superficial was Shakespere's knowledge of law. It is evident that he was so ignorant of the facts of animal life, beyond Warwickshire, that he might have written

Goldsmith's "Animated Nature." What he saw—and he knew how to see—he expressed. He was not above life or law or the conditions of life. He was of his time; his local prejudices and points of view limited him. His power of synthesis was great, but he cultivated it from his youth up. He was no more all-knowing than Dante, or Calderon, or Goethe, or Wordsworth was all-knowing.

On the other hand, in English-speaking countries, which are the last to realize what art means, literature has not been approached rationally, as Matthew Arnold scornfully admits. The man who had lately acquired much from the Germans without in the least understanding it, laughed loftily at literature because he had discovered a new worm. Dante might sing of the seraphim, but your scientist of this sort doubted the existence of seraphim because, as there was no record of their vaccination, they must have died of smallpox. Mere philosophy he might accept; anybody of ordinary intelligence could count combinations of vowels, and it was even possible that the catarrh prevalent in the lake districts might have effected the consonantal sounds. These gentlemen would have sacrificed the Book of Job for a new principle of motion and the Iliad for the discovery of the jumping apparatus in the skeleton of a flea. A new earth had come, without a new heaven—romance and poetry and lyrical beauty had gone. Literature and science had met, and science had conquered, leaving

"A broken chancel with a broken cross."

Of course this was irrational. The only man of letters who took this sort of thing seriously was Zola. He tried to turn himself into a scientific naturalist; he became a creature so monstrous that even curiosity became disgusted.

There can be no conflict between literature and science. There could be no conquering of one by the other, nor driving of one by the other out of its proper domain, unless the longing to draw nearer the immortal, the love of harmony, the interest in other lives, the desire for the ideal, the yearning for a broader and a better life were taken from our existence here; for literature, the production of life, answers to the burning needs of life.

Lowell says that fairy tales, consolations in the twilight of desolation, are "the dreams of the poor." Science could analyze Puck and prove him to be wandering phosphorus, and that the spectres of Rip Van Winkle in the Catskills were due to microbes in his whiskey. Science, for a time—being young and ignorant, but not intrinsically evil—seemed to forget that humanity loves the fairies of its dreams, not because they existed, but because it wants them to exist. It was a phase of life that science should have attacked, and not literature which merely presented this phase.

Literature, rationally studied, will be found to touch life at all points. It does not always concern itself with the dreams of those who dwell in exile. It does not always concern itself with ideals. "Man's work," Newman says, in "The Idea of a University," "will savour of man, in his element and power excellent and admirable, but prone to disorder and excess, to error and to sin. Such, too, will be his literature; it will have the beauty and the fierceness, the sweetness and the rankness of the natural man, and, with all its richness and greatness, it will necessarily offend the senses of those who, in the Apostle's words, are really exercised to discern between good and evil."

This is true, for literature is like the string of a violin in tune; it responds to the slightest change of national temperature. It was aristocratic and classical under Augustus and Louis XIV; aristocratic and romantic under Elizabeth. It became in England, in 1688, classic again, to drift gradually into democracy. In France, after '93, it was at once artificial and sentimental. When Jeremy Bentham's ideas flourished in England, it became Utilitarian and preached the doctrines of common sense. When Bolingbroke reflected the tendencies of the time, it was affected with polite Deism. Bolingbroke furnished Voltaire with ideas. And France, in return, sent artificial tears and sentimental theories to the English Sterne.

Life acts and reacts through literature; it asserts and denies through literature. But who can say how far the vital book influences a people and how far the people have influenced the vitality of a book. Literature forces the abstractions of the philosopher into the conduct of life. The pessimism of Schopenhauer is brought, through the novel, to our very hearthstones.

The illusions of self-styled science permeate our familiar companion, the daily newspaper. ''Man,'' as Fierns-Gevaert says, in ''La Tristesse Contemporaine'' thinks of himself as an equal co-worker with God; he believes that modern inventions supply oversights of the Creator in the beginning.'' One may find something of this in Rudyard Kipling. ''All modernity,'' continues Fierns-Gevaert, ''suffers for the lack of love. Our multiplied activities, our haste in work, the quickness in communication, the desire for long voyages and the ease with which they are accomplished hasten to a speedy end the marked decadence of meditation.'' Philosophical speculation and industrial changes effect the life of all classes, and literature expresses these effects. It seems only the other day as if the whole world was governed by Pessimism, with literature as its prophet. The essay, the poem, the novel, even the little lyric spoke of gloom and of hopeless gloom. Studied rationally as a manifestation of the psychology of life—of the psychology of the individual, as well as of the psychology of a people—literature gives the clue to the problem. But what method can be supplied to humanity to tell us when the action will end, in any movement, and the reaction begin? And until we can find some scientific means of discovering the laws that govern the flux and re-flux of human minds, we must be content to use literature as a working test. When the various human phenomena are explained, there will be no need to examine literature apart from this explanation. The limitations of life bar out the analysis of literature aside from life. One limitedly explains the other; and just as a single phase of literature seems fixed, a reaction or a revolt begins. ''Romance, the root of all evil is dead, the pernicious ideal is dead,'' Zola exclaimed triumphantly, not very long ago; ''the dreams of the poor are gone, the legends of the saints and heroes are gone—science as expressed by the realist is the meaning of the modern world!''

Suddenly there is a change. The civilized world plunges into a sea of romance. The realistic rats and the pumpkin of Cinderella are changed to the apparatus of splendor in a moment. Is ''Cyrano de Bergerac'' or ''Ulysses'' a cause or an effect? This much is certain; its idealism has found a ready response from the heart of life. Pessimism goes out; the dilettanti even smile again. In Paris, it is said aloud that God may no longer fear that He may not be believed in. Science no longer talks of analyzing the seraphim. Zola has approached Lourdes with the air of a scrofulous giraffe trying to reach the morning star with the end of his nose. The world all at once finds him ridiculous. Literature reflected the change from blatant doubt to mystical reverence, and concentrated the rays of the new light. How powerful it is in its action upon life, and how sensitive to every change in the tendencies of life!

The wizard waves his wand and we forget or are consoled. High to Heaven we go with St. John or down to Hell with Dante. We have left, for a time, the chill of earth's wind. Life demands this—and the demand is a cry for immortality. Literature answers the demand; for literature is a servant and a master of life.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE MURDER OF HYPATIA.

St. Cyril, of Alexandria, holds a distinguished place in the annals of ancient ecclesiastical history. He was a close relative of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; according to Socrates,[1] a nephew, and the brother's son according to Nicephorus.[2] After his uncle's death, on the 15 of October, 412, he was elected to succeed him in the patriarchal see of Alexandria; not without a severe contest against his competitor, Timothy, archdeacon of Alexandria, the candidate of another party supported by the local government. The event occurred only three days after the death of Theophilus.[3] St. Cyril proved to be an energetic man, even more so than his predecessor.[4] In the year 430 began his controversy with Nestorious, bishop of Constantinople, on the physical union of the two natures in Christ, which ended with a condemnation of his adversary's views in the council of Ephesus held in the year 431.[5] These occurrences placed his name in the rank of the foremost champions of Catholic orthodoxy. In the early years of his episcopal career, however, several events happened, on account of which the personal merits of St. Cyril are often minimized. One of these was the murder of the Alexandrian philosopher Hypatia, with which we are here particularly concerned.

Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, mathematician and philosopher of Alexandria. Endowed with a powerful, intelligent mind she took up the studies of mathematics and philosophy, wherein she became so proficient that she taught these sciences publicly and was admitted as a lecturer in the neoplatonic school of her native city.[6] All the writers agree in praising her exceptional learning and her virtues and modesty. The contemporary historian, Socrates, of Constantinople, narrates that Hypatia excelled all the philosophers of her time and attracted from all sides pupils eager to learn the principles of philosophy.[1] One of her disciples, Synesius of Cyrene, afterwards bishop of Ptolemais in Libya or in the Pentapolis, had so much respect for her knowledge that he submitted to her for approval two of his own works.[2] She was also known as a writer on mathematical and chronological subjects. Thus she wrote a commentary on the works of Diophantus, a mathematician of the fourth century;[3] a commentary on the astronomical canon, a chronological table much used in Egypt;[4] and a commentary on the conic sections of the learned geometrician Appollonius of Perge in Pamphylia.[5] These works do not exist any more; but the titles of them are mentioned by Suidas in the paragraph on Hypatia. No less was she esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life. The historian Socrates informs us, that on account of her exceeding modesty all respected and admired her; and nothing was thought of seeing her in the midst of a company of men.[6] Her pupil, Synesius, the bishop of Ptolemais, entertained sentiments of almost filial respect towards the philosopher, as his letters written to her attest. Among other things he calls her his mother, his sister and his teacher.[7] She must therefore have possessed virtues of no ordinary kind, to inspire such reverence to those that came in contact with her. Just for these reasons it is the more regrettable that she found an ignominious death at the hands of a few Christians instigated thereto by a zeal of a very questionable character. The incident occurred in the month of March, at the time of the fast, in the fourth year of St. Cyril's episcopate; therefore in the year 416.[8]

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[1] "H. E.," VII, chp. 7; "P. G.," Vol. 67, p. 749.
[2] "H. E.," XIV, chp. 25; "P. G.," Vol. CXLVI, p. 1137.
[3] Socrates, "H. E.," ibid.
[4] Socrates, ibid.
[5] Cf. Hefele, "C. G.," Vol. II, pp. 141 sqq.
[6] Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 15; Suidas, "Lexicon," s. v. Hypatia.

There were historians who connected the name of St. Cyril with the tragic death of the Alexandrian philosopher, and who did not hesitate to declare him guilty. They suspected that owing to the extremely impulsive zeal displayed by him at other occasions he had a share in the deal, although his directions were carried out by his subordinates.[1] Other writers, whilst not believing in a direct complicity of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia, still hold that the patriarch of Alexandria was indirectly responsible for it; inasmuch as by other actions of his he encouraged his men to perpetrate the crime. This impression is left on the mind of the reader by "Hypatia," the novel of Charles Kingsley, which although published in 1853 is still widely read. There St. Cyril is represented as expressing a regret that the lecture room of Hypatia was still standing; that the great and powerful flocked to it; and that thus the kingdom of God was trampled under foot.[2] There also St. Cyril is represented as keeping alive the excessive zeal of the Christians and as stirring them up to deeds of violence.[3] And after the murder of Hypatia had been committed, Cyril, while disclaiming any direct part in it, still endeavored to justify the murderers and refused to give them up to the secular authorities.[4] These few references indicate plainly that according to the author of the novel, St. Cyril secretly desired the death of Hypatia, that unconsciously he stirred up his people thereto, and that the execution of the philosopher was not altogether unwelcome news to him.

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[1] Socrates, ibid.
[2] Ep. 153, "P. G.," Vol. LXVI, p. 1533.
[3] "Encycl. Brit.," s. v. Algebra.
[4] Ideler, "Hdb. der Chronol.," Vol. I, pp. 109 ff.
[5] "Encycl. Brit.," s. v. Apollonius.
[6] "H. E.," VII, chp. 15.
[7] Ep. 16, "P. G.," Vol. LXVI, p. 1352.
[8] Socrates, "H. E.," chp. VII, 15.

The question as to the responsibility of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia has been discussed by Catholic scholars. A writer in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1867, has dealt with it;[5] and after him Kopallik in his biography of St. Cyril.[6] Still it may be well to examine it again under its double aspect mentioned above.

In the ancient writings only two accounts are found about the assassination of Hypatia. The first one is contained in the work of Socrates, a lawyer of Constantinople, who towards the middle of the fifth century wrote an ecclesiastical history in seven books. It was meant as a continuation to the first work of the kind by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsaræa; and extended from the resignation of the emperor Diocletian in the year 305 up to about the year 440.[1] His narrative, therefore, may be considered as a contemporary testimony. In the translation it reads as follows: "About that time the envy armed itself against this woman. For because she conversed quite frequently with Orestes, this aroused a calumny against her among the Church people, as if indeed she were the one who did not permit Orestes to enter again into friendship with the bishop. And hence some fervid men, led by a certain Peter, a 'reader,' having conceived a common plan, watch the woman returning home from some place. And having thrown her from the litter they drag her to the Church, surnamed the 'Cæsareum.'[2] Then, having taken off her garment, they killed her with shells. And having torn her to pieces they carried the remains to a place called 'Cinaron'[3] and consumed them with fire. This caused no small shame to Cyril and to the Church of the Alexandrians; for murders and battles and things similar to these are altogether unbecoming to those who follow Christ."

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[1] Kopallik, "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," pp. 24, 25.

[2] Ed. Caldwell Co., New York, p. 44.

[3] Ibid., pp. 317, 318.

[4] Ibid., pp. 476, 477.

[5] Pp. 353, 354, 374, 375.

[6] "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," pp. 12 ff.

For a complete understanding of this passage it will be necessary to relate the events that preceded and led up to the murder of Hypatia. The Orestes spoken of in the narrative was none but the prefect of Alexandria or rather of Egypt, whose enmity with St. Cyril was well known to the people of the city. Very likely it existed from the beginning, viz., since the election of St. Cyril. In fact, as has been pointed out above, the secular authorities did not help the nephew of the deceased Theophilus towards becoming bishop of Alexandria; their candidate was the archdeacon Timothy. Socrates mentions merely one of the officials as being opposed to the candidacy of St. Cyril; this was Abundantius, the commander of the imperial soldiery[4] However, it is altogether likely that the prefect Orestes, if he was then in that position, shared the dislike for St. Cyril with the officer of the army. At any rate he soon conceived a deep hatred for the bishop of Alexandria, whom he considered a rival on the field of his jurisdiction, and an undesired observer of all his public acts.[1]

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[1] Bardenhewer, "Patrologie" (Freiburg, 1899), p. 352.

[2] At the time one of the principal churches in Alexandria. Kopallik, p. 24, note 1.

[3] A place, perhaps, outside of the city. Kopallik, p. 24, note 2.

[4] Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 7.

Several circumstances contributed to strengthen this impression of the prefect. One day that he was issuing certain ordinances in the theater of Alexandria, a large number of people assembled to take cognizance of the governor's instructions. The Jews of the city were especially well represented, and many partisans of St. Cyril had also repaired to the place. Among these there was a teacher of grammar, named Hierax, a most fervent admirer of the bishop and the leader in the applause at the conferences of the latter. As soon as the Jews, who any way were very hostile to the Christians, noticed the presence of this man, they began to shout that he had come for no other reason than to stir up a sedition among the people. Orestes, ill-disposed as he was towards the bishop, listened to the expostulations of the Jews and inflicted a severe punishment on the unfortunate grammar-teacher by submitting him to public torture in the theater. St. Cyril, rightly offended at the treachery of the Jews, called to himself their leaders and warned them not to arouse any more riots against the Christians. The Jews, little heeding these threats, endeavored, on the contrary, to do all possible harm to the subjects of the bishop. One night they slaughtered a large number of them in the streets of Alexandria, after having called them out of their houses by the false news that one of their churches, that of St. Alexander, was burning. This was too much for the energetic patriarch to bear. With a large concourse of people he went out, took possession of all the Jewish synagogues, drove the Jews themselves out of the city and permitted the multitude to take hold of their possessions. This new incident, naturally enough, was considered by the prefect to be an encroachment on his own power, and a full report of the affair was sent by him to the Emperor Theodosius II. St. Cyril, on his part, justified his conduct by making known to the Emperor the crimes committed by the Jews. Still he hoped to pacify again the prefect and sent messengers to him, bearing proposals of a reconciliation. Orestes would not listen to any discourses of friendship; and even when the bishop held out to him the book of the Gospels, he remained unmoved, and since then the enmity between them became irreconcilable.

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[1] Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 13.

Matters were badly complicated by the advent of about five hundred monks, who left their monasteries in the mountains of Nitria and came to the city of Alexandria to take up the cause of St. Cyril.[1] The manner in which they did it was rather primitive. When they saw the prefect riding in his carriage through the streets of the city, they insulted him with offensive words and called him a sacrificer[2] and a Greek.[3] In spite of his protests that he was baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, and hence a Christian, one of the monks, by the name of Ammonius, threw a stone at him. It was so well directed that it struck the prefect on the head, and the blood gushing forth from the wound, scattered all over his body. His guardsmen, frightened at the unexpected attack, fled in all directions with the exception of only a few. Finally the people of Alexandria came to his rescue; they dispersed the monks, but got hold of Ammonius and brought him to the prefect. Orestes dealt out justice to him on the spot; Ammonius was submitted to torture for the murderous attack upon the governor and was kept in tortures until he died. St. Cyril, when hearing of this, committed a rash act by exhibiting public honors to the dead monk's body. He gave the title of a martyr to Ammonius and deposited his remains in one of the churches in the city. However, when some of the more moderate among the Christians remonstrated with the bishop for giving undue credit to Ammonius, he dropped the matter and endeavored to obliterate its memory. The whole occurrence, however, only added new fuel to the evergrowing enmity between Orestes and the patriarch of Alexandria.[4] And finally it led to the tragic death of the philosopher Hypatia, which was narrated above.

Coming now to the question whether St. Cyril was responsible for the murder of Hypatia, it is evident from the passage quoted above, that the historian Socrates had not the slightest suspicion of it. The atrocious deed was committed by some Church people, on their own initiative, because they thought she was an obstacle in the way toward a reconciliation between Orestes and the patriarch. But not a hint is given which would point out that, in the opinion of Socrates, St. Cyril had a hand in deal. All the historian says about the bishop with reference to this matter is that the bloody crime brought no small shame on Cyril. And this passage can easily be understood without supposing any participation in the murder on the part of the patriarch. For after all, it had been done by some of his over-zealous spiritual children, who, moreover, believed to render a service to him. Only because he was in a way answerable for them did this blame attach to his name; such is evidently the meaning of the words of Socrates. Nor must we imagine that Socrates, out of respect for the great bishop of Alexandria, covered the guilt of St. Cyril by attributing the murder to the initiative of some Church people. For apart from the fact that Socrates is an honest and truthful writer,[1] he is in no way found to be tender towards St. Cyril. When he speaks of the honors rendered by the bishop to the memory of the monk Ammonius, executed by the order of Orestes, he disapproves of such an act. And when he says that according to some Christians of Alexandria, Ammonius had only paid for his rashness and had not been forced to deny his faith, such sentiments are evidently his own.[2] So also he lays part of the blame for the murder of Hypatia on St. Cyril, as if the latter had not sufficiently instilled into the hearts of his subjects the sentiments of moderation becoming the followers of Christ.[3] And no reason can be imagined why the historian, who tries to be just and fair to all, should not have stated the fact in so many words, if the matter had been so. If, therefore, a contemporary writer is silent on this subject, on what ground could we condemn the bishop of Alexandria?

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[1] Egyptian monks came to Alexandria under Theophilus, Cyril's predecessor; the Nitrian monks, in particular, assisted him against the Origenists. Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 7.

[2] *I. e.*, who sacrificed to the gods.

[3] *I. e.*, a pagan.

[4] Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chpp. 13, 14.

The second account of Hypatia's death is found in the biographical sketch of the philosopher inserted in the Lexicon of Suidas. Said work, a combination of an etymological dictionary and an encyclopedia, was written about the middle of the tenth century, probably by an ecclesiastic of that name.[4]

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[1] Wetzer u. Welte, "Kirchenlexicon," Vol. XI (2d ed.), pp. 475, 476.
[2] H. E., VII, chp. 14.
[3] "H. E.," VII, chp. 15.
[4] Krumbacher, "Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur," p. 563.

Two passages in the biography of Hypatia refer to the subject in question. The first one reads thus: "She [Hypatia] was torn to pieces by the Alexandrians, and her body thus insulted was scattered all over the city. This she suffered on account of envy and of the exceeding wisdom principally in matters pertaining to astronomy, from Cyril, as some have it; according to others from the natural audacity and seditiousness of the Alexandrians."[1] Later on in the same article the writer says the following: "It happened one day, that Cyril, the bishop of the opposite sect [of the Christians] passed by the house of Hypatia and saw a great throng of men and horses before the gates, of whom some were approaching, some were departing and some were remaining. Having asked what the multitude was and about what there was the tumult near the house, he heard from those who accompanied him that the philosopher Hypatia was then receiving the greetings and that the house was hers. Having learned this his soul was so pricked that he quickly resolved upon her death, of all deaths the most criminal. For when she was going about, according to her custom, a compact multitude of savage men, veritable monsters, ignoring both the respect for the gods and the vengeance of men, assault and slay the philosopher; and thus they inflicted on their country this very great outrage and dishonor."[2]

The mere reading of the first passage makes it plain that the author of this biography knew of two versions concerning the cause of Hypatia's death. Some writers attributed it to St. Cyril, whilst others believed that it was due to an outbreak on the part of the seditious Alexandrians. When mentioning this second hypothesis the author seems to have had in view the narrative of Socrates, who, in connection with the events that disturbed Alexandria so much in the first years of St. Cyril's episcopate, makes the statement that the inhabitants of said city were very much inclined to rioting;[3] and furthermore the murder of Hypatia—according to him—was committed by a few of the Christian citizens. Hence it is altogether surprising that in the second passage this latter hypothesis is omitted and the first one assumed to represent the true state of things.

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[1] Ed. Bernhardy, Vol. II², p. 1313.

[2] Ibid., p. 1315.

[3] "H. E.," VII, chp. 13.

And in this St. Cyril is described as having decreed the death of the philosopher and as having incited a few fanatics to perpetrate the deed. If we inquire what authority this statement may have, we would be justified in dismissing it summarily, since the author himself of the biography knows of two hypotheses. For the one which exonerates St. Cyril there is the support of a contemporary writer, whilst for the other which accuses him there is after all no proof.

But the second passage admits of a closer examination. It is evident that Suidas, as he himself points out in the first passage, relied on some former writer for his information on Hypatia. There are indications in that article which point more or less distinctly to the source whence it derived. No doubt can be entertained as to the fact that it must be sought in the works of a pagan writer. In the second passage quoted above, St. Cyril is said to have been the bishop of the opposite sect. An expression like this could not have come but from the pen of a pagan philosopher, to whom Christianity was nothing else but a school or a faction bitterly opposed to his own. As to the identity of this philosopher, the scholars maintain it was Damascius, and that most of what is contained in Hypatia's biography by Suidas was found in a life of the philosopher Isidore written by Damascius.[1] The latter, a native of Damascus in Syria, was the last president of the neo-platonic school in Athens from about the year 520. When the Emperor Justinian I. closed the school in 529, Damascius with a few associates emigrated to Persia; but a few years afterwards he was allowed to return. The philosopher Isidore, whose life he wrote, was a native of Alexandria and had been among the predecessors of Damascius in the direction of the school of Athens.[2] A debt of gratitude, no doubt, impelled him to write this biography, since he had been among the pupils of Isidore.[3] An appreciation of this work is found in the "Myriobiblon" or "Bibliotheca" of Photius under the number 181, and large extracts of it are in the same compilation under the number

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[1] Henr. Vales. in the edition of Socrates, "H. E." Cf. note 8 to book VII, c. 15. "P. G.," Vol. LXVII, p. 769; Bernhardy in the edition of Suidas, note to p. 1311 of Vol. II^2; Kopallik, "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," p. 25, etc.

[2] Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," Vol. I, p. 259.

[3] Photius, "Bibliotheca," 181, 242; "P. G.," Vol. CIII, pp. 532, 1252.

242.[1] It appears to be more than likely that the second passage quoted above from Suidas was found originally in the biography of Isidore by Damascius, where so many details relating to other philosophers are found. In fact the name of Isidore is so much coupled with that of Hypatia in the article of Suidas, that the last portion of it speaks only of Isidore, and at the beginning Hypatia is said to have been the wife of Isidore. This singular occurrence can hardly be explained unless we suppose that most of the narrative was taken from Isidore's life, where precisely other philosophers are compared with him. In the extracts given by Photius there is such a comparison between Isidore and Hypatia, where it is said that the former much surpassed the latter, not only as a man naturally excels a woman, but also as a true philosopher is above a geometrician.[2] Perhaps from a hasty reading of this passage it happened that Suidas made of Hypatia the wife of Isidore; the assertion is otherwise unintelligible.

If the second passage in the article of Suidas be of Damascius it is plain that his statement is of no value as compared to the narrative of Socrates. In fact the writer flourished about a hundred years or more after the events which he narrates occurred, and what he says about the authorship of Hypatia's death is not only not confirmed by any contemporary testimony, but rather contradicted by the narrative of Socrates. It will not be difficult to understand how Damascius was led to make such unwarranted assertions. He was the representative of a philosophic school which identified itself with the religion of classical antiquity, and which was therefore more or less openly in opposition with Christianity. Hypatia, the woman philosopher of Alexandria, had lived in the same system of philosophic thought and religion. It was known that she had been slain by the Christians of Alexandria. What was more natural, therefore, than to suppose that Cyril, the bishop of the city, had incited the men to do the bloody work. In this hypothesis the highest representative of Christianity would be found to have been for the suppression of what were considered by the philosophers the greatest intellectual achievements. The fact that St. Cyril was connected with other disturbances at Alexandria may have lent some coloring to these suspicions. Thoughts like these might easily have arisen in the mind of a man who was in no way friendly towards the Christian religion, which, as Photius says, he often insulted.[1] Even Protestant writers acknowledge without reserve that St. Cyril had no direct part in the murder of Hypatia. Thus the Rev. William Bright, D.D., in Smith's ''Dictionary of Christian Biography'' holds that there is no evidence for the suspected complicity of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia.[2] According to Mr. G. Krueger, in the ''Realencyclopædie'' of Herzog, it is pure calumny to maintain that St. Cyril gave any orders to that effect.[3]

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[1] "P. G.," Ibid.
[2] "P. G.," Vol. CIII, p. 1285.

So much is evident from the foregoing, and this excludes not only a participation of the bishop in the deed itself, but also any advice or command given for the purpose. There remains to be seen whether he deserves any blame indirectly for having encouraged the men under his jurisdiction to the bloody crime by previous actions of his. Apart from the novel ''Hypatia'' this view is also held by non-Catholic historians. Thus, *e. g.*, the Rev. William Bright in the article on St. Cyril just mentioned says: ''The perpetrators had unquestionably derived encouragement from his earlier proceedings. His was the too common case of a man who stirs up a force of passions which frequently outrun his control. The turbulent and furious 'parabolani'[4] and others, who shed Hypatia's blood at the foot of the altar, were but bettering the instruction which had let them loose upon the synagogues.''[5] And Mr. G. Krueger in Herzog's ''Realencyclopædie'' also referred to, states: ''It would be difficult indeed to assume that Cyril was in no way connected with the murder of Hypatia. . . . All apologetic endeavors cannot free Cyril from the blame of having contributed at least indirectly to the stirring up of the masses by his repeated regardless and violent proceeding.''[1] Expressions like these are, to say the very least, exaggerated. From the narrative of Socrates given above it is plain that Hypatia was slain, not so much because she was the exponent of a pagan philosophic system, but rather because she was thought to be the cause of the protracted enmity between the prefect and St. Cyril. And for this enmity Orestes was far more to blame than the bishop. It is true that St. Cyril could hardly find any legal justification for his attack on the Jews, their synagogues and their personal property; however, the provocation thereto came from the prefect and the Jews. The former had submitted to torture the Christian grammar teacher Hierax, although he had given no offence to any one; he had only come to the theater to learn about the ordinances of the prefect. And the punishment was administered at the instigation of the Jews. These received a warning from the bishop; and in spite of that they added to the outrage by the treacherous slaughter of many Christians. Was St. Cyril to expect justice from a man who had helped the Jews in afflicting the Christians? Furthermore St. Cyril approached the prefect in view of a reconciliation; but the latter would not listen to any proposals of that kind. So also after having unduly praised the monk Ammonius, he was willing to let the matter drop, when it was shown to him that after all the monks had been in the wrong. And still Orestes remained unchanged in his hostile sentiments against St. Cyril. The strife between the two men, therefore, must largely be laid to the charge of Orestes. It was an unjustified action of his that made it start; and it was his unwillingness to forgive that made it remain. Consequently if some Christians thought that Hypatia was furthering this enmity and if they murdered her on that account, Orestes, more than St. Cyril, stirred them up to do it. Had Orestes accepted the offers of reconciliation, or at least kindly considered the change of attitude on the part of St. Cyril, perhaps the bloody crime might have been averted.

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[1] "Bibl.," 181; "P. G.," Vol. CIII, p. 529.

[2] "Cyril of Alexandria," Boston (ed. 1877), Vol. I, p. 764.

[3] "Cyrillus von Alexandrien" (3d ed.), Vol. IV, p. 378.

[4] An inferior order of Church officers who fulfilled the duty of hospital attendants and nurses to the sick poor. They became very turbulent in Alexandria; and the writer supposes that they were the Church people spoken of by Socrates. Cf. v. Parabolani in "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

[5] Vol. I, p. 764.

From the foregoing it will not be difficult to know what to say about the statements of the afore-mentioned writers, the Rev. William Bright and Mr. G. Krueger. If St. Cyril ''stirred up a force of passions,'' it was merely because justice was not to be looked for in an officer who had helped the offenders; and "the turbulent parabolani" were not bettering the instruction which had let them loose upon the synagogues, because for whatever fault there had been, Cyril had made reparation. And there is no need of "apologetic endeavors to free St. Cyril from the blame of having contributed at least indirectly to the stirring up of the masses." If the facts and their motives are weighed in the light of contemporary evidence, it will be found that not so much St. Cyril, but rather Orestes, the friend of Hypatia, must be blamed indirectly for the cruel end of the latter.

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[1] Vol. IV, p. 378.

FRANCIS SCHAEFER.

ST. PAUL'S SEMINARY.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE.

The department store has become a social problem. The result of complex tendencies in modern life, it is gradually focusing within itself a number of issues which will not be easily met. Economic, moral, social questions; questions of right and of duty cluster in and around these great modern stores, in a way that promises interesting and heated discussion before many years.

The Industrial Commission which recently completed its gigantic investigation of social and industrial conditions in the United States, recognizing the importance of the department store question, devoted considerable attention to it. It may be a service to the cause of education to call attention to the report in question. Before the people at large can deal with the question, some instruction is necessary. It may be helpful to give a résumé of the evidence given before the Commission. The writer's purpose does not go beyond that.[1]

The following notes are but a methodical résumé of the testimony. The report of the Industrial Commission, especially Vols. VII, XIV, XIX, are the chief source of information. Occasionally, when the evidence lacked in completeness or logical sequence, other sources have been used and these are: the state laws of Missouri and Illinois, and the reports of the State Supreme Courts of the same States; the Chicago dailies at the time of the elections to mayorship and to State legislature, for the last ten years; the report of the Commissioner of labor; practical observation of the working of the stores themselves.

Described by the Industrial Commission in its final report as a "consolidation of smaller stores handling different kinds of goods," the department store is, according to its advocates "an aggregation of complete stores for the purpose of economy and convenience." Less favorable witnesses call it a "distributing trust,'' whose only object and only result is to increase the profits of the owners.

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[1] A notice of the report, with titles of volumes, may be found among the Book Reviews in this number of the BULLETIN.

It would be difficult to give a definition of the department store which would be acceptable both to its friends and its enemies. But this matters little, since all are familiar with some of the great stores, like the Fair in Chicago, the Wanamaker stores in Philadelphia and New York, the Woodward and Lothrop store in Washington, The Jordan Marsh Co., of Boston, and Abraham and Strauss, of Brooklyn. Few, possibly, among the visitors and customers of these stores have a clear idea oftheir history, their organization, methods, or of the social, economic and ethical questions which they involve.

The department store is a recent product of our civilization. Some have traced it back to the old time cross road country store which kept almost all kinds of articles in all lines of business from confectionery and groceries to clothing and hardware. As towns and cities rose, the general store was gradually given up and business was divided among many stores carrying single lines of goods. The country store differs entirely from the modern department store. It was created by necessity. Distance from the city, difficulty of communication, poverty of the people who could not afford to buy provisions in large quantities, such were the reasons of its existence. The country store did not attempt to provide complete assortments of all kinds of goods, but simply a fair representation of different classes that might satisfy the ordinary needs of country people. These goods were gathered in one small room, and the whole concern was easily managed by one or two persons who occupied their leisure time at some other trade or in farming.

The department store, on the contrary, originated in large cities, where civilization was most intense. The Bon Marché of Paris was the leader, having been opened in 1869. In the early seventies Jordan, Marsh & Co., A. T. Stewart and Marshall Field in this country, followed. The department store owners give as a reason for the change in the methods of conducting retail business, the fall of prices which occurred towards the end of the sixties. The difficulty of securing profits caused the ruin of numberless small retail merchants and at the same time compelled men who had the ability and the capital, to extend their lines and increase their field of business activity. However, there are deeper and more general reasons for the origin and development of department stores. They are the result of the tendency towards centralization which is so marked in our day. The retail business could not escape this general influence. Capitalists have organized these large retail stores; they are gradually driving the small dealers out of business.

Again there is a strong tendency nowadays to simplify distribution. We are more and more doing away with the intermediate links between producer and consumer. In some instances retail dealers have been entirely displaced by the practice of direct selling by the manufacturers who keep distributing stores or agencies in the cities and the larger towns. It is the system adopted by the Standard Oil Company and the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company. Many manufacturers avail themselves of the department store as the only link between the factory and the consumer, *i. e.,* as their distributing agent. This process eliminates all the intermediaries known as commission men, jobbers, wholesale dealers, and agents of various kinds. The department store may yet be the only point of contact between producer and consumer.

Whatever be the cause of their development, department stores have continually gained ground for the last thirty years. They have increased both in number and in size. This development has been so rapid that it has alarmed small merchants everywhere and has attracted the attention of legislators throughout the country.

A campaign was started against department stores in Chicago during the nineties. Among the declarations of the Democratic Convention held in Chicago July 8, 1895, we find the following: ". . . We sympathize with the retail dealers in their struggles to procure a livelihood and in order to procure the general good of the municipality, we are opposed to the encroachments made upon this line of industry by the gigantic trusts known as the 'department stores' and in addition to the legislation already enacted by democratic assemblies, we pledge ourselves to secure additional legislation or entire obliteration of such illegal and unjust monopolies'' (*Chicago Chronicle*, July 9, 1898). It soon became a factor in the elections both in the City Council and to the State Legislature. In 1899 the Democrats again declared themselves opposed to the department stores. An attempt was made to legislate on the matter; but the Supreme Court of Illinois declared that the methods employed were unconstitutional.

Missouri passed a law in 1899 according to which the department stores are taxed in proportion to the number of departments carried. It also was annulled by the Supreme Court of the State.

Yet the department stores live in spite of all attempts to destroy them: they are even more prosperous than ever, as the figures obtained by the Industrial Commission will show.

No investigation was made by the Industrial Commission concerning the number of department stores in this country. But there is hardly a city or a town of any importance that has not one or several of them.

We can best obtain an idea of the size of these stores by bringing together some of the figures found throughout the report of the Commission.

The Wanamaker store in Philadelphia occupies a block of land fronting 250 feet on Market street and 488 feet on Chestnut street. The floor area is about sixteen acres, and if the warehouses be included, about twenty acres. The pneumatic tubing which carries the money from every part of the house to the cashiers measures about twelve miles. The value of the stock is $6,000,000; to this may be added the goods which are not in the store, but on seas or in transit, which amount to $1,000,000. The real estate is worth about $10,000,000. Sometimes as many as 40,000 people pass through the door in a day. The number of employes is over 5,700.

The Wanamaker store in New York, though only a few years old, is almost as large as the Philadelphia store and it may soon eclipse it. The amount of business is nearly as great: the number of employes is nearly 4,000.

The ''Fair'' in Chicago, is an immense block of 1,080 feet of frontage, 180 feet high, with a floor space of over 15½ acres. Eighteen large elevators carry the customers from one floor to another. It employs between 2,000 and 3,000 persons.

Such establishments naturally require thorough organization. A general manager, aided by assistant managers, attends to the general operation of the store. Heads of departments have charge of the different lines of business and are responsible to the general manager for the proper administration of their own departments. Each head of department has under his direction a large number of employes, cash girls, salesmen, saleswomen, wrappers, cashiers, bookkeepers, floor walkers and superintendents, besides a large number who aid in handling and delivering goods.

The work of procuring and renewing the stock in the different departments is confided to special agents who are called buyers. Their duty is to watch closely for classes of goods which sell best and are most satisfactory to customers, and to place orders at the most advantageous terms. They are constantly traveling from store to factory and factory to store. The same system prevails for foreign orders. The buyers study the market in this country, "feel the pulse of the season," as they say, and go to Europe to order special styles of goods which suit popular demand. For instance; a pattern in silks which sold very well last season will not sell next season. Some little change must be introduced, a different weave, a different coloring, a different design. The question is thoroughly investigated by one of the buyers who goes to Lyons and has a sample manufactured. If the product is satisfactory, an order is given. The agents of the store attend to the rest. The goods are not shipped to this country without a thorough examination, by the buyers or other agents, of the quantity and quality of goods purchased.

It is the special duty of other employees to attract trade. There are the advertising agents, whose only occupation is to do the best possible advertising for the firm. They advertise in newspapers and magazines, on roads and streets, in trains, in waiting rooms, and in street cars. They are continually on the watch to discover new ways of attracting the attention of the public. Pictures, caricatures, poetry, music, puzzles, etc., are resorted to by the advertising agents of the different firms who seek to outdo one another in winning the attention of the people.

Some department stores attract much attention by their demonstrators, *i. e.*, employees whose duty is to demonstrate by practical tests the quality of goods which the house has for sale. The demonstrators are always women. They make coffee and tea, bake batter cakes, prepare soup, beef tea, stews, cereal food dishes and offer them to the public.

In these different positions the earnings vary greatly. A cash boy or a cash girl, fourteen or fifteen years old, earns $2 to $2.50 a week: as one becomes more efficient, pay is increased. The wages of other employees range from this rate up to the earnings of the general manager which may reach $50,000 a year as is the case in the ''Fair'' store in Chicago. Other positions command salaries of $15,000, $10,000 and $5,000 a year. Heads of departments, head bookkeepers, assistant managers, buyers are paid $5,000.

The hours of work are generally from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. except perhaps Saturdays, and a week or two before Christmas. Account of the hour of arrival is kept by the timekeepers by means of devices on which each one marks his own time. In the summer Saturday afternoon may be a holiday. Some department stores give every employee, even the mechanics, an annual vacation of two or three weeks with pay.

Promotion is won generally when it is merited. The boy who begins with a few dollars a week, may become, if he prove efficient, a salesman, a bookkeeper, or perhaps head of a department, assistant manager, head bookkeeper, etc. In some of these positions he may command a salary higher than that of many presidents of banks, trusts or insurance companies of the United States.

Mention has already been made of the methods employed by department stores to attract trade. One of the most effective means to which they have recourse is advertising. Not only does the firm advertise through its special agents in order to attract public attention and make a reputation; but each head of department in the store is given a fixed space in the Sunday paper or in some other publication in which he must advertise his department.

One of the most common methods of attracting attention is to offer goods at what is declared to be half or less than half of their regular value. This is done especially in the line of millinery and clothing. Dress goods said to be worth from 75 cents to $1 a yard are offered for 25 cents. Such goods may be the remains of some special lines made to meet a special market or a particular season. While the goods were novelties, they commanded fancy prices; now they are sold at their real value. The same is the case with bankrupt goods which a department store may buy far below their value and sell at a remarkably low price.

Sometimes goods are advertised and sold at cost or below cost. Cigars of a particular brand are sold by retail at the wholesale price. Sugar, soap or other well-known articles are offered at less than cost, though only for a day, or an hour in the day, and in small quantities. One of the witnesses who appeared before the Industrial Commission recalls the case of a department store which advertised at 19 cents, rubbers which cost 75 cents. Not all of the applicants however succeeded in securing a pair. There was but one little girl to wait upon the throng of customers. She could never find the right number—after a long search she had to go up stairs. The elevator was slow: when she returned, it took some time again to get change, to send the articles to the wrappers, etc. All of this was done for each customer before another was served. In other cases, stores were not able to supply what was advertised. A twelve-dollar suit is offered for five dollars or six dollars; when the customer appears, the salesman takes his measure and discovers that he has not that size in that quality of goods; but he has other goods a little higher and a great deal better, etc. Another trick which is often used to bring the crowd to the store is to advertise goods one or two cents below a round figure. Announcement is made, of a 99-cent article, or a 49-cent article or a 23-, 19-, 9- or even 4½-cent article. Again a department store will buy in advance a year's output of certain exclusive patterns and special qualities of goods which are always in demand. Once in control of this class of goods, it advertises them very extensively. There is no other escape for customers who wish to get the article in question. However these methods of attracting customers are not used by all department stores. Those of the higher class have recourse to more honorable means.

The one-price system has greatly contributed to make the department store popular. The price of the article does not vary with the means, the character of the buyer, or his skill in bargaining, nor with the quantity bought. The salesmen cannot deviate in the least from the price marked on the goods. Changes may be sometimes made in the price of a whole line of goods for the sake of disposing of them; but the change is made independently of any other consideration, and this one price is strictly adhered to. The only exception to this rule is the discount of ten per cent. to ministers and five per cent. or six per cent. to dressmakers and persons who act as purchasing agents for others. Outside of these discounts which are the remnants of a former widespread custom, the prices are the same for everyone and for all quantities. Another innovation which has contributed largely to popularizing the department stores, is the custom of taking back unsatisfactory goods, a custom inaugurated by the first department stores of Philadelphia (Wanamaker) and Chicago, and unheard of before their time. It was almost a revolution in the retail business; it became such a source of success that it was soon adopted by all large retail establishments. No matter for what reason or in what amount, let it be a yard or two of silk, a piece of velvet, the goods returned by the customers are exchanged or the money is returned. The result of this new business rule has been not only a direct increase of confidence on the part of the customer but also a greater care on the part of the salesmen. The salesman knows that the article which he sells to-day, may be returned to-morrow and the value deducted from his sales; for a strict account is kept of every sale which he makes, by the means of the salesbook used by every clerk. These returns therefore count against the standing of the salesmen and even of the heads of departments. Hence it is to the interest of all not to misrepresent goods but to tell the truth about their quality and quantity.

The department store owners try to interest their employees in the business done by the firm. Some of them have established the coöperative system. Not only the manager, or the heads of departments, but the clerks themselves receive a certain percentage on the sales made by them. Or perhaps the extra profit made during the busy month of December, or a proportion of it is distributed to all the employees. In this way they are all interested in extending as much as possible the volume of business done.

The one-price system, the right to return goods when not satisfactory, the custom on the part of clerks to tell the truth about the goods which they sell, are not only profitable methods for the owners of department stores—these are real advantages to society. In this respect, the development of department stores is in the line of economic progress, and it is to this view that the advocates of the stores appeal in its justification. We may classify under two general heads the benefits which the department stores have rendered to society. They have brought about economy in the cost of production and convenience to the customers.

The expenses in getting the goods from the factory into the hands of the consumers have been greatly reduced by the establishment of large retail stores. First of all, they purchase their goods more cheaply than the ordinary retail stores. As they buy far greater quantities than these latter, they obtain a better price. In fact, the manufacturers often depend so much on them, that the store owners practically make their own terms, forcing the producer to sell at the closest margin. Moreover the credit of the department stores is unquestioned. Most of the time they pay cash, while the small retailer's credit is always more or less questioned. A great percentage of those who enter business (96 per cent. according to one of the witnesses) fail eventually. At any rate few of these retailers are able to pay cash. The department store gets a discount as high as six or seven per cent., which gives it a great advantage over the small store.

A greater material gain has been made by the practical elimination of middle men, as has already been mentioned. In the days of small retail establishments, it was out of the question for the factory to deal directly with the retailer. It could neither bring its goods to the attention of the traders scattered all over the land, nor go to the trouble and expense of making separate shipments to all retailers, nor run the risks of so many sales. Most articles were handled by jobbers and commission men. The jobbers bought goods directly from the manufacturer, assuming the risks of sale, but also retaining a large part of the profits. The commission man acted as an agent between producer and jobber or retailer, and he also was to be recompensed by a percentage upon the sales which he effected. The department store owner is able to deal directly with the manufacturer, and the middlemen are practically done away with. The profits of the jobber and commission men are saved. The manufacturer incurs less risk, for the stores are generally safer than the jobbers, and the diminution of risks enables him to deliver his goods at a reasonably small profit.

The elimination of jobbers and middlemen has resulted in a great economy in transportation. Instead of handling the goods three or four times: factory to wholesaler, wholesaler to jobber, jobber to retailer, the goods are now shipped directly from the factory to the department store which sells them.

An economy is realized by the department stores in the distribution of goods to the consumers. The expense of conducting a large store where all classes of articles are kept is undoubtedly far less than the expenses of a proportionate number of small single-line stores.

They economize in space. Thus one hundred departments eight by ten feet, placed on a single floor of a department store will do more business than one hundred small stores in the same lines of trade, scattered all over the city. So the expenses of rent and repairs are reduced to a minimum.

They economize in service. One hundred small stores will require at least one hundred bookkeepers, one hundred cashiers and a proportionate number of clerks. A department store doing the same amount of business will be able to transact it with a far smaller number of employees. Its sections are arranged so as to require constant service of the clerk in charge, while the two or three clerks of a small store may often be unoccupied. In the department store, if business is more active in one section at a certain time or season, help may be easily transferred from another section. This cannot be done in smaller stores.

They economize in salaries. There is a vast number of small services which in ordinary retail stores are done by adult laborers, simply because they do all the work of the store, but which in a large retail establishment are confided to boys and girls.

It cannot be denied that the department store is a source of economy in the expense of production, but the question is: Is this economy an advantage to the consumer or does the department store owner reap the profits which his ability has secured? The representatives of the stores assure us that this reduction of expenses goes entirely to the consumer and that the store owner receives only a very moderate profit; three to six per cent. on the dollar of business done, says one of the witnesses (VII, p. 452). That the consumers themselves are benefited by this economy of production, they prove by the reduction in retail prices during the recent years. Many housekeeping articles manufactured of metal, wood, and wire have been reduced fifty and even eighty per cent. during the last twenty years. American dry goods, woolen, silk and cotton fabrics have also been reduced one half since 1880. Others deny absolutely that the reduction in prices, in the last years, is to be traced in any degree to the development of the department store. They say that it is entirely the result of improved methods in manufacturing and transportation.

However, we may conclude that the department store, absolutely speaking, has brought about an economy in production, waiving the question of the beneficiary of this economy. The other advantage mentioned is the convenience of consumers.

The department store offers great facilities to customers living at a distance from the great business centers. Instead of having to go from one place to another, with the risk of not finding the article which one desires, one goes directly to the department store. A single car fare will bring one to the very door, where one finds everything desired. The stock is constantly renewed. The greatest choice in novelties, in articles of every description is offered, and one can in a few minutes and with the least possible trouble give orders of all kinds. The goods are all delivered at the same time, perhaps before one reaches home. For the customers who live outside the city, in towns or in the country, the large stores have established a mail order department. The outsiders who have no store within their reach and cannot go to the city frequently enough, will receive, on demand, catalogues and samples which will enable them to make their purchases by mail or by telephone. Those who live in small towns but cannot find in their home stores the articles which they need, are readily served through the mail. The system is yet in its infancy. It is not received everywhere with favor, as customers are afraid of not being suited. They often prefer, when at all possible, to inspect the goods and to satisfy themselves about the quality before giving orders. Yet the mail order department is making progress. The fact that samples are sent on demand in any amount; that the goods, when received and examined, may be returned if not satisfactory has done away with many objections.

Another advantage which the department stores have brought about is the greater conformity between supply and demand.

Formerly goods were manufactured months and sometimes years in advance. They were shipped to wholesalers, by them to jobbers and finally to the various retail stores. The goods might remain in the storehouses for months before they were in the hands of the consumers. They were often kept from one season to another. Moreover the manufacturers knew very little about the needs of the consumers. All that was possible was to trust to the probable demands of the jobbers who themselves relied on future orders. They would sometimes send agents through the country to see what were the probable demands of the next season. But these agents could not come into close touch with the consumer, as is the case with the buyers in the department stores. Furthermore the circumstances, tastes and styles often changed rapidly, unknown to the manufacturers, and thus supply might not correspond to the demand.

At present, the manufacturer is in almost direct touch with the people through the department stores. The quantity of goods needed for a season can be estimated with a great accuracy by the managers of the store. This estimate is furnished to the manufacturers who guide themselves by it. This allows them to work more regularly. The manufacturer, knowing what the normal demand will be, need not be afraid of unexpected demands, followed by dull times. He knows what force of men he can employ regularly without being forced to shut down his mills during certain months of the year. The quality and the style of goods are also thus determined. The salesmen are always on the alert to find out what people desire. If it is a style not in stock, or even not manufactured, they note it very carefully, and the fact is called to the attention of the heads of the department. If demands of this kind become rather frequent an order is immediately sent to the factory for the article in question.

Or it may happen that a lot of goods is not satisfactory. This may be found out only when they are in the hands of the consumers. The articles are returned from the consumers to the store and from the store to the manufacturer—a course which was altogether impossible when goods were handled by several middlemen before they came into the hands of the consumers.

Sometimes the department store will furnish the manufacturers the rough material for the production of a certain article. For instance, in the matter of shoes, the proprietors of the store will buy their own leather, and then bargain with a factory for the manufacture of 5,000 or 10,000 pairs of shoes out of the material. In this way the store knows exactly what quality of goods it sells and it avoids the trouble caused by dissatisfaction and return of articles. This method of large retailers of imposing on manufacturers their own terms instead of simply buying what is offered for sale, as it was done formerly, has greatly contributed to the establishment of more conformity between supply and demand. It is an important step taken towards the perfect control of production by consumption, which is the ideal of the economic order.

However a different view of the department stores is taken by the small retailers and other opponents. Without denying certain advantages of the modern great retail store, as to economy and convenience, they call attention to various evil effects which threaten the social order.

According to the evidence given by small retail dealers, the department store is a trust, and one of the worst in existence. Its aim is to destroy competition, by concentrating business in a few hands, by crowding out the small dealers, and creating a monopoly in the retail business. The first step is to attract the crowd by the methods already mentioned. They take a certain line of popular goods of a well known quality and style. They advertise it and sell it at actual cost, if not below cost. The retail dealers, unable to secure the discount offered to cash purchasers, unable to order large quantities, unable to compensate in some other line of goods, cannot compete at these prices. The crowd will naturally flock to the large stores and desert the smaller ones. They will not only buy the article advertised, but will do all their shopping while in the store, and nothing is left for the small retailer but to close his doors and give up his independent business. His chief hope is to solicit employment in the very stores which have caused his ruin.

This evil influence of department stores on small dealers is felt even in the small localities at a distance from the cities. The mail order system extends their activity in all directions. Then excursions are organized by the managers of these stores to attract people living in small towns or villages.

In this way the retail business is more and more concentrated in the hands of a few great stores. Competition is gradually destroyed. A practical monopoly results and the proprietors of the stores never fail to take advantage of it.

A retail merchant, in Chicago, testifying before the Industrial Commission, recalls the fact that the owner of a department store died two years ago leaving an estate of $15,000,000. He had been in business some seventeen years. Five years were required to place the business on a paying basis. During eight years the proprietor had a partner who drew one third of the profits. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the profits of that establishment were at least $1,500,000 a year. Now a million and a half a year would give an annual income of $1,500 to 1,000 small store-keepers, each of whom could maintain a household and rear a family in comfort.

The representatives of the department stores naturally answer that this number of store-keepers has not been thrown out of work by the department store. They have found in the large stores employment as remunerative as their first position. In fact they say, the whole class of laborers has been benefited by department stores. In furthering economy of production and convenience to customers, they have stimulated consumption and therefore necessitated a larger force of laboring men, both in the manufacture and in the distribution of goods. Not only have the department stores created employment for a greater number than were formerly employed in small concerns, but they have raised the wages and reduced the hours of work. They have done still more; they have raised the standard of labor. An employee in a large store may easily hold a more important position than if conducting his own store, and far from losing his individuality and personal dignity, he soon comes to identify himself with the interest of the establishment and to take pride in its success.

Retail dealers deny every one of these statements. That some laborers have been benefited by the change in retail business, is admitted by all—but it is an exception not the rule. They deny that the development of the department store has brought about a reduction of prices. It sells some goods—certain classes of popular goods—more cheaply than small retailers, but this is only a business trick. They sell other goods as high and often higher than other dealers so that on the whole, the average prices in department stores are not lower than those of the small stores.

There are no statistics at hand to show to what extent men have been thrown out of work by the development of the department stores. The publisher of the *Chicago Retailer's Journal* (VII, 705), assured the Industrial Commission that at a given time there were as many as 6,800 empty stores in Chicago, and he affirms that at the time of the investigation by the Commission (March, 1900) there were on an average five empty stores in every block on Lake and Madison streets.

It is not easy to show that the owners and clerks in all these places have found employment in the department stores. All admit that the new method in retail business has brought about economy in labor. It certainly takes less clerks, cashiers, bookkeepers to operate a store on the united plan than it did formerly to run five hundred or one thousand small stores doing the same total amount of business.

Moreover, continue the representatives of the single line retail stores, men have been largely replaced by women and children who receive only a small part of the wages which were paid to men. In the States in which there is a compulsory educational law, the difficulty is skillfully overcome. The stores have a little school of their own on one of the top floors and the children go there an hour or two each day in the morning when their services are not needed.

"These children," as one of the witnesses bitterly expressed it (VII, 724), "taken into these seething caldrons of Mammon at tender years are defrauded of their natural heritage of youth, growth and health to a large extent, defrauded of their happy days of childhood, and become the dwarfed and prematurely aged men and women of the future. Who can estimate the injury thus inflicted on society? The slight regard evinced for parental authority by so many children to-day is traceable to the same source. Because they can earn a few dollars a week at some of these stores, they consider themselves self-supporting and are correspondingly independent of authority."

The immoral life of a number of girls working in these stores has often been attributed to their low wages. The three or four dollars which they receive every week are not sufficient to procure for them an honest and comfortable living. Perhaps also are they a little extravagant in the matter of dress. It is thought very generally that recourse to an evil life might be one result of this condition if the facts alleged be true.

The question was put (VII, 701) by a member of the Industrial Commission to the manager of one department store, whether he would employ a girl who was alone in the world and who depended entirely on her own earnings. The answer was "No. She had better go into service somewhere where she could earn more money." This avowal, which is tantamount to saying that a large percentage of girls working in a department store do not get living wages, points to terrible consequences. Such wages not only mean a general lowering of salary, and of the standard of life; for these girls who are not otherwise supported and cannot find employment elsewhere, it means misery, or may mean sin; there seems to be no other alternative.

Not only have children and women been wronged by the introduction of department stores, it is further said, but the men themselves who have found employment in these stores have been deprived of their own individuality. No initiative is left to them. They have only to sell the goods at the prices and conditions determined by the head of the department. There is no liberty left to the employee; he is completely in the hands of his employer, who can discharge him at any moment for any reason, or cut down his wages at will.

To these evils, various remedies have been proposed. The question is a difficult one. Laws have already been enacted by the different states to obviate the abuses of the department stores; for instance laws against fraudulent advertising, misrepresentation of goods, hours of labor, restriction of employment of children under a certain age, requirement of sufficient time for lunch and rest, provisions of seats for women. Some of these laws have failed, others have had a partial success.

Legislation has also been attempted which aimed not only at the repression of abuses but at the partial or total destruction of the department stores. Among the measures advocated, is the law proposed by the Illinois Legislature in 1897. According to this law, all goods and salable articles were divided into seventy-four groups. A store owner or a corporation could not extend its business to more than one group of articles.

The City Council of Chicago, in the same year was somewhat more lenient. It was proposed to group the goods into thirty-eight categories. There remained perfect liberty for any individual or corporation to take over several lines of goods; but a tax was imposed which increased in geometrical ratio with each new group of articles.

The annual tax for one group of goods would have been $20.00; for two groups of goods, $40.00; for three groups of goods, $80.00; for four groups of goods, $160.00, etc.

The Supreme Court of Illinois declared such action unconstitutional. The Missouri Legislature (Mo. 99, p. 7,200) made another attempt to tax department stores. This was in 1899. The law passed in March of that year. This act classified merchandise in seventy-three classes, which were again arranged into twenty-eight groups, each group containing two, three, four or even more classes. It prohibited the sale of more than one group in cities of 50,000 except on a $300 and $500 license for each additional group or class. However establishments employing not more than fifteen persons were exempt.

But this law did not fare better than the Illinois laws. The Supreme Court of Missouri declared it unconstitutional, for it says "taxes must be uniform; the legislature shall not tax for city purposes nor deprive of liberty without due process of law" (State vs. Ashborn, 55 S. W. 627).

But even supposing that it was possible to tax the department stores in proportion to the number of classes of articles kept, would such taxation be wise? Many a tax has been aimed at the producers, at the corporations, at the trusts and combinations, which have fallen, not on the men for whom they were intended, but on the consumers or the wage earners. Is there not such a danger in the department stores? This is a problem which probably experience alone can solve.

We have in this résumé, a fairly complete view of the department store. It will be seen at once that many vital problems of social life are touched; that conflicts of interests for which society has no remedy, appear. There is danger of hasty condemnation as well as of injustice against these gigantic enterprises. On the other hand, they do threaten the supposed rights of a large number of persons.

We must educate ourselves to a thorough understanding of the situation before we act. It would be well therefore for the public to acquaint itself thoroughly with the methods, purposes rights, abuses and dangers of the great stores, in advance of any popular agitation against them. The Industrial Commission has rendered a real service to society in having given so much attention to the department stores. To have collected the information is itself a service. Once the public understands, we may hope for action which will safeguard the interests of society without detriment to true progress.

LEO L. DUBOIS.

THE MONKS OF RABBAN HORMIZD.

The private library of Dr. Hyvernat, professor of Semitic and Egyptian languages at the Catholic University, contains, besides some 6,750 volumes on Oriental languages and literatures, a good number of Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Turkish and Armenian manuscripts. These manuscripts afford excellent opportunities for personal research, for the student will find in many of them important documents still unpublished. It was from one of the Syriac manuscripts (No. VIII) that Dr. S. Carr edited and translated the treatise of Thomas of Edessa on the Nativity of Our Lord.[1] Other documents, no less interesting and important than the one published by Dr. Carr, exist in Dr. Hyvernat's collection and are still waiting for some enterprising editor to give them to the public.

It is the purpose of the present study to give a complete description of the Syriac Ms. No. XII of this collection, together with a detailed analysis of the second part, viz: The History of the Chaldean Community of the Monks of Rabban Hormizd near Mossul from the year 1808 to the year 1866.

I.

This Ms. No. XII is a transcript of another Ms. in the possession of the monks of Rabban Hormizd, near Mossul. It was made in 1889 for the use of Dr. Hyvernat who was a visitor there. It consists of 63 folios of strong Oriental paper which, considering its thickness, is extremely light, for the Ms. with its board and leather binding weighs only 20½ ounces. The script is that of the modern Nestorian Syriac character, and the words are furnished with vowel points. The folios measure 21.7 by 15.3 centimeters and have 22 lines to a page. They are numbered thus: I–II, 1–58, III–V. Originally, folios 1–58 had only the Syriac pagination; the Arabic numbering has been added for the sake of convenience. Folios, I, II, IV, and V, are blank. On folio III verso, there is a note in Italian informing the reader that the cost of the copying of the

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[1] *Thomæ Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi textum Syriacum edidit, notis illustravit, latine reddidit Simon Joseph Carr,* Romæ, 1898.

Ms. was 44 piasters (2 dollars and 20 cents). This shows us that the task of transcribing manuscripts is, for the monks of Rabban Hormizd, as it was for the monks of the Middle Ages, a labor of love, and not a question of money. Folio 1 recto contains the following note: "Storia degli Institutori dei Monasteri con breve aggiunta di storia della congregazione attuale dei religiosi caldei catolici che vivono nel monastero di Rabban Hormizd."

As we learn from this note, the Ms. consists of two distinct parts. The first part (folios 1 v.–44 r.) is the history of the founders of monasteries by Jesusdenah, bishop of Bassorah in the latter half of the eighth century. This work, better known as "The Book of Chastity,"[1] was published by J. B. Chabot under the title: "Le Livre de la Chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baçrah, publié et traduit par J. B. Chabot, Rome, 1896." The text edited by Chabot is that of a copy made in 1890 from an ancient Ms. in the library of the Convent of Seert in Armenia. The text of our Ms. is also derived from the Seert original through another copy in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. The "Book of Chastity" contains 140 biographical notices on the founders of monasteries in the East. Its complete title is: "By the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write the abridged history of all the Fathers who founded convents in the Kingdom of the Persians or of the Arabs, of all the Fathers who wrote books on monasticism, of some holy metropolitans and bishops who founded schools, or wrote on monastic life, or established convents in the East, and of some virtuous lay people, men and women, who founded schools or monasteries—(history) written by the friend of God, Mār Jesusdenah, metropolitan of Perath-Maisan, which is Baçrah. May our Lord help us by their prayers! Amen."

The text in our Ms. does not differ materially from the one edited by Chabot. There are, indeed, a few unimportant variant readings, as we might expect from two manuscripts based on the same original. We may notice, however, a lacuna existing in Dr. Chabot's text, which lacuna is not found in our

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[1] Such is the name given to it by Ebedjesu in his Catalogue. See Assemani, *B. O.*, t. III, 1a, p. 196.

Ms. On page 8 (last line) and on page 9 (lines 1 and 2) of Chabot's publication we read:

ܘܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܘܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܒܪܗܡ: ܘܒܢܘ
ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܫܡܪܘܢܐ.

Chabot remarks (p. 73, note 3) that there are some words missing after ܘܒܢܘ, and he completes the text thus:

ܘܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܘܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܒܪܗܡ: ܘܒܢܘ [ܕܝܪܬܐ.
ܘܡܪܝ ܝܘܣܦ ܕܒܢܐ] ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܫܡܪܘܢܐ.

The text thus restored reads: "And Mār Elia and Hnanjesu who came from the monastery of Mār Abraham and founded (convents; Mār Josef who founded) the convent of Samarouna." These missing words are supplied by the information given in the 37th biographical notice (text, p. 24, translation, p. 21). According to this notice, however, we ought to read "Mār Johannan" instead of "Mār Josef" (text p. 24, line 3). Our manuscript probably gives the correct reading:

ܘܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܘܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܒܪܗܡ: ܘܒܢܘ ܥܘܡܪܐ.
ܘܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܪܘܙܝܐ. ܕܒܢܐ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܫܡܪܘܢܐ.[1]

"And Mār Elia and Hnanjesu came from the monastery of Mār Abraham and founded a monastery; and Mār Johannan Marwazaya who founded the convent of Samarouna."

The "Book of Chastity," as Chabot remarks (p. 3), has no literary value. The style is very monotonous, and the biographical notices are short, dry, and uninteresting. Yet the work is of the highest importance on account of the many geographical and historical data it contains. These data will add materially to our knowledge of the East. They will enable the student to ascertain with precision the exact site of many towns and convents, and to complete, in some cases, the episcopal lists of the old Eastern dioceses. Dr. Chabot, who has already done so much for the cause of Syriac literature, is to be congratulated for placing within the reach of all this work of Jesusdenah. The index of names of persons and places (pp. 60–67) will enable every student to use this book with profit.

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[1] Folio 6 r, lines 13–15.

II.

We now come to the second part of our manuscript (folios 45 r.–58 v.), which contains the history of the Chaldean Community of Rabban Hormizd from the year 1808 to the year 1866. It is the work of Abbot Samuel Djamil, formerly superior general of the monks of Rabban Hormizd. It is written in ancient Syriac, and it compares favorably for elegance of style with the works of the classic Syriac authors. This document yet unpublished forms an interesting page in the history of the Chaldean Church in the nineteenth century. Its complete title (folio 45 r.) is: The History of our Catholic Chaldean Community written and abridged by Abbot Samuel Djamil, the venerable Superior General, (history extending) from the year 1808 of Our Lord, in which the Community was founded by our Father the pious Gabriel Denbou, to the year 1866 in which an end was put to the claims often moved by the family of Mār Johannan Hormizd[1] to take from the brethren the mills and the fields which are truly the property of our Convent of Rabban Hormizd the Persian.''

Owing to the limited space at our disposal, we can give only a detailed analysis of this interesting document.

Our Convent of Rabban Hormizd, situated on a mountain[2] east of Alqosch, was founded in the seventh century by Rabban Hormizd[3] a disciple of Bar Idta.[4] The temporalities of the Convent included mills upon the river of the village of Beth Hindwaye, fields at the foot of the mountains, vineyards, fruit Fol. 45r trees and olive trees in the village of Samkan and in the diocese of Zako.[1]

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[1] Mār Johannan Hormizd, also known by the names of Mutran Hanna and Mār Elia, was the last descendant of the Nestorian patriarchal series of the Eliases. He became a Catholic in 1779. When Mār Josef V, the last representative of the Catholic series of patriarchs died in 1828, Mār Johannan became the sole patriarch in Chaldea. He died in 1841 and, after his death, the patriarchal succession ceased to be hereditary. His family laid claim to the dependencies which belonged by right to the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. The present narrative is nothing more than an account of the attempts made by the men of Mār Johannan to take possession of those dependencies. For further information concerning Mār Johannan see Badger, "The Nestorians and their Rituals," Vol. I, pp. 150–167.

[2] There are now two convents belonging to the monks of Rabban Hormizd:—the ancient convent which is the one spoken of here, and the new convent, or the Convent of the Virgin. According to the mode of computing distances in the Orient, the Convent of the Virgin is 45 minutes east of Alqosch, and the old convent 35 minutes farther. For a description and a phototype of both convents see *Müller-Simonis*, and *Hyvernat*, "Du Caucase au Golfe Persique," Washington, 1892, p. 416.

[3] Chabot, "Le Livre de la Chasteté," p. 10.

[4] Ibidem.

45v. The Convent having been abandoned, the families of Mār Johannan and Mār Hnanjesu took charge of the property. They appointed overseers to look after it and to receive the offerings brought by the faithful. The overseers became proud, and began to administer things as they pleased. Shortly after the establishment of the Catholic faith in Mossul by missionaries sent from Rome, Gabriel Denbou, a subdeacon, unmarried and virtuous, came from Mardin to Mossul, and resolved to become a monk and to found a new Community.

46r. He enquired from the Christians in Mossul where he could find a monastery in which to carry out his purpose. They pointed out three convents to him: that of Mār Georghis, that of Mār Abraham, and that of Rabban Hormizd. These three convents were under the jurisdiction of Mār Johannan and of Hnanjesu, the metropolitan of Umadia. The Christians advised Gabriel to ask for the Convent of Rabban Hormizd which was the best of the three. Gabriel went to Mār Johannan and
46v. asked him for this Convent. Mār Johannan refused, but told him that he might have either of the other two. Gabriel, however, anxious to secure the Convent of Rabban Hormizd, went to Mossul, and made known his plans to the Dominican Fathers. These Fathers were held in high esteem by the governor of Mossul who was dissatisfied with Mār Johannan. They told Mār Johannan that, if he gave the Convent of Rabban Hormizd
47r. to Gabriel, they would reconcile the governor with him. Mār Johannan agreed, but, after he was reconciled with the governor, he broke his promise. Gabriel returned to Alqosh and made known his purpose to the priest Georghis, to Hormiz Gawro, and other pious men. They encouraged him and told him they would apply to Hnanjesu for the Convent, because it was in his diocese. They promised Hnanjesu that, if he gave the Convent of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel, they would separate from Mār Johannan and join his own diocese. Hnanjesu replied:
47v. "The Convent belongs to me and I may give it to you, but Gabriel will not be able to dwell in it for fear of the Mezour-

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[1] On the river Khabhour, a tributary of the Tigris. For the exact site of the different places mentioned in this document, see Kiepert, *Nouvelle Carte générale des Provinces Asiatiques de l'Empire Ottoman*, Berlin (Reimer), 1884.

naye Kurds who are evil men." Hormiz Gawro offered to be caution that the Kurds would not molest Gabriel. On this condition, Hnanjesu turned the Convent over to Gabriel, and gave him a written document signed with his own hand. Gabriel, accompanied by the priest Georghis, Hormiz Gawro and the Christians of Alqosh, took formal possession of the Convent of Rabban Hormizd on Palm Sunday, the 20th of Adar (March), 1808.

The first companions of Gabriel were Hormiz Dawidaya, a 48r. convert from Nestorianism, and Jesu Kasko of Alqosch. The new community increased little by little. The Dominican Fathers of Mossul, hearing that Gabriel had come into possession of Rabban Hormizd, rejoiced greatly; they went to Zebar Pacha, governor of Umadia, and asked him to turn over to Gabriel the dependencies of the Convent, which were then in the hands of the family of Mār Johannan. The governor, acknowledging the justice of the claim, transferred these temporalities to Gabriel and gave him a legal document to that effect. For fear of Mār Johannan, Gabriel kept the document 48v. secret. When Mār Johannan heard that Mār Hnanjesu had given the Convent of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel, he was angry with him, and rebuked him severely for having done so without permission. He told him that the time would soon come when they would also take the temporalities of the Convent from them. He commanded Hnanjesu to eject the monks from the Convent.

Mār Hnanjesu twice sent messengers to tell Gabriel and his 49r. companions to vacate the Convent. The monks refused to go and showed the messengers the document signed by Hnanjesu, telling them that only force could drive them out. Finally the men of Mār Johannan and the men of Mār Hnanjesu took counsel together and resolved to expel the monks by any means at their disposal. They went to the Convent and urged the monks to leave, but Gabriel and his companions refused, and told them 49v. they had not entered the Convent of their own authority, but with the permission of Hnanjesu. The enemies of the monks returned to Alqosch, where they again took counsel together. Hnanjesu went to Umadia where he embraced Nestorianism. He brought back with him some of the soldiers of Hekouma, and with their help and the assistance of Mār Johannan, he drove the monks from the Convent, and took everything they possessed. The persecutors inflicted severe wounds on the monks, and held Gabriel prisoner for many days in the house of Bouraq of Alqosch.

50r. After Gabriel was released, the brethren gathered together in the Church of Mār Mica in Alqosch. They spent their time instructing the youth of the village. In 1811, Gabriel was ordained priest. Mār Hnanjesu, whilst visiting the village of Malasana in his diocese, fell seriously ill and was near unto
50v. death. He became sorry for having expelled the monks, and, calling his brother David and his servant Dangela of Telkef, he said to them: "I am dying and I am afraid of the judgment of the Most High God, because I have oppressed the monks, and have driven them from the Convent. This is my last command and testament that, when you return to Alqosh, you will deliver the keys of the Convent to the monks." This said, he died without the help of a priest, and he was buried in Alqosch during the night. David made known to his brother Daniel the last command of Hnanjesu, but Daniel refused to give the keys of the Convent to the monks. Shortly afterwards, Daniel's wife gave birth to a son. Her son being near unto death, she
51r. said to her husband: "God has punished Hnanjesu for expelling the monks from the Convent, and now He is causing my son to die because we have not given the keys of the Convent to the monks. Therefore, either deliver the keys to the monks or I will not stay in the house with you." Thereupon, Daniel, her husband, sent for Hanna Goze, a friend of the monks, and gave him the keys. After this, the child got well. Gabriel and his companions returned to the Convent in 1812. The community, which numbered monks, deacons and priests, increased little by little, and the brethren went about the towns and villages teaching and preaching.

51v. The families of Mār Johannan and of Mār Hnanjesu, which had been at enmity for a long time, became friendly after the monks took possession of the Convent. Afraid that the monks would take from them the temporalities attached to the Convent, those two families stirred up persecutions against the community of Rabban Hormizd. In 1813, they sought to instigate Hacha Pacha, governor of Mossul, against the monks. The governor sent his son to the Convent to investigate the facts. Having received a most favorable report, the governor 52r. refused to harm the monks in any way. Then the men of Mār Johannan pressed Ionos Gazi, chief of the Mezournaye Kurds, to persecute the monks, but the chief refused to harm good men engaged in the service of God. In 1820, they preferred charges against the monks before Murad Pacha, governor of Umadia. But the men of Alqosch spoke in favor of the monks; the governor 52v. despised the charges and sent his son to the Convent to assure the monks of his good will. In 1828, Mousa Pacha, governor of Umadia being in Alqosch, the men of Mār Johannan sought his help, and offered him as a bribe all that the Convent and the church possessed, if he would expel the monks from Rabban Hormizd. He agreed and sent soldiers against the Convent. They seized Hanna Gora, the general prefect of the Convent, and Joiakim Shandel the procurator, and cast them into prison at Alqosch. They took everything which they 53r. found in the Convent and in the church: gold, silver, wheat, barley, oil, rice, grapes, honey, linen, vestments, books and manuscripts. Hanna Gora and Joiakim Shandel were kept in prison for six months, and were finally released upon payment of a large sum of money.

After this persecution, the brethren lived in Alqosch for a 53v. year. Gabriel returned from Rome in 1832. About that time, charges having been laid against the Alqoschites, Mirekor, Pacha of Rawandos, came to attack the village. The people and the monks fled for fear, but the soldiers pursued them, killed many of them, and robbed the others.

When Abdallah, the leader of the soldiers, heard that those 54r. who had been killed were Christians who paid taxes to the government, he ordered the massacre to be stopped. The brethren, who had escaped, returned to look for the bodies of Gabriel, of Father Augustin of Telkef, of Johannan bar Sabnya, and Jesu Kasko who had been killed. They found only the body of Gabriel. They buried it with great honor in the Church of Mār Mica, where it rested until 1849. On the 21st of Tamuz (July), of that year, they brought the bones of Gabriel from Alqosch and the bones of Hanna Gora and of Moses who had

54v. died in prison in Umadia, and buried them in a common grave in the Convent of Rabban Hormizd.

Three years after this persecution, in 1835, Mār Johannan, the priest Patros, Elia, Shalia, Markos, Abarha, and Mutran Elia, bribed Rasul Bey, governor of Umadia; they cast into prison Mar Josef Audo, metropolitan of Umadia, and three of the monks, namely, Joiakim Shandel, Dominos Gundira and Rokos Kancharkan. The Convent was plundered a second time; and the brethren, in order to release Mār Josef Audo and
55r. the monks held prisoners in Umadia, were forced to sell some convent property such as books, clothes, and furniture, until they had raised the sum of 14,625 piasters (about 732 dollars) which was given to the Pacha. The men of Mār Johannan continued to molest the monks and the Christians of Alqosch who were friendly to the community. In 1842, they united with Ismail Pacha who had rebelled against the government. This cruel man plundered the village of Alqosch and the Convent
55v. of Rabban Hormizd. Among the property taken from the monks, the author mentions sheep, cows, heifers, clothes, furniture, carpets, church vestments, chalices, patens, and a large number of Chaldean, Arabic and Latin books.

56r. Fifteen of the monks, with Hanna Gora, the superior, were kept prisoners in Umadia for five months. Two of them died from the wounds inflicted upon them. When Mohammed, Pacha of Mossul, captured Umadia from Ismail, the prisoners were set free and they returned to the Convent. Four died shortly after. All these persecutions were stirred up by the family of Mār Johannan.

56v. In the same year (1842), some prominent men of Alqosch came to Mossul and laid charges before the Pacha against the family of Mār Johannan. They said that the men of Mār Johannan had brought Ismail to Alqosch, that they were responsible for the plundering of the village and the Convent, and that they were the cause of the death of two of the monks in the prison of Umadia. The crafty Pacha issued an order that the men of Mār Johannan should be expelled from the village, and that all their property should be sold, and the price thereof given to the Convent and the Church of Alqosch.

57r. When they came to sell the fields and the mills of the Convent, the monks, upon the advice of Botta, the French Consul, and of the Dominican Fathers, objected, for they claimed that the fields and the mills were the property of the Convent, and not of Mār Johannan. The monks brought their claim before the judge and the governor of Mossul; the men of Alqosch testified that the mills and the fields were truly the property of the Convent, and that the men of Mār Johannan had appropriated the income thereof unjustly.

Upon the request of the French Consul, the Pacha gave a 57v. decision in favor of the monks, and drew up a legal document signed by the judge and the members of the court to the effect that the mills and the fields belonged to the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. The monks had to pay 1,546 piasters as their part of the total costs which amounted to 2,000 piasters. From this day forth, they were able to enjoy the property in peace and security.

In 1865 some evil men advised the family of Mār Johannan to lay claim to the mills and the fields. They appealed to the judge at Mossul, who denied their request. One of them, Jacob Marughin by name, brought the case before the governor of Babylon, who refused to hear it; from there he appealed to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, from whom he could 58r. not get a hearing. Finally he went to Constantinople, and through Hacha Pacha, a former governor of Mossul, obtained papers from the tribunal. He sent the papers to his men in Mossul, instructing them to proceed against the monks; but the latter appealed to the Sublime Porte. Abbot Elisha Elias, the Superior General of the community, came to Constantinople in 1866, and, with the assistance of Patriarch Hassun, Catholicos of Armenia, obtained an imperial decree stating that the mills and the fields in question were truly the property of the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. After Elias returned to Alqosch, Jacob Marughin remained his enemy for a long time, and often tried to reopen the case. Finally Jacob repented for 58v. what he had done, for he had been compelled by law to reimburse the monks for the expenses incurred in the litigation. In presence of trustworthy witnesses, he wrote and signed a document to the effect that neither he nor any member of his family would ever lay claim to the said property. The monks, on the other hand, gave him a legal document stating that they would not ask for their expenses in connection with the case. Since then the monks have enjoyed the said property in all freedom and security.

End of the history of the Community of Rabban Hormizd.

Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde.

DUVAL'S EDITION OF BAR-BAHLÛL.[1]

The readers of the Bulletin are sufficiently acquainted with the nature and importance of Bar-Bahlûl's work and with the various "codices" containing that precious lexicographic compilation;[2] we hope this will help them to follow with more interest the review we now undertake of Professor Duval's superb edition. However, before we enter upon our immediate subject it will be well to retrace briefly the part played by Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon in the history of Oriental scholarship in Europe. This will be, after all, the best way to illustrate the merits of the epoch-making publication of the celebrated professor of the "Collége de France."

Both Erpenius and Golius, the first European Orientalists who came into possession of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon, died without any attempt at editing this treasure. As eminent Orientalists and lexicographers, they cannot have failed to realize the importance of such a work and the great profit that its publication would be to Oriental studies. It is very likely, however, that they understood also the endless difficulties of an enterprise to which the resources of their time were not equal. Wise men are patient.

Nevertheless, early Syriac scholars were often impatient; such at least was the case with some of the lexicographists, and their kind has perpetuated itself even unto our days. Naturally, the first Syriac dictionaries were compiled from the Syriac translations of the New Testament. With very few other specimens of Syriac literature, these translations were all that the early Syriologists had to draw from. Such were, for instance, the "Peculium Syrorum" of Masius, published in the Polyglot of Antwerp (1571), the Lexicons of Crinesius (1612), of Trost (1623), and many others. But this process especially when applied to original Syriac literature, was too slow for the growing interest of scholars. As early as 1636 a Catholic missionary and Orientalist, Thomas a Novaria (Thomas Obicini) published a new Lexicon based on the first Syrian Lexicon that was brought to Europe, the *Book of the Interpreter* of Elias of Nisibis.[1] And thirty-three years later Edm. Castell, better known as Castellus, utilized the Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl for the Syriac portion of his Heptaglot-Lexicon published as an appendix to Walton's Polyglot (1669). He used for this purpose the Codex of Erpenius, the first copy of Bar-Bahlûl's work that had found its way to a European collection. It was already in the possession of the University of Cambridge. J. D. Michaelis, who published in 1788 a second edition of the work of Castellus, inserted therein quite a number of glosses borrowed from the dictionary of Bar-Ali, of which there is a copy in the University of Göttingen made from a MS. of Leyden. The result, in all these instances, was rather disappointing, particularly in the case of glosses borrowed from Bar-Bahlûl's work. In many of these, words appear so disfigured by the errors of amanuenses that they can be of no use at all; in other cases glosses are so shortened as to render them obscure and misleading; for instance on page 9 we read:

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[1] "Lexicon Syriacum," auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule, voces syriacas græcasque cum glossis syriacis et arabicis complectens, e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit Rubens Duval. 3 vols. in 4°. Paris: Leroux (Imprimerie Nationale), 1888–1901.

[2] Cf. Bulletin, January, 1902, p. 58, An ancient Syriac lexicographer. With regard to this article we beg the reader to correct a few passages as follows: p. 60, l. 1, + 1218, read + 1318; p. 62, l. 28, *πέρι τὴς* read *περὶ τῆς* l. 37, Ishāg, read Ishāq; p. 63, l. 7, *i. e.*, the Lame, read "the Lame"; p. 64, l. 7, *διαλαψμα* read *δίαψαλμα*; p. 65, l. 3, Gabriel, read Antonius; l. 7, Lord Huntington, read Robert Huntington; l. 34, Diarkekir, read Diarbekir; p. 71, l. 5, *ὐλη* and p. 73, l. 28, *δλη* read *ὕλη*.

"ܐܓܝܪܛܘܣ, ’Αγήρατος, Senii expers.–B.-B."

We might conclude that according to Bar-Bahlûl the word ܐܓܝܪܛܘܣ means simply "ever young." Now the gloss is as follows:

"ܐܓܝܪܛܘܣ Gabriel ibn Bokht-Jesu said: a stone called aghiratos, that is nagmi, and he says from Galenus that it means: the stone that does not get old."

Whence it may be safely concluded that the word of Bar-Bahlûl had in view is the name of a certain stone.[2] Again on page 215 we find the word ܕܓܕܟܘܢ occurring in Dan, I, 9, thus explained:

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[1] "Thesaurus Arabico-Syrus." This publication is so full of mistakes as to make it absolutely worthless. The work has been published again by P. de Lagarde in his "Prætermissorum Libri duo."

[2] Probably the copperas, which shoemakers used to polish women's shoes.

"ܕܓܕܟܘܢ *quasi dicas* ܕܐܬܓܕܟܘܢ quod vobis accidit.–B.-B."
Now Bar-Bahlûl does not say any such thing, but, as follows:

"ܕܓܕܟܘܢ Your share, that comes to you; *i. e., that one thing* that comes to you. According to Mar Eliah ܕܓܕܟܘܢ means the *decree* that concerns *you.*"

This last rendering is as good as can be expected, the first two are not quite as accurate, although sufficiently fair. Castellus had only the "embarras du choix"; unfortunately he selected only the explicative portion of the renderings and propped it upon a false etymology, for which the Syrian lexicographer is certainly not responsible.[1]

This ought to have sufficed to warn the lexicographists of the difficulties that attended the method inaugurated by Thomas a Novaria and Castellus. But, as we have seen, none of the great centers of Syriac studies had, then, a copy of Bar-Bahlûl's work and consequently nobody there realized how radically defective the method was. Quatremère himself, who had composed a large Syriac Dictionary compiled from the collections of Syriac manuscripts of Paris and Rome, had intended to complete his work from the Lexicons of Bar-Ali and Bar-Bahlûl. Only, having observed that most of the glosses borrowed by Castellus from Bar-Bahlûl were nothing but defaced Greek words he had decided to omit all such words unless actually occurring in the Syriac literature. It was not given to Quatremère to publish his dictionary, but it is probable that if he had lived to get acquainted with the nature of the two Syrian Lexicons he would have either given up the idea of utilizing them, or would have been obliged to postpone indefinitely his publication, until he himself, or somebody else had successfully undertaken to sift the immense material accumulated in their thousands of columns.

Gesenius was the first to describe somewhat accurately the nature and contents of Bar-Ali's and Bar-Bahlûl's great compilations, in his "De Bar-Alio et Bar-Bahlulo Lexicographis Syro-Arabicis," Sacra Pentecostolia, Halle 1834 and 1839. I have not yet succeeded in obtaining a copy of that very rare "opusculum" and consequently cannot speak with authority of the conclusions of the author, nor of their direct influence on the fate of Bar-Bahlûl's compilation among us.

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[1] We must be pardoned for entering into such details; we deemed it necessary to warn the many owners of Castellus' Lexicon against the impression that it represents, at least substantially, the work of Bar-Bahlûl.

At all events, as early as 1836, Bernstein, Professor of Oriental Languages at Berlin, entered on a route entirely different from the beaten track, by deciding to publish the whole Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl.[1] With two young German Orientalists DD. Behnsch and Gottwaldt, he repaired to Oxford and set to copying the whole of the Codex Huntington, and the first half of the Codex Marshal. Subsequently, he obtained collations from the manuscript of Florence. Six years later after having spent 5,000 thalers of his own money, he was allowed to hope that the King of Prussia would defray the expenses of the edition. Much elated over that expectation, Bernstein issued a proof of the publication, which he submitted to the minister together with an estimate of the cost, not doubting that thanks to Gesenius and Hahn, who had been appointed referees on his project, this would meet the approbation of the minister Eichhorn. Hahn reported favorably, but Gesenius who so far had been both privately and in public the principal advocate of Bernstein's complete edition of Bar-Bahlûl, said it would be preferable that Bernstein should publish his own Syriac dictionary after having worked into it Bar-Bahlûl's glosses. It would have been much wiser to ask him to publish his dictionary without any additions. The consequence was that Bernstein published nothing at all until 1857, when the first fascicle of his dictionary finally appeared, with the insertions from Bar-Bahlûl, according to Gesenius' strange recommendation. Bernstein was then sixty-nine years old. He died three years later without having published the second fascicle.[2]

The inexplicable judgment of Gesenius had, however, a more regrettable consequence than to simply put off indefinitely the publication of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. It was an encouragement for future Syriac lexicographists to adhere to a method which had proved radically wrong. In vain did P. de Lagarde ("Gesammelte Abhandlungen," 1, p. 2 ff) try to make this point clear to everybody, advocating the publication of Bar-Ali's and Bar-Bahlûl's complete works such as they were, as absolutely necessary; showing that a European lexicographist could not rely upon *one* manuscript of those works, and content himself with consulting other codices in places particularly obscure; that it was necessary to publish everything, even the lapsus calami of the amanuenses,[1] not only the words explained, but also their explanations as throwing considerable light on the expressions of the daily life of the Syrians; insisting that after all, Bar-Bahlûl's compilation was not so much a lexicon as an encyclopedia that demanded to be thoroughly and critically examined before it could be used for lexicographical or any other purposes; that one man, however learned and skillful he might be, could not make a choice or a selection among so many different forms in which often one same word will appear, without being arbitrary and therefore unreliable.

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[1] Although he had undertaken, and long completed, a Syriac dictionary of his own.

[2] See Bernstein, "Ueber die vorhandenen Handschrr. des Syrisch-Arabischen Lexicons des Bar-Bahlûl und die von mir beabsichtigte Herausgabe dieses Werkes," Z. D. M. G., II (1848), p. 369 ff.—Nève, "De la renaissance des études Syriaques," *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1854. "L'Église d'Orient et son Histoire," ibid., 1860.

It was impossible to be clearer; and better advice was never given by a more competent man, and yet the next Syriologist who attempted to give to the public another Syriac dictionary, Payne Smith, proved just as "arriéré" in his methods as Castellus himself. He, too, yielded to the temptation of swelling his columns with glosses of the Syrian Lexicographers, remaining blind to the lessons taught by his predecessors, deaf to the warnings of those who could see. Naturally he quotes a great deal more abundantly than Castellus and we must say also more correctly; consequently there is no question of his having thereby contributed much towards gratifying the impatient curiosity of the lover of Syriac literature. But even if in some cases curiosity be intensely aroused and to some extent gratified, it is never satisfied. Of course P. de Lagarde did not miss the chance that was offered to him to recall the warnings against failure he had given to whoever would attempt to make any use, worth mentioning, of such an immense and varied corpus of glosses as Bar-Bahlûl's compilation is, before this had been published in its entirety, and submitted for critical examination and sifting, not to one man (however able he might be), but to a whole body of men trained in the different branches of lore represented in that corpus.[1] We need not say that the great critic had no trouble to show, from the many mistakes and blunders into which the English Orientalist fell, that *his* is the only right view of publishing a new Syriac Dictionary, and the Syrian Lexicons, as well. But we shall not insist any longer on a defect which, however important it may be, does not affect the essential parts of the "Thesaurus." Be it sufficient to say that, after the completion of Payne Smith's gigantic work, an entire edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon would still have been necessary, if Prof. R. Duval had not undertaken and successfully carried through that important publication. Begun in 1888, it was finished in 1901, only a few months after the "Thesaurus" which was commenced in 1873. Indeed, France may well be proud that one of her scholars has succeeded where the learned men of England and Germany had failed, although, we must say, not without honor, nor without a right to a share of credit in Professor Duval's success.

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[1] For "nicht allein das Wort ist die Mutter der Sache; auch der Schreibfehler is der Vater des Aberwitzes." For instance white magic in contradistinction to Nigromantia, a mere corruption of necromanteia, under the pen of ignorant amanuenses.

Professor Duval's edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon forms three quarto volumes. The first two contain the text in 2,098 columns (Vol. I, ܐ-ܟ Coll. 1–984; Volume II. ܠ-ܬ Coll. 985–2098); the third volume is made of two introductions and several appendices; viz., the introduction to the first fascicle,[2] published like the latter in 1888 (pp. i–vi); 2°, the general introduction (pp. vii–xxxix), published in 1901[3] together with, 3°, an appendix containing the Greek words scattered throughout the Lexicon, brought back as far as possible to their primitive garb (pp. 1–77);[4] 4°, three indices for the Syriac, Arabic and Persian words, the passages of the Bible quoted by Bar-Bahlûl, and the "Addenda and Corrigenda" (pp. 78–248).[5]

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[1] "Symmicta," p. 79.

[2] "Præfatio Primi Fasciculi," in fact a temporary introduction.

[3] "Procemium."

[4] "Appendix."

[5] "Index vocum syriacarum; Delectus vocum arabicarum; Index vocum persicarum; Loci Biblici; Addenda et Corrigenda."

The text claims our first attention. We are glad to say from the start that it answers all reasonable expectations.

A critical edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon, in the strict sense of the word, would have been, so to speak, an impossibility, under the existing circumstances; it would have implied the previous examination and sifting of that immense material, so as to distinguish what really belongs to Bar-Bahlûl, from what has been added unto it. Besides, the additions themselves ought to have been sifted in their turn, so as to be referred to their respective sources. We have already given clear evidence of all that;[1] moreover, we have insinuated that after all, this huge and tedious work of sifting—for which the lifetime of a scholar would probably not have sufficed—is secondary at most, when the question is of a compilation of glosses. The task of the first editor of Bar-Bahlûl was therefore to publish as soon as possible, in a reasonable time, and at a reasonable cost, the whole *corpus* of glosses, as they were found in the manuscripts.

For the very same reason it was not necessary to choose a Nestorian manuscript as the basis of the edition, as some have suggested. Besides, it would have been impossible to find a basis in the Nestorian group which, we have seen elsewhere, is represented only by the first two volumes of an odd set of four (see above p. 66) preserved in Rome (hence R in the future) and a patched-up copy of Berlin (hence B). Now, not only does R represent only one half of the whole Lexicon (from Alaf to Semcath), but the two volumes belong to two different manuscripts. As for B its fragmentary condition, without the mistakes in which it abounds, would also make it unfit to be used as a basis. We might go even further and question the very existence of a Nestorian group. But of that farther on.

Under such circumstances the best happened to be what otherwise might have been the worst: it was to select as a basis the generally most correct manuscript, even though more complete than the others only for containing more additional glosses. This Professor Duval understood, and he stuck to it, much to his credit, in spite of bitterly adverse criticism.[2]

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[1] See pp. 67 and 68.

[2] Cf. the lengthy criticism of Bar-Bahlûl's first fascicle by A. Rahlf, in the *Götting. gelehrte Anzeig.*, nos. 25 and 26 of 1893, and Duval's able answer in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX, vol. 3 (1894), p. 142 ff.

The basis of his edition is the Codex Huntington (H) written in 1645, which Bernstein also had selected for the basis of his own edition. In the margin Professor Duval gives all along, the variant readings of the Codex of Florence (F) 1606, and of the two codices discovered by the late Professor Socin (S and Ss).[1] These three Professor Duval has collated throughout. As for the other manuscripts, he quotes them also, here and there, but does not claim to have collated them except on the passages from which he excerpted variant readings. However, in the first pages he gives the readings of all the codices so as to allow the reader to form for himself as accurate an idea as possible of the character of each manuscript.

The result, as a whole, is quite satisfactory. We have now with sufficient accuracy the text of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. A better edition will not be possible until prepared from the elements contained in this; and it may be the work of several generations.

We come now to the third volume, which, we have said, contains two introductions and several appendices, indices and so on. We shall take only the most striking features in the two introductions, as we do not intend to write here a volume of our own on that matter.

To begin with the general appearance of the volume, we must state frankly that we regret Professor Duval could not, on the completion of his work, merge the introduction to the first fascicle into the general introduction. It is a well known fact that an introduction can rarely be printed until the whole work is either in print, or at least, in the hands of the printer. In the contrary case, which generally happens when the publication takes place on the instalment plan, an announcement or temporary introduction is published with the first instalment and replaced afterwards, by the introduction proper. Professor Duval, apparently, intended to follow the ordinary custom;[2] for some reason or other he did not do so. He chose to retain the introduction to the first fascicle along with the general introduction. This has created, if not exactly disorder, at least some entanglement, and in some cases, the reversing of the parts. Thus the classification of the manuscripts comes before their description; the reverse would be more natural, or at any rate, we would have expected to find the two parts together. There is considerable entanglement between the two introductions on that very same point. Some manuscripts are very differently described in the two. The class of the Nestorian manuscripts is very much curtailed in the second introduction, and the Jacobite class is increased in the same proportion. Besides there has been evidently some hesitation in the carrying out of the plan of the general introduction as announced in the introduction to the first fascicle; for instance, the two prefaces of Bar-Bahlûl which, according to the introduction to the first fascicle, were to be treated in a sixth chapter at the end of the general introduction, have been, in fact, as is more reasonable, incorporated with the first chapter: *De origine et Compositione.* This disorder, however, is more apparent than real. It simply shows that as Professor Duval was getting deeper in his subject and more familiar with the different elements or sources, he changed his original views on several points, either spontaneously or as a consequence of criticism. Moreover, we must say that these variations do not affect either of the two essential points: The method, and the choice of the manuscripts to be used. It is evident that even long before the publication of the first fascicle, Professor Duval had clearly made up his mind as to what course he was to follow on those two points, nor could the most bitter criticism make him deviate from it.

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[1] For the dates see pp. 65 and 66.

[2] See his answer to A. Rahlf's criticism, loc. cit., p. 149.

The part of the introduction most open to criticism, or at least to suggestion, is the classification of manuscripts, also their description, both in itself or in relation to the classification.

Professor Duval has divided all his manuscripts containing the Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl, uninterpolated with the one of Bar-Ali, into two classes. I. The Eastern or Nestorian manuscripts, and II. the Western, subdivided, themselves, into Jacobite and Maronite. Undoubtedly he had his reasons for such a distinction. But we would like to know them. In the case of Cod. B., for instance, we have a statement about its script to show us that it was at least copied by a Nestorian, nevertheless

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it might have been copied from a manuscript of Monophysite recension. Still worse is the case with Cod. R. (Vols. I and II). For Professor Duval does not say anything about its script. The only Nestorian feature mentioned in the description consists in a couple of notes in Nestorian script, referring to the ownership of the two volumes. Certainly Professor Duval must have had something more serious than that to guide him in his classification.

The system of "Sigla" selected to indicate the manuscripts in the margin is not very clear. R for instance stands for four volumes corresponding to as many manuscripts—two of the Nestorian group and two of the Jacobite group. On the other side two volumes of the same manuscript are represented by two different "Sigla" F and Ss. It is confusing for the reader; it would have been as easy as it was desirable to avoid that inconvenience.

In the description of Cod. F which he collated entirely, Professor Duval does not make the slightest allusion to the Catalogue of Assemani, where that manuscript is entered as dating from 1635, instead of 1606. We are ready to believe that Professor Duval is right as against Assemani, yet we should feel more satisfied if he had given us to understand that he was conscious of contradicting his predecessor.

In this same description, Professor Duval speaking of the copyist Antonius Sionita, says: "liquet Antonium ex Hierosolymis oriundum, etc." Antonius Sionita was no more a native of Jerusalem than Gabriel Sionita. Both were from Ehden in Mount Lebanon, and probably belong to the same family, *Siûni*.

Here and there in the colophons we have come across a few misrenderings. As a rule they are mere "lapsus calami," without importance in such a work as an edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. One, however, affects a point that might prove interesting for the history and classification of the manuscripts of the Maronite group. We mean the words ܐܓܐܒ ܗܕܗ ܐܠܢܣܟܗ *i.e.*, in Arabic letters, اجاب هذه النسخة which we read in a colophon in Carshooni script of Cod. Marshal. Payne Smith in his catalogue of the Syriac MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Col. 625, translates: *ut hic codex transcriberetur concessit,* and in a footnote to that passage he adds: "Nostrum autem codicem in eo cœnobio in A. C. 1597 *describendum curavit* Georgius Amira, rogantibus monachis, اجاب enim *annuit.*" Prof. Duval accepts, although not without some hesitation, that rendering and translates also: "*hoc exemplar exscribendum curavit* (?)" without commentary, even without referring us to Payne Smith. I shall not lose time in trying to show that there is nothing in Arabic grammar or lexicography to justify such a rendering. If اجاب is not, as I think, a lapsus calami, it can stand for nothing else than جاب which in Mount Lebanon as elsewhere stands for جاءب and means "he brought." So that we must translate: *et hoc attulit exemplar.* If this interpretation be right, it follows that the original codex from which the Maronite group flowed was not, as supposed, the property of the Convent of St. Anthony, but of George Amira, the archbishop of Ehden; and while there is nothing to show that the prelate did not find the manuscript in some other convent of Mount Lebanon, St. Sergius' Convent, for instance, in the diocese of, and right above Ehden, it is quite permissible also to suppose that the manuscript came from some other part of the world. George Amira had returned from Rome in 1595, after a stay of twelve years in that city, where he might very well have received it from some Oriental priest or from some missionary. We shall add that the colophon in question is not an ordinary note of the copyist, not even necessarily a note of the copyist at all. It is the recording of a contract and consequently it does not prove that its author was the amanuensis who wrote this particular manuscript.

Having spoken of other "lapsus" in the translation of the colophons, I shall quote just one instance from that very same one, *i.e.,* في طاعة which Professor Duval, again following Payne Smith, renders: *in ditione.* I think he means: *prae obedientia.*

We could say a great deal on this very interesting question of the manuscripts, but it would take us too far beyond the limits of a review, limits that we have already much exceeded, while deviating somewhat from the style of book review. Besides in a publication like this the details of execution sink into insignificance in comparison with the undertaking itself, and the methods that made it a success.

HENRY HYVARNAT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen, uebersetzt, erlaeutert, und mit einer Geschichte des geistlichen Bildungswesen eingeleitet. Von Markus Siebengartner, Religionslehrer am Alten Gymnasium in Regensburg. Freiburg: Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. xv + 501.

We have in this work the fourteenth volume of the very useful "Bibliothek der Katholischen Paedagogik," inaugurated by Herder in Freiburg. The series, of which we hope, ere long, to give a lengthy synopsis, is deserving of all encouragement, being a most helpful collection of the materials for the history of Christian education as carried on under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

In the present volume we have, in German translation, twenty-one valuable documents for the history of clerical education. They are: the panegyric of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus on Origen, the letters of Saint Jerome to Nepotianus and Paulinus, the work of Cassiodorus on the study of the Holy Scriptures, the work of Rabanus Maurus on the education of ecclesiastics, extracts on clerical education from the Capitularies of Charlemagne, specimens of statutes of mediæval Foundation-Schools and Colleges, Gerson's three letters on the Study of Theology, the work of Nicholas of Clemanges on the same subject, the Statutes of the German College at Rome, the "Seminary Decree" of the Council of Trent, the Ordinances of St. Charles Borromeo for the general administration of his seminary, the Rules and Regulations for the Seminaries of the Province of Bordeaux (1583), two encyclicals of Clement VIII (1592), the Statutes of the Seminary of Brixen (1607), the Rules and Customs of Saint Sulpice (1645), the Statutes of the Seminaries of the Ven. Bartholomew Holzhaeuser, the Reflexions of Jacob Frint (1766–1803) on the intellectual and moral formation of youthful clerics, the Constitutions of Maynooth (1820), the Statutes of the "Ottonianum" of Bamberg (1880), the Statutes of the "Georgianum" of Munich (1893), and the "Istruzione" of Leo XIII (1896) for all clerics who attend the higher schools under state control. A preface of some two hundred pages presents the only modern general history of Catholic clerical education, and deserves at once the compliment of a translation into English.

Thomas J. Shahan.

La Vie Litteraire à Dijon au XVIII Siècle, d'après des documents nouveaux. Par l'abbé Emile Deberre. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 413.

To the student of general literature these pages of the abbé Deberre cannot fail to be interesting. They contain, as it were, so many rapid but luminous "aperçus" of the life of lettered ease that was once the highest charm and commendation of such old French towns as Dijon in Burgundy. To-day the globe-trotter knows scarcely more of it than can be gathered from the "perron" of the railway-station as he hastens from Paris to Turin, Florence, or Rome. But the ancient city has a respectable place in the story of the intellectual life of France. It was always a local centre of philological and historical activities. Such genial and philosophic Jesuits as the Père Oudin, nurtured and furthered by precept and example the love of Latin letters—from them or their life-long disciples, like the president de Brosses came valuable editions, *e. g.,* Cicero and Sallust. Savants like Saumaise (Salmasius) and the president Bouhier were the equals in critical learning of the best Italians and Englishmen of their day. And though the Dijonnais were quite provincial in their domestic and social manners, and, except for an occasional journey into Italy, rarely quitted the native hearth, they ranged freely the modern world of letters; the voluminous correspondence of a Bouhier shows how catholic were their academic sympathies. Classical Latin texts, literary biography, local antiquities, Romance literature, every department of Roman antiquities, the whole cycle of scholarly researches, found willing and life-long students at Dijon. The suppression of the Jesuit college of Godrans in 1763 marked a decline in some respects —but the vast libraries of Bouhier and de Ruffey, and the acquired taste and skill of earlier days, went far to supply the place of the Jesuits, whose excessive devotion to Latin and theatricals had to make way for French history and the newly developed natural sciences. One figure seems to dominate the whole century at Dijon —the scholarly magistrate Bouhier, of whom the good Père Oudin wrote that he was a judge who

"tout puisse lire et savoir,
Faisant aux plaids mieulx qu'aucun son devoir,
Mieulx que Cujas sçavoir Code et Digeste,
Mieulx que Budé sçavoir grec; en conteste,
Endoctriner les plus doctes docteurs,
Comme ses doigts connaistre les aucteurs;
Sur prose et vers, mythologie, histoire,
Chronologie, inscriptions, grimoire,

Sur tout langage, ibérien, toscan,
Et du vieil Cadme et du moderne Can,
Nouveau Gaulois, Phénicien antique,
Discourir mieulx que sur la réthorique
Que Cicero ne discourust. Encor
Avoir les moeurs du plaisant age d'or,
Humain, courtois."

At Dijon the abbé Lelong compiled his famous "Bibliothèque historique de la France" whose 17,487 articles were increased by Ferret de Fontelle to some 57,000, making it until lately an indispensable guide to French history. Another abbé, Courtépée, wrote a charming "Déscription du duché de Bourgogne" in seven volumes, while another, Leboeuf, became the historian of the diocese of Paris. M. Deberre's sketches of these antiquarian scholars are especially entertaining: Courtépée had genuine historical qualities of a high order.

To Dijon must also be accredited the Latin hymn-writer, Santeuil, the critical and erudite Richard de Ruffey, a transitional figure from the scholarly faith of the seventeenth to the philosophic incredulity of the eighteenth century, the famous naturalist Buffon, and other scholars of more than local fame. Its local Academy, since 1740, supplemented more or less the great libraries of Bouhier, De Ruffey and Ferret, the first of which was practically the City Library, generously open to all scholars, and kept supplied with the best literature—it counted 35,000 printed volumes and 2,000 manuscripts. The world of letters owes no small debt to those great French magistrates like de Thou, Bouhier and de Brosses, who dispensed their wealth with so much enlightment. In the annals of French poetry the Dijonnais Crébillon has a place of honor: so too the erratic Piron

"Qui ne fut rien,
Pas même académicien."

Literary abbés were numerous—men like Papillon, Joly, and Leblanc. Some curious revolutionary documents printed on pp. 354–355 reveal one unhappy side of the clerical life of the period—the absolute absorption in letters. Under date of the ninth Thermidor, year II, (August 6, 1794) the abbé Charles Boullemier, "aged 69, man of letters, librarian of the college of Dijon" requests from the revolutionary authorities his freedom from arrest. He states

> "Qu'il a passé toute sa vie à former la bibliothèque publique, qu'une détention imprévue, non motivée, lui a ôté sa place, qu'il est prêtre, qu'il n'a jamais possédé de bénéfices, ni prêché, ni confessé, ni enfin exercé de fonctions ecclésiastiques, que depuis longtemps il a renoncé au costume, uniquement occupé de l'étude et de sa place de bibliothécaire, qu'il ne songeait qu'à remplir ses devoirs

de citoyen et obéir à la loi, qu'il a prèté serment, . . . que s'il a ete prêtre, il n'en a jamais eu que le nom, . . .

"Pour quoy, il recourt à ce qu'il soit mis en liberté, attendu son age avancé et son travail pour la chose publique."

Some unedited letters of Voltaire, and an unedited draft of the famous discourse on "style" delivered by Buffon on the occasion of his reception into the French Academy, lend a special value to this volume. The disposition of the materials is rather unsatisfactory and a sufficient "Index rerum" is wanting. Withal, it is not the least instructive of the many new books on French literary and academic life in the provinces, during the eighteenth century, that we now owe to the patriotic pens of the modern French clergy.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Martyrs: Receueil de pièces authentiques sur les Martyrs depuis les origines du Christianisme jusqu'au XX siècle. I. Les Temps Néroniens et le Deuxième Siècle, précédé d'une Introduction, par le R. P. Dom H. Leclercq, Moine bénédictin de St. Michael de Farnborough. Paris: Oudin, 1902. 8vo, cxi + 229.

The French Benedictines established at Farnborough in England are not belying the traditional zeal and industry of the race that once gave to the world its Mabillons, Montfaucons, Martènes, D'Acherys and a hundred other savants of an order at once very high and very rare. Besides the noble documentary collection of the "Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica" of the ancient Church that they have begun, and hope to finish in a series of stately volumes that will be like a liturgical chartulary or muniment-room for the public worship of primitive Catholicism, they have undertaken to popularize these same materials. Already we have noticed in the BULLETIN, the "Livre de la Prière Antique" of Dom Cabrol. We have now to announce the publication of the first volume of a collection destined to present to the reading public a selection of authentic documents concerning the Christian martyrs from the beginning of Christianity down to our own time. The enterprise is not one of purely scientific character. It is rather one of edification, but based on genuine documents. It presupposes the best critical work of the Christian archæologist and historian, the epigraphist, the palæographer, the numismatist and the antiquarian. When these have done their work most severely and unsparingly, there still remains an abundant mass of information, even for the earliest days of the Christian religion.

The official legal accounts of the Roman tribunals, once kept with accuracy, and often transcribed for the survivors of the great religious storms, have naturally almost entirely perished. Of the Christian contemporary literature of martyrdom only a few fragments have reached us—exhortations to steadfastness and the like. Even Eusebius had difficulty in putting together from domestic sources the invaluable account of Christian martyrdom that almost makes up his Ecclesiastical History. The Roman Church almost alone, has saved any epigraphical material, and all other artistic monuments are usually of a date well within or close to the Triumph of the Church.

So we are reduced to what is known as the "Acts of the Martyrs," a body of documents that has come down through the ages, more or less authentic and entire. The Benedictine Ruinart sifted the more ancient ones, and covered with his great authority a rather small number of them. Since the end of the seventeenth century, and notably in the latter half of the nineteenth, this curious survival of old ecclesiastical material has attracted, like a Golden Dustheap, a multitude of antiquarian scavengers, often with results astonishing to both extremes of criticism and credulity. De Rossi, Duchesne, Edmond Le Blant, and a small school of disciples, imitators, and vulgarizers, have gone over the débris of those three centuries until it would seem that the last word had long been said. Nevertheless, the recent book of M. Dufourcq on the "Gesta Martyrum Romains" shows that new considerations are yet to be looked for.

Dom Leclercq, quaintly but charmingly, opens his series of translations from the "Acts of the Martyrs" with the story of the Passion of our Lord from the Diatessaron or harmonized gospel of Tatian, a most valuable document of the latter half of the second century, and partaking curiously of both the apostolic and sub-apostolic character. From the Acts of the Apostles he takes the martyrdom of Saint Stephen and from Eusebius the picturesque story of the death of Saint James the Great. Through the same author has been saved the account by Hegesippus of the death of Saint James the Less.

Then follow the most original accounts of the martyrs under Nero, of the deaths of Saint Peter and Paul, Flavius Clemens, Saint John the Evangelist, the Martyrs of Bithynia and Asia Minor, of Saint Simeon of Jerusalem, Saint Ignatius of Antioch, the Bithynian martyrs under Trajan, those of Asia (Minor) under Hadrian, Saint Polycarp of Smyrna, Saints Carpos, Papylos and Agathonicé, Saint Ptolemæus and his companions, Saint Justin, the martyrs of Lyons, the Scillitan martyrs, Saint Apollonius, Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. In an appendix as interpolated or of later date, are given the "Acts" of the martyrdoms of Saints Thecla, Andrew, Clement, Nereus and Achilleus, Ignatius of Antioch, Symphorosa and her seven sons, Felicitas and her seven sons, Epipodius and Alexander, Cæcilia.

Each document is preceded by a brief literary history of its origin and vicissitudes. Its actual repository is indicated, together with the best and latest, usually periodical, literature in which it is scientifically handled. The volume is enriched with a lengthy preface that leans heavily on Edmund Le Blant's "Persécuteurs et Martyrs" (1893) and on other learned writings of that distinguished critic and investigator in the domain of early Christian history. In this preface are indicated the chief items of our actual knowledge concerning the documents of martyrdom, the Roman governmental régime of the persecutions; the promulgation of the edicts; flight, rashness, apostasy, of Christians; their seizure, imprisonment, interrogation; their judges and tribunal; the defence, torture, sentence, appeals, punishments; the inventory and confiscation of estates.

It is a work that every Christian may read with profit. Of the Christian martyr we may say with truth: *Defunctus adhuc loquitur.* As a matter of fact, it was the prestige of martyrdom that principally sustained Catholicism in the popular mind, Greek, Latin and barbarian, from Constantine to Charlemagne. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Eglise et L'Etat: Les Leçons de L'Heure Presente. Par l'Abbé Ch. Denis. (Reprint from "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne, Vol. XLV., January, 1902.) Pp. 85. One franc.

Les Vrais Perils, Réponse à Mgr. Turinaz, by the same. Paris: Roger-Chernoviz, 1902. One franc.

Un Careme Apologetique sur les Dogmes Fondamentaux, sujets et plans de sermons, Station de la Métropole d'Albi prêchée par l'abbé Ch. Denis. Paris: Roger-Chernoviz, 1902. Francs 1.50.

1. The first of these brochures is a grave philosophic requisitory against the attitude of a certain portion of the clergy and laity of France, as regards the modern questions and problems of a social and scientific character. With most of what the Abbé Denis says every sensible American Catholic will not only agree, but agree wondering that there should be any necessity for so vehement and searching a plea in favor of common sense and immediate union. Shall we forever carry on tactics of another day that have no solid grip on the realities of the life about us, or shall we go down into the arena of life as it is offered us by the growing majority, and conquer or reconquer a share in the public respect and affection by our own deeds, our own practical sympathies, our own contributions to the social welfare and the progress of all the sciences? There ought to be no such dilemma, it would seem. Yet in France there is. Politics, religion, the social order,

are not there a thing of yesterday, as they largely are with us. They are rather the outcroppings of ancient forces that are very deeply rooted in hearts eminently mobile and sensitive. There is something "Chinese" about the power of "tradition" in France, something anchored very deeply in the popular temperament, of the peasantry at least; and the clergy to no small extent come up from the very "terroir" of France. The Abbé Denis earnestly urges a thorough reform in the studies of the seminaries, a reform long since suggested by Kraus, Hettinger and Hergenroether, and other German Catholic critics of French conditions, and now happily initiated in some dioceses of France, in the spirit and along the lines suggested by the "Clerical Studies" of the late regretted Abbé Hogan. We recommend these pages to those of our readers who wish to acquire a vue d'ensemble of the actual status of French Catholicism, as it appears to a learned and authoritative member of the household. "Tua res agitur," when your neighbor's house is afire.

2. For those who are interested in new and large presentations of Christian truth and Catholic social history we can recommend the notes of his Lenten sermons delivered in the Cathedral of Albi and now made public by the Abbé Denis. The director of the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne" one of the oldest and most respectable of the French Catholic periodicals, is not the last comer in this field, as may be seen from his works on M. Caro and the Spiritualist Philosophy in France, his sketch of a philosophical Apology for Christianity, and his book on Renan and Historical Apologetics. It may not be amiss if we reprint from the preface a few phrases that reveal the purpose of the author, a purpose at once profoundly religious and full of "modernity."

> "Plus on étudie les esprits contemporains, leurs goûts, leurs lectures favorites et habituelles, plus aussi on est dispose à admettre qu'un mode nouveau de croire se dessine selon une mentalité nouvelle. Nos contemporains retournent volontiers à la Religion, si elle leur est présentée sur le plan des connaissances et des certitudes qui leur sont familières. L'élite pensant et savante se prête à une exposition dogmatique, faite selon une correspondance bien établie des sciences modernes avec l'idée surnaturelle.
>
> "J'ai esquissé ici une courte et modeste tentative, qui n'a pas du tout la prétention d'être définitive, et sans de graves défauts.
>
> "Nous autres, prédicateurs catholiques, n'avons-nous pas une tendance à croire que nos auditeurs sont indifférents aux problèmes religieux? N'imaginons-nous pas facilement qu'ils ignorent les débats actuels sur les origines, l'histoire des croyances et des institutions, l'exégése, les systêmes philosophiques?
>
> "J'estime que tout le contraire existe; aujourd'hui plus que jamais, la foi du charbonnier est une exception. Nos contemporains sont travaillés de mille façons. Ils savent, par les journaux quotidiens, par les propagandes actives, par

les conférences et les défis publics, que telles questions, intéressant profondément la Foi, sont posées.

"Avons-nous le droit de nous dérober, sous des prétexes égoistes, au devoir de resoudre ces problêmes de notre mieux? Surement non! Mais, pour les resoudre de maniere à frapper l'attention des incrédules ou des indifférents, il nous faut accomplir toute une transposition de méthode, adopter une terminologie particulière, prendre surtout des points de départ nouveaux. Cette innovation de forme ne touche en rien au fond; elle est accidentelle et transitoire: la Vérité est immuable et éternelle."

3. The troubles of the Church in France are no longer due chiefly to her open and avowed enemies. Within her own bosom have been growing oppositions and divergencies of the most serious kind. In no part of the Catholic Church are the domestic differences more acute, more personal and immediate. And because of the time-honored influence of France on all Catholicism, in no part of the same could these discords be productive of a more general uneasiness. A great majority of the missionaries of Catholicism are French men and women; they rarely emigrate from the "doulce terre de France" for any other reason. Their language is yet the "lingua franca" of Catholicism, the current medium of the best Catholic thought. Their literature, their Church art, their ecclesiastical institutions, are at home in every quarter of the Catholic world. Are these not more than sufficient reasons for the interest that Catholics everywhere manifest in the affairs of their Church in that admirable nation? As for American Catholics, they would be especially ungrateful if they were not concerned for the affairs of the Church of France, so truly are we the daughters of that Church by our original episcopate and missionaries, by generous support, by clerical training and ideals. Surely it in with sorrow and dismay that we look upon its domestic warfare at the moment that all its ancient refuges and citadels seem to be falling into the hands of the enemies of common Christian life, order, and ideals. The liberal policy of Leo XIII, steadily urged and faithfully adhered to by him in every public and official utterance ought indeed to be the guide of all. Unhappily, in the application of the same painful and unexpected obstacles have arisen, as well on the part of Catholics as on the part of the unsteady parliamentary majorities, that now do service as the government of France, and that seem animated by very narrow sectarian, if not revolutionary, principles.

It is to be hoped that these writings of the abbé Denis, so frank and sensible, so honest and timely, will help to clarify the atmosphere and rally around the pacific and conciliatory standard of Leo XIII all men of good will, and especially all men of office and responsibility. It is in such generous and luminous direction that overreaches the local and personal, the temporary and transitory, that consists the genuine utility of the political action of the papacy. It may well be that a monarchy would better suit the French people than a republic. It certainly would not be any such monarchy as has yet existed in France. In the meantime, is it well to further enrage the "énergumènes" who succeed one another in short-lived dictatorships à la South American republics? And would it not be well to secure the protection of the common law, while waiting for a renascence of the latent Catholicism of the whole nation? THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Passio Sanctæ Theclæ Virginis: Die lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclæ, nebst Fragmenten, Auszuegen und Beilagen. Herausgegeben von Oscar von Gebhart. Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. cxvi + 184. (Texte und Untersuchungen, New Series, VII, 2.) Marks 9.50.

In this number of the learned "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Dr. von Gebhardt, gives us the results of his labors on the manuscripts that contain the oldest Latin versions of the famous Acts of Paul and Thecla. The several Greek texts of the same are now most easily accessible in the edition of Lipsius and Bonnet (1891). A minute examination and comparison of five ancient Latin versions shows, according to Dr. von Gebhardt, that while all five are of independent origin, and deal freely with their Greek original, they furnish little help at this distance for a scientific reconstruction of the latter. One of these old Latin versions is here made known for the first time, from Paris and Toulouse manuscripts. Of the five, two are entire translations, a third one exhibits a lengthy lacuna of several chapters, a fourth offers only a brief fragment, while the fifth (pp. 130–150) is at ance an epitome and the form under which the Acts of Paul and Thecla were most read in the mediæval West. Though none of the many Latin manuscripts is older than the tenth century, Dr. von Gebhardt is inclined (p. lxi) to place the sixth century as a "terminus ad quem" for the oldest Latin translation of these Acts. A Greek fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 1898) agrees in a surprising way with the corresponding chapters in one of the most popular Latin translations. The Greek fragment in question belongs very probably to the fifth century. But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier date for the first Latin translation.

We might add that in the archaic "Ordo Commendationis Animæ" which Le Blant and Lehner look on as older than the fourth century, Thecla is alone remembered, outside of the Scriptural names, and with a detail that goes to show the currency in the Latin Church of a text of her legend. Bardenhewer (Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, 1902, p. 427) opines that there can no longer be any doubt as to the character of the current Acts of Paul and Thecla. They are not of Gnostic origin, or even "adapted" Acts; they are those forged by an orthodox Catholic priest of Asia Minor, about 160–170, and known to Tertullian who relates the fact (De bapt. c. 17) with the priest's excuse: "se id fecisse amore Pauli." A pseudo-Cyprianic work entitled "Cœna," and probably belonging to the fifth century could, even so early, make use of an extant Latin translation of these Acts, so that not improbably Tertullian himself may have read them in that tongue. The discovery by C. Schmidt in 1897, that a ragged Coptic manuscript of the seventh century contained not only the Acts of Paul, but also his supposed correspondence with Seneca and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, confirms the bold hypothesis of Zahn that all three documents, with the "Passio Sancti Pauli Apostoli," were integrant parts of a complete and extensive Acts of Paul, current very early in the second century. If the statement of St. Jerome (de vir. ill., c. 7) be correct, viz., that the guilty Asiatic priest was condemned by St. John, this curious collection might possibly go back to the time of Trajan (98–117). Possibly St. Jerome read that item in the lost Greek treatise of Tertullian on baptism. The literary history of Saint Clement, of Tatian, of the Didaché, the De Aleatoribus, and other early texts shows what surprises may yet be in store for us in the province of early Latin translations of valuable Greek Christian texts. A curious "Miracula Sanctæ Theclæ Virginis" from a fourteenth-century Lambeth codex of the Acts gives an account of the miracles performed at a Welsh shrine of Saint Thecla "loco qui ejus nomine ecclesia vetusto opere constructa Britannico idiomate Lantteglin nuncupatur, quod latine 'fundus Theclæ' sonat." This reference to an old Keltic wooden church indicates a very early origin in Britain of the veneration of Saint Thecla. Indeed, she was one of the four women in whose honor the female sex of mediæval England enjoyed annually special holidays. Among the miracles related is another curious one that shows the fame of Saint Thecla among the Old-Irish, "Homo quidam pulcher aspectu et eleganti forma, natione Hibernensis, nomine Aéith habens pulcherrimos oculos et tamen nihil videbat, quia ab infantia sua cæcus, etc." On his way to Rome he is cured by the intercession of the Saint. We may, therefore, imagine a very early diffusion in Keltic Britain and Ireland of the "cultus" of this saint, a fact that confirms the very great popularity of her legend in the West previous to the fifth century, and the consequent existence of an earlier Latin translation of the same.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Merchant Adventures of England, their Laws and Ordinances, with other documents. By W. E. Lingelbach, Ph.D. (Translation and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Second Series, Vol. II. Published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania.) New York: Longmans, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxix + 260.

The bulk of this volume is devoted to the "Laws, Customes and Ordinances of the ffellowshippe of Merchantes Adventurers of the Realm of England, etc.," a large folio volume of over 200 pages kept since 1852 among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum, and probably compiled between 1608 and 1611. In these pages we have the public and official side of one of the great mediæval industries of England—the continental distribution of the woollen goods for which that kingdom was once so remarkable. Though the society may be said to have lived for six centuries, from the twelfth to the beginning of the nineteenth, its chief activity seems to have been from the fifteenth to the middle of the eighteenth, first in the North of France and in the Low Countries, and then at Hamburg. The extensive private records of the "Merchant Adventurers" have not yet been found—but enough original material exists in this volume to throw much light on the beginnings of the continental commerce of England, especially in the period when the English were ceasing to export the raw wool and taking up at home the manufacture of cloth for the continental market. Thereby the prosperity of Florence and other cities of Northern Italy was affected in no small degree, and the balance of industrial daring and consequent wealth moved northward. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rivalries of the Emperor and the Crown of England transferred the "Staple" or warehouses of the society from Antwerp to Hamburg, and brought on a long warfare with the Hanseatic League, that ended disastrously enough for the former. This volume may well be read in connection with "The Gild Merchant" of Professor Gross, and Professor Cunningham's "Growth of English Commerce." There is in these statutes no little of the mediæval temper; if they are an original document for the history of modern commerce, they are likewise a relic of the ideas that once prevailed in Catholic England in all that pertains to fair play, equality, justice, equity, moderation, public and private morality in commercial dealings. Not a few "curiosa" are scattered through the volume. In spite of the detail of the chapter-contents, the book badly needs an index, likewise a bibliography of the works cited or used in illustration of the text. These defects are all the more glaring as the book is destined for students. Otherwise, the volume is a creditable specimen of text-publication. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Pelagius in Irland: Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Litteratur. Von Heinrich Zimmer. Weidemann, Berlin: 1901. 8°, pp. viii + 450.

Patrologists have always been interested in a work of Pelagius, written before the Sack of Rome (410) and known to contemporaries as "Expositiones brevissimæ" or "commentarii" on the Epistles of Saint Paul. They were very brief, but pertinent, sensible and profound, as became the reputation of the heresiarch for learning and blamelessness of life. The Catholic theologians of the day recognized at once the heretical character of certain expositions, notably to the fifth chapter of Romans. Still the commentary held its ground in ecclesiastical circles, owing to its intrinsic merits, and to the fact that it was an early work of Pelagius, written before he had drawn the final conclusions from his premises and been formally condemned. In less than a century the work had sheltered itself under a very safe name and authority. Cassiodorus, writing before 544 on the study of the scriptures (c. 8), could say that certain "adnotationes" on the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul were "in cunctorum manibus," "celebres," and attributed to that most learned man "Saint Gelasius, Pope of the City of Rome." This writer adds that he had carefully examined the commentary, and found its phrases indeed "subtilissimas ac brevissimas" but infected with the virus of Pelagian error. This was notably the case with the Epistle to the Romans; so he had cleansed it with much application (qua potui curiositate purgavi) and left the remaining twelve to the shrewdness of his disciples. On the other hand, by a curious trick of fate, this Pelagius commentary thus "castigated" went almost at once under the name of Saint Jerome, and for a thousand years the bitterest enemy of Pelagius became the literary heir not only of this production but of other writings of the "porridge-fat" Scot (Zimmer, p. 213). Since Erasmus, the error has been known and admitted, and the opinion prevalent that the Pseudo-Hieronymus commentary on the Pauline Epistles (Migne, PL. XXX, 645 sqq.) is identical with the work known to Cassiodorus and expurged by him and his disciples. Dr. Zimmer, improving on a theory of Klasen in the *Tuebingen Quartalschrift* for 1885 (Vol. LXVII), is of the opinion that the actual text of Ps.-Hieronymus is not the Cassiodoran recension of the Pelagius commentary. It is the original commentary itself, expurged indeed, but identical with the text known to and used by Saint Augustine and Marius Mercator. The proof of this he finds in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and in certain continental manuscripts of Irish provenance. Let it be said at once, with due reserves, that the book is a monument of rare erudition and literary insight, such as perhaps no other scholar is capable of executing. It is really a new and permanent contribution to Latin patrology and such a thesaurus of rare and curious "notitiæ" about the earliest Irish Church history as is not often met with outside of a German encyclopædic "Arbeit."

Dr. Zimmer holds that it is only natural to look to the Irish Church for the literary tradition of this commentary of Pelagius. The latter, he maintains, was an Irishman who reached the continent, by way of the monasteries of southwest Britain, toward the end of the fourth century. His writings would naturally interest the Christians of his own race in their native home; as a matter of fact Pope John IV writing in 640 to the heads of the North Irish Church, expressly says that he has been informed (by the southern Irish) that the Pelagian heresy has broken out again among them, which of course supposes the existence and use of the writings of the heresiarch. Indeed, the Collectio Hibernensis, a canonical code of the Irish Church, compiled between the last years of the seventh and first years of the eighth century, cites textually the commentary of Pelagius as it has reached us in Pseudo-Hieronymus.

That the use of the entire Pelagian commentary was unbroken in Ireland, and in no wise owing to the importation of the continental expurgated text represented by Pseudo-Hieronymus, results, says Dr. Zimmer, from the examination of three ancient manuscripts—the Book of Armagh, transcribed at Armagh in the year 807 from an original already quite unintelligible for its antiquity, and two other scripture-manuscripts, preserved respectively at Würzburg and Vienna. The former is of the eighth or ninth century; the latter is of the year 1097, and in the handwriting of Marianus O'Gorman. In one way or another these three manuscripts of native Irish provenance reproduce the original text of the commentary of Pelagius. Similarly, the wandering Irish monks on the continent in the ninth and tenth centuries have left traces of their constant use of the Pelagius-commentary in its original shape. Thus, Sedulius Scotus, a famous Irish pedagogue of the ninth century, cites the commentary and even uses the native Irish sound of the name—Pilagius. In several of the continental monasteries, founded or frequented by these Irish monks, were once kept manuscripts of the commentary, either written in Ireland, or copies of old Irish transcripts made on the continent. Thus, in an ancient tenth-century catalogue of the monastery-library of Lorsch (Cod. Vat. 1877) we meet with a (now lost) copy of the Pelagius-commentary. Lorsch lay on the great highway of the Rhine that led from Cologne and Mayence to the Irish refuges of Reichenau and St. Gall. Its ancient annals begin with the brief necrologies of Irish abbots—Domnon, Cellan, Dubdecras, Macflathei. So, too, in Old-Irish monasteries of Flanders, Picardy and Normandy, founded in the eighth and ninth centuries by Columban monks from Luxeuil. In 831 St. Ricquier in Picardy (near Abbeville) could inscribe on its catalogue of (195) "codices librorum claustralium de divinitate," the title: "expositio Pelagii super XIII Epistolas Pauli."

The most valuable pages of Dr. Zimmer's book are doubtless those (219–450) in which he demonstrates that the ancient St. Gall manuscript "Expositio Pelagii super omnes Epistolas Pauli" (Codex 278) that Weidmann in his history of that library (p. 381) regretted as lost, is really yet extant in Codex 73. Though not a *liber scotticé scriptus,* it was written out in St. Gall betwen 850 and 872 by the learned Moengal, an Irish schoolmaster-monk whom the St. Gall brethren had persuaded to stay with them on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome. He would naturally use the continental hand when in the service of his continental brethren—a fact long since suggested by Wattenbach in illustration of an extensive Irish literary activity on the continent that can no longer be traced by their peculiar handwriting alone. We can hardly refrain from smiling when Dr. Zimmer suggests (p. 224) that Moengal and his uncle, the bishop Marcus, were loath to show at Rome the original of this Pelagius-commentary.[1] Perhaps it was out of pique at his predecessor's failure to examine the satchels of these Irish pilgrims that Pope Nicholas I requested Charles the Bald to send on to him John the Irishman (Joannes Scotus Eriugena) suspected of heretical sentiments *in re* authority and reason!

The Church historian will find very helpful the pages (3–12) on the earliest traces of Roman-Christian culture in Ireland, and those (213–216) devoted to a comparison of Irish monastic scholarship with that of the continent, in the sixth and seventh centuries. Zimmer agrees (pp. 5–7) with Traube that the knowledge of Greek in the west was at one time confined to Irishmen. Through them alone were kept in use certain "Guides" and "Helps" to the Greek language such as the one compiled A. D. 207, and handed down to us in the writing of an old Irish teacher-monk (Traube, O Roma Nobilis, pp. 48, 59). But when Zimmer claims for the Irish Church in the latter half of the fourth century an almost equal knowledge and use of Greek and Latin, he does it for a purpose of his own, to show that the Catholic traditions about Saint Patrick and his influence on Irish civilization are untenable (p. 7). He postulates a secure refuge in Ireland during the latter half of the fourth century for the antique-classical life, chiefly for the already Romanized and Christianized Kelts of Wales. With the social and political triumph of the barbarians from 400 on, these elements of Roman civilization would find themselves isolated in Ireland. It is thence, and not from the foundations of the "almost unlettered" Patrick (p. 3) that the "Old-Irish classical scholarship," of a Columbanus, for example, is derived. One thing is certain, this daring and interesting hypothesis is not borne out by the documents and monuments of Irish history. It seems incredible that anything like the Britain of Agricola could have existed in Ireland previous to the time of Saint Patrick, and left no trace in architecture, government, institutions. The tenacious nature of Roman colonization, even on a small scale, and the total absence of municipal life or customs in pre-Patrician Ireland, are good proofs of the non-existence, on any considerable scale, of centres of refinement capable of keeping alive the Greek tongue and ecclesiastical conditions of the fourth century. Zimmer himself (p. 20) puts on record the continental attitude of contempt for the Irish (circa 400) in the language and mental temper of no less a man than Saint Jerome.[1] If there existed any noteworthy "origins" of Christianity at that time in Ireland, Saint Jerome would scarcely have singled it out as a pagan nation par excellence. All that we can ever know with certainty about the pre-Patrician churches, the "Scoti in Christum credentes" to whom Palladius was sent, may be seen in the first pages of Haddan and Stubbs, and it does not bear out Dr. Zimmer. The rapid assimilation by the Irish of Roman literary culture is better explained by the ingenious French archæologist, M. Alex. Bertrand, in his "Religion des Gaulois," (Paris, 1897, pp. 417–424).

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[1] Es ist fuer die Zustaende der irischen Kirche im erster Haelfte des 9 Jahrhunderts gewiss bezeichnend—aber nach Allem was in dem ersten Theil ausgefuehrt ist, wohl verstaendlich, das um a. 849 ein irischer Abt den Kommentar des Haeresiarchen und Landsmannes Pelagius 'ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli' mitnahmen aber schwerlich dem damaligen Statthalter Petri, Papst Leo IV, vorzeigten."

An "Index Rerum" would make this very learned book more serviceable. With his "Nennius Vendicatus" (Berlin, 1893) and his "Pelagius in Ireland" Dr. Zimmer has rendered a genuine service to Irish Church history and Christian literature.

Thomas J. Shahan.

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[1] Audiant Ethnici messes Ecclesiæ, de quibus horrea nostra complentur; audiant catechumeni, qui sunt fidei candidati, ne uxores ducant ante baptisma, ne honesta jungant matrimonia, sed Scottorum et Atticottorum ritu, ac de republica Platonis, promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habeant. Adv. Jovinianum, Bk. II.

The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages. By the Rev. Horace K. Mann, Head Master of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I, The Popes under Lombard Rule; Part I, pp. 590–657; Part II, pp. 657–795. St. Louis: B. Herder; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 432, 507. $6.00.

Until very lately a reliable history of the papacy, written with candor and sympathy, learning and criticism, was wanting in English. The slanderous history of the popes written by the eighteenth century ex-Jesuit Bower long did service, and at a time when Catholics who spoke English were as few as they were insignificant. Not the least remarkable sign of the changed circumstances of Catholicism in English-speaking lands is the growing demand for works on the papacy that shall relate its vicissitudes with honesty and completeness. Bishop Creighton's "History of the Papacy," marks a great advance, in spirit and diction, on the older Protestant school of historians, and Pastor's learned volumes have brought pleasure and comfort to a multitude of Catholic readers. But these writers look towards the modern world, and therefore begin with the papacy of the fourteenth century; they are in reality concerned with the pre-history of the great events that led to the political, religious, and social transformations of the sixteenth century. Still more true is this of Von Ranke's philosophical and often sympathetic account of the later papacy. Though the splendid work of von Reumont is still unknown to us, Gregorovius is being translated into English. He is a "Culturhistoriker" before all, and we want yet an English translation of the complete work of Father Grisar, S.J., on the same subject, viz., the history of the City of Rome.

It is therefore with much relief that we turn to these two admirable volumes of an English Catholic priest. They deal with the papacy of the seventh and eighth centuries—or rather they offer a series of succinct and critically treated biographies of the popes of that period. It is the author's good fortune to live after the completion of Duchesne's edition of the Liber Pontificalis; we might call this book a successful popularization of that work's assured text and the erudite introductions and notes that ornament it—fruit of a multitude of profound antiquarian studies in all the dim and shadowy provinces of early papal history. Our writer seems well equipped for his work. As he clearly avoids a general history of the papacy—the book is entitled "Lives" of the popes—it would be unjust to complain of the absence of a large and philosophic treatment of the general papal activity of the period. To ensure that, the work would need to be cast into other *cadres*. But the individual lives are well done, though a finical seeker for completeness might often sigh at omissions and preteritions. The principal authorities are indicated at the beginning of each chapter, a little summarily perhaps, and with presupposition of a historical "Bildung" that is rarer, unhappily, than it ought to be, among Catholics of English tongue. Profuse citations from these authorities grace every page. Often their rude blunt Latinity acts like old woodcuts or musical refrains, and brings the scene before us with very great vividness. It is possible that these pages are overloaded with authorities, given the tendency of the narration itself to directness and compactness. Much of the space devoted to "authorities" might well be filled with the modern "literature" of the questions treated, especially as for English readers this is a "pioneer" book. Yet it is well that this first attempt to write in English the lives of the popes of this period should sin rather on the side of learning and modern "apparatus" than on the side of disregard for the critical sense of the average reader. Perhaps, too, it is unkind and ungracious to find fault with a calm and judicious writer who breaks for the first time into a remote field of labor, and whose work is destined to be read by many, and for a long time, with profit. We could have wished to see more use made of the new school of Byzantine savants—the works of Diehl, Krumbacher, the materials of the Byzantinische Zeitschrift and the "Mélanges" of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome. Thus (p. 379) for an account of Theophanes the reader should be referred to the second edition of Krumbacher's most useful "History of Byzantine Literature." So, too, a frequent use of Charles Diehl's "Administration Byzantine à Ravenne" and of Cardinal Hergenroether's magisterial work on Photius, would throw much light on the troubled relations between Constantinople and Rome. Perhaps too implicit confidence is placed on the pontifical items found in the lives of the Merovingian saints; most of these lives are of a quite late date, or "worked over" or otherwise unreliable, except after special study of each one. Really, a general introduction is very badly needed for this work, one in which the conditions of the Imperium and the Ecclesia, hereditary and circumstantial, shall be outlined; likewise the social and religious conditions; the great new political factors set in their proper light and sketched in their real activities—Islam, the Frankish monarchy, the Old-Roman remnant, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, the new economic-social life that the closing of the Orient by Islam was imposing on Europe, the unforeseen decay and collapse of all the old learning, refinement and order that were like the matrix of papal activity before the Lombard's fatal advent; the peculiarly fateful ravages of the Belisarian campaigns against the Ostrogoths—wars in every way ruinous to the Roman Church.

The "sources" of papal history in this period are indeed constantly used and faithfully quoted. But the narration would gain very much for an introductory account, both general and special, of all papal historical materials in this time. One ought not to first meet apropos of Boniface III (I, 259), a description of the Liber Pontificalis. These materials are so miscellaneous, unrelated, fragmentary; so widely scattered through the annalistic remnants of ten centuries; so different from all that precedes Gregory I, and that follows Gregory VII, that a description of them is imperative, if the reader would have all the light possible on a period that will never suffer from luminousness of detail and sharpness of outline. Indeed, it was from the "world," the "milieu," of these monastic writers that most of the popes came—to a Benedict of Soracte corresponds a John XII, as the Registrum of Gregory I betrays the last survivors of that vigorous army of Roman administrators who made the world in very truth the farm or villa of their city.

Both these volumes are disfigured by many misprints of the Latin "sources" and of proper names *e. g., Theoderic* (I. 404), *D'Acheri* (383), *republicæ* (390), *subiquisset* (388), *Héfélé* for Hefele(399, 142), *della Salvatore* (II, 170). Dom. Constant and Dom. Mabillon (I, 403) should read Dom Constant and Dom Mabillon. The reference (I, 425) to p. 136, should read to p. 379. For "Chancellaries" ought we not read "Chancelleries"? Here and there (*e. g.*, I, 392) the composition has been neglected. Migne is cited (II, frontispiece) as editor of a "Patrologie Grecque" and a "Patrologie Latine." As is well known, the works have Latin titles. There are other indications that show our author as a disciple of French rather than German historical training—indeed, the abundant German scholarship for this period is rather completely neglected. It is true, these are trifles, but they ought not to be detected in the work of a good historical scholar. There is wanting in each volume an alphabetical bibliography of the "literature" of the subject. Excellent specimens of such exist in the classical works of Janssens and Pastor. Nor are they mere ostentations of learning. The monographs on this period, both books and articles, are very numerous and valuable. They deal with many points necessarily slighted in a general conspectus. And as they are in several languages and scattered in many learned repositories, it would seem that on such an occasion it is the duty of the historian to bring this slowly-growing mass of scholarship to the attention of his readers, especially the more scholarly class of the same. We are pleased to note that the author defends the authenticity of the two famous letters of Gregory II to Leo III. Though Duchesne, and after him Batiffol, have doubted their authenticity, it can scarcely be rejected, even by reason of the coarse and rude language they contain. Patience and courtesy had ceased to be virtues in dealing with New Rome, and in the first half of the eighth century the popular Italian feeling against that city was too deep and genuine to take offence at some unacademic phrases that are now a matter of scandal to historians, who forget that the correspondence of Nicholas I and Leo IX reveals a similar temper and equally bold phraseology. The commingled pride and weakness of the Byzantine authorities were ever a stumbling block to the early mediæval papacy that long stood for the progress of the west under Italian hegemony. The pompous pretentions of Constantinople were equalled only by its incredible feebleness and its Bourbon-like stupidity. It dealt too often with the phantoms of an Old-Roman imperial renaissance while the popes usually saw with clear vision the hard realities of European politics.

Thomas J. Shahan.

Les Sources de L'Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1789. Par MM. A. Molinier, H. Hauser, A. Lefranc, M. Tourneux. Première partie. II. Des origines aux guerres d'Italie. Par. Auguste Molinier, Professeur à l'Ecole Nationale des Chartes. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8vo., pp. 322. 5 francs.

The first part of the first volume of this admirable guide to the original sources of the history of France has already been described in our pages (July, 1902, p. 348). The second part of the same volume brings the scientific cataloguing of these sources from the middle of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century (951–1182). The historical student will find in 1,259 succinct paragraphs an account of all the authorities known or accessible for that stirring period, when France put off her swaddling clothes and stood forth as the most vigorous and puissant of the mediæval peoples. Genealogies, letters, poems, chronicles, annals, chancery forms; domestic records of abbeys, cathedrals, duchies, counties, cities; incipient historical works, lives of saints, founders, bishops and abbots, narratives of the first crusades and the first attempts at universal history—such are the principal rubrics under which one must look for the heterogeneous materials of French history from Hugues Capet to Philippe Auguste. With this directory in hand the enormous tomes of Bouquet, Duchesne, Martène, d'Achery and Baluze, the vast materials of Lobineau, Morice and

Vaissete, the countless chartularies, the great collections of Migne and the Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, take on a new interest for the modern student in as far as they contain the real history of mediæval France. By reason largely of a common religion with its widely ramifying personal influences, the history of France in this period is inseparable from the general history of Europe—papacy, empire, kingdoms and great fiefs. Hence, this work at intervals overlaps or makes "double emploi" with other historical guides like Wattenbach and Gardiner-Mullinger. Its general disposition is excellent, notably the classification of the miscellaneous local "sources" under geographical and topographical headings—North, South, Centre, East, West, Terre d'Empire. The chapters on the first and second Crusades with the fresh and accurate information on the Oriental authorities, are especially valuable. Each chapter or general division is prefaced by a brief introduction into which are worked the latest and safest general conclusions of modern criticism on that particular class of historical materials. Then all authors of note receive a similar special treatment, *e. g.,* Radulphus Glaber, Adhémar de Chabannes, Guillaume de Tyr. There is a sober and sufficient citation of original authorities and modern literature, especially of the historical periodicals of France and Germany. The style is clear and self-contained, marked everywhere with the desire to give the essentials and to relieve the memory of all that is "Nebensache." Not only this excellent manual, but all the volumes of the series, published by MM. Picard et Fils (82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris) ought to be in every college and private library that lays stress on the possession of the original materials of mediæval history. They are at once scholarly and popular, well arranged and cheap; to have studied them faithfully is the first and most useful step to the knowledge and respect of the religious and social legacy of the Middle Ages to the modern world.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur. Von Otto Bardenhewer, Doktor der Theologie und Professor der Theologie an der Universitaet Muenchen. Vol. I, Vom Ausgange des apostolichen Zeitalters bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Herder: Freiburg (Baden), 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 592.

Church historians have been awaiting with impatience the History of Ancient Christian Literature promised by the patrologist, Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich. His "Manual of Patrology," and his numerous contributions to the learned reviews of Germany that deal with the expression of the early Christian life and thought, are ample documentation of his capacity, and even his special calling, for the monumental task.

The first volume is now before us. The whole work will comprise six volumes, and its character may be gathered from the fact that in nearly six hundred pages the author does not cover more than one hundred years of Christian literary life and production (circa A. D. 100–200).

The subject matter is divided into three parts—the very earliest (urkirchliche) ecclesiastical literature, the ecclesiastical (kirchliche) literature from A. D. 120–200 including apology, polemics, and anti-heretical writings, the domestic (innerkirchliche) literature. In forty-three chapters the reader will find exhaustively enumerated, compactly described, and scientifically illustrated, every early Christian text of importance. Thus, pp. 68–76 a sufficient account of the Apostles' Creed, and the pertinent controversies of the last decade; pp. 119–146, an excellent compte rendu of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius and the voluminous "literature" of the last fifty years that these archaic documents have created; pp. 365–481, the only complete and clear account from a modern Catholic pen of the extensive and influential literature of the "Apocrypha"—gospels, "acts," epistles, apocalypses. Even those whose lives are devoted to the study of such material may read these pages with profit and pleasure. It is not often that they meet with a Catholic guide capable of moving surely and successfully through this literary jungle. No romance of literature compares with the picture here unfolded of the trials, dangers and triumphs of Catholicism at its very outset in human life. Here is, indeed, "selection," "survival of the fittest" "control of environment." And as one rises from the perusal of this entrancing story of the "Apocrypha," as one sees with each decade of the second century the unfolding of the conscious activity of the "Ecclesia" as teaching authority and formative discipline, as one sees the figure of the Roman Church always in an attitude of supremacy, mastery, direction, always symbolic of apostolicity and unity, there settles upon the soul a feeling of conviction that some secret but self-conscious and purposeful power dominated the incredible turmoil of second century Gnosticism. East and west the Holy Spirit watched and brought successfully out of the most wonderful literary "mêlée" that the world ever saw, the genuine documents of the new life of love and hope and faith; endowed them, as Dr. Archibald Robinson well says, with that "indefinable but to us Christians surely very perceptible difference of spiritual savour which so often distinguishes books outside the Canon from those included in it" ("Regnum Dei, Bampton Lectures," 1902,

p. 40). All this time the Holy Spirit was emphasizing more and more the "magisterium" of the "Ecclesia" as the true tribunal before which all writings, as all oral teaching, must eventully come for judgment. Great indeed, are the labors of Harnack, von Gebhardt, Hilgenfeld, Zahn, and a host of other toilsome and keen German intellects. Nor can there be now any return to the uncritical and contemptuous mental attitude of former generations *in re* the fragments of primitive Christian life. But analysis cries for synthesis as the void for repletion—and this work of Dr. Bardenhewer is a first, and perhaps for long, a sole sufficient reply. In erudition it is almost minute and finical, but it is an erudition that does not overwhelm one. There is not only order in the disposition of the material old and new, but sobriety in narration, good sense in the choice of controverted and dubious points, moderation in the expression of dissent and refutation. It is the voice of a genuine master that echoes from this book, to which no substantial pedagogical quality is wanting. No ecclesiastical library can afford to be without the entire work—it is really a complete and reliable dictionary of early Christian literature. Once, it was from France and Italy that we awaited such works. But the days of the Maurines, the Muratoris and Mansis, the Maffeis and Zaccarias, seem departed. The new revival of ecclesiastical learning has its seat in Catholic Germany. It is equally significant that its principal organs are the German Catholic faculties of theology, located in great universities, living a calm and hereditary academic life, profiting by the companionship of learned specialists, utilizing ancient libraries never dispersed and (usually) up to date, in daily healthful touch with all that is forceful, progressive, luminous, common—useful, in the real world about them.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Hergenroether's Handbuch der Allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte, Vierte Auflage, neu bearbeitet. Von Dr. J. P. Kirsch, Professor an der Universitaet Freiburg (Schweiz). Vol. I, Die Kirche in der antiken Barbarenwelt. Herder: Freiburg (Baden), 1902. 8°, pp. xiii + 722.

A new and improved edition of the 'Manual of Church History' by Cardinal Hergenroether is an event of some magnitude in the domain of historical literature. Dr. Kirsch is particularly well qualified to undertake this first volume, as he is by training and profession a Christian archæologist of excellent experience at first hand. Several minor contributions to the antiquities of ecclesiastical history have made his name known and respected; the practice of teaching has fitted him to re-furbish such an excellent instrument of ecclesiastical formation as this work. The text does not seem to be anywhere seriously modified—the improvement, and it is a welcome one, consists chiefly in the quotation of the best pertinent modern "literature" that has appeared since the last edition of the work. There is also added a good map of the geographical spread of Christianity in the earliest centuries. Cardinal Hergenroether's Church History is really more than a manual, in the usual sense of the word. In the excellent French translation it fills six thick octavo volumes. Whoever examines carefully this volume, with its enormous detail of text-illustration and bibliography, will be confirmed in the notion that the Church histories of the future are not to be written by one hand, but by a kind of Benedictine division and community of labor, a good specimen of which lies now before us in Lavisse and Rambaud's "Histoire Générale," and in Lavisse's "Histoire de France" actually going through the press. The horizons are growing deeper; provinces of learning, once shrouded in a haze, are now outlined and defined; the topography of once unknown sections is now familiar, and the time perhaps ripe for a world-wide society of toilers willing and able to set in its proper light the admirable organization of mankind for life eternal through the agencies of Catholicism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, dogmatically, liturgically, and ascetically explained. By Rev. Dr. Nicholas Gihr. Translated from the sixth German edition. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. Large 8°, pp. 778. $4.00.

The admirable work of Dr. Gihr has been before the German Catholic public for twenty-five years as a part of Herder's "Theologische Bibliothek." An English translation was long a desideratum—in this volume the English-speaking clergy now possess what is indubitably a most useful work on the great central doctrine of Catholic life and belief. We quote from the original (1877) preface of the book:

> "Its object is, in the main, both practical and ascetical; to appeal not only to the understanding, but also to inflame the heart and move the will. The selection and the treatment of the matter have necessarily been directed to this object. As it is not our intention to present a purely scientific and exhaustive treatise on the eucharistic sacrifice, but to build, upon the foundation of scientific studies and inferences a work useful and practical for the clergy, certain questions of scientific and historic nature may receive scarcely more than a brief and passing mention. . . . In the explanation of the Rite we have strictly adhered to the words and actions of the liturgical formulæ, endeavoring at the same time, in accordance with approved ecclesiastical traditions, to avoid as far as possible all subjectivism and artificiality. . . . The priest who studies

this book will, moreover, find manifold reasoning and argument wherewith to direct the faithful according to their capacity in the proper understanding of the divine sacrifice and in their fervent recourse to the eucharistic fountain of grace. The authorities of the Church have often impressed upon pastors that this is a chief duty of directors of souls, for the conscientious discharge of which they shall have to render an account before God. Although this volume is principally intended for the use of the clergy it has been so arranged that the more highly cultured laity may also peruse it with profit."

The translation, as far as we have compared it with the original, is faithful and clear. The English is not only correct and idiomatic but natural and dignified, as becomes the subject-matter. Its author has a thorough mastery, as well of the rather involved diction of German theological scholarship, as of the brevity and directness of American speech. We hope that another edition of the work will make known his identity. The selected bibliography (pp. 7–12) might easily be enriched by a certain number of English works on the Mass. We notice at once that the names of Dalgairns, Bridgett, O'Brien, are wanting, and that the famous "Lectures on the Eucharist" of Cardinal Wiseman are not quoted. In such an exhaustive and "classical" book a complete bibliography of English works on the Eucharistic might well be made a special feature. We cheerfully recommend this excellent work to all our readers. It has stood the test of a quarter of a century amid a learned and pious clergy, and may therefore claim a place in the library of every Catholic, priest and layman, who understands the words of a French writer cited by Dr. Gihr (p. 224) viz., that our spiritual or metaphoric sacrifices and prayers, thanksgivings, alms, sacred chants, preachings, obedience, humility, martyrdom, good works, are only a dependence, an appendix, an extension, a consequence, an echo of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which combines all their varieties as well as the varieties of the material sacrifices.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Etudes D'Histoire et de Theologie Positive. Par Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii + 311.

This little volume contains four articles on the following points of Early Church History: L'Arcane, Les Origines de la Pénitence, La Hiérarchie Primitive, L'Agape. Mgr. Batiffol is well and favorably known for excellent contributions to patrology and the literary history of Christianity. His work on the Roman Breviary and his History of Greek Christian Literature are widely used in learned circles. His studies are done at first hand, as becomes a disciple of Duchesne, in a liberal and fearless temper, and with a certain charm and piquancy of style that relieve the native dryness and remoteness of the matter. The most important of these studies is the one on "Les Origines de la Pénitence," and we recommend its perusal to all our ecclesiastical leaders. The subject is a thorny one and the antiquarians of theology have always approached it with diffidence. Mgr. Batiffol summarizes luminously certain new considerations and points of view, submitted within the last decade by scholars both Protestant and Catholic. His own scholarship, profound, critical, and suggestively helpful, is here clearly in evidence. His views and solutions are worthy of the closest attention. Thomas J. Shahan.

Report of the Industrial Commission. 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 19 vols. 1899–1902.

An act of Congress approved in June, 1898, created an Industrial Commission, whose duty it was "to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing, to business, and to report to Congress, and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best on the subjects." It was further ordered that the Commision "furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various states of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer, and the consumer." The Commission was composed of 19 members—five United States Senators, five members of the House of Representatives, and nine others selected to represent fairly the different industries and employments. The last named were appointed by the President. It was originally contemplated that the Commission would terminate its work in two years, but as its work was not completed within that period, the time was extended. With the completion of its report, which has just been made, it ceases to exist.

The report fills 19 volumes varying in size from 1,500 pages to 150. The following are the titles of the volumes.

1. Preliminary report on trusts. 2. Trusts and corporation laws in the United States. 3. Prison labor. 4. Transportation. 5. Labor legislation. 6. Distribution of farm products. 7. Capital and labor in manufacturing business. 8. Chicago labor disturbances. 9. Second volume on transportation. 10. Agricultural labor. 11. Second volume on agricultural labor. 12. Mining industries. 13. Second volume on trusts and combinations. 14. Second volume on capital and labor in manufacturing. 15. Immigration and education. 16. Foreign labor legislation. 17. Labor organizations, labor disputes and arbitration. 18. Industrial combinations in Europe. 19. Final report.

Before beginning its work, the Commission prepared a schedule of the subjects to be investigated. They cited witnesses to appear before them in Washington, and subcommissions went to various industrial centers to make investigations. The larger volumes are well indexed, the evidence is reviewed, and topical digests of the evidence are given. The testimony given is produced verbatim, after having been revised by the witnesses themselves.

It is scarcely necessary to attempt any review of this immense report, nor is it necessary to criticise or commend it. No one doubts that much useless matter is contained in it, but, on the other hand, one can scarcely deny that it has an immense educational value. We confine ourselves to the notice of its publication, taking occasion to recommend it to all students of social conditions. Until the edition is exhausted, the report may be procured gratis by applying to any congressman.

L. L. Dubois.

Electrical and Magnetic Calculations. By A. A. Atkinson. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1902. 8°, pp. vii + 310. Illustrated. Cloth, $1.50.

Another useful book has been added to the list of works on electrical science published by the D. Van Nostrand Company. There has been need of such a book as Professor Atkinson has produced. The treatment of the matter is such that not only will teachers and students in colleges find it a valuable aid in their work, but also those engaged in electrical engineering practice will find it at once a handy reference for the application of rules and formulæ to practical engineering problems, and a means of acquiring a better working knowledge of the principles underlying their profession, if they have not had the advantage of a full college course in the subject.

After giving a brief explanation of units in general, the author takes up the treatment of the relations of electrical qualities, the general laws of resistance, electrical energy and alternating currents, including under each of these headings interesting problems of a practical character. A long chapter is then devoted to the most modern problems in wiring for the distribution of direct currents and alternating currents of single, two and three phase, for lighting and power. Problems in the grouping of batteries and the charging of storage cells receive considerable attention. The important facts concerning magnetism are stated briefly, and the relations of magnetic quantities are illustrated by well-chosen examples. The last chapters of the book deal with the electro-motive force of dynamos and motors, the calculations of fields and the elements of dynamo design, illustrative examples being used, as in the preceding chapters, to give the reader a clear knowledge of the principles, and to enable him to apply his knowldge readily in engineering practice. The diagrams are neatly drawn and the tables well arranged. The book has been brought out with careful attention to details of the art of printing.

DANIEL W. SHEA.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A College Manual of Rhetoric. By Charles Sears Baldwin, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric in Yale University. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. xv + 451.

Dr. Baldwin divides his manual into two parts: Prose Composition and Prose Diction. Notes, examples, references, specimens, are relegated to a lengthy appendix, thereby gaining the fullest attention for the "sequence of principles" and a larger space for the practical illustrations that are indispensable in such a work. In the first part, under the rubric of Logical Composition, are treated the elements of the same, together with Exposition and Persuasion; then follow the elements of Literary Composition, and especially Narration and Description. In the second part Usage and Style are the headings under which the academic doctrines of Prose Diction are expounded —the latter subject falling under such divisions as originality elegance, directness or force, balance of elegance and force in classic prose, and harmony. Among the "Longer Selections" we meet (pp. 383–402) with the famous description of "Literature" by Cardinal Newman, and the exquisite "Symmetry and Incident" of Alice Meynell. Pater, Kipling, Stevenson, Stephen Phillips, Gifford Pinchot, Thomas Hardy, Lafcadio Hearn, Thomas Janvier, are admitted into the "Grand Council" of literary masters, not without good reason, when we weigh the especial excellencies of the quotations from them. In the paragraphs on "Forensic Oratory" the excellent handbook of our own Professor Robinson is accepted as a most reliable guide.

Compendium Theologiae Moralis a Joanne Petro Gury, S.J., Conscriptum et ab Antonio Ballerini ejurdem societatis adnotationibus auctum, deinde vero ad breviorem formam exaratum, atque ad usum seminariorum hujus regionis accomodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti S.J. in Collegio Woodstockiensi Theologiæ Moralis Professore, Editio decima sexta recognita a Timotheo Barrett, S.J. New York: Pustet, 1902. 8°, pp. 904.

This sixteenth edition of Gury-Ballerini-Sabetti is now too well known in our seminaries and among our clergy to need any further praise. Its utility is universal acknowledged, and this reprint deserves all the good words that have been said of its predecessors.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Statistics Concerning Education in the Philippine Islands, compiled from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1899–1900. By Rev. Samuel Hedges, Seton Hall College. New York: Benziger, 1902. 12°, pp. 30. 10 cents.

The Ideal Teacher, or the Catholic Notion of Authority in Education. By Père L. Laberthonnière. Pedagogical Truth Library, No. 7. New York: Cathedral Library Association. 1902. 12°, pp. 81.

The Death of Sir Launcelot and other poems. By Conde B. Pallen, Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1902. 8°, pp. 124.

A New Catechism of Christian Doctrine and Practice. By the Rt. Rev. James Bellord, D.D., The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1902. 12°, pp. 115. 10 cents.

Forty-five Sermons, written to meet objections of the present day by Rev. James McKernan. New York: Pustet. 8°, pp. 291. 1.00.

The Little Manual of St. Anthony of Padua. Compiled by Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger, 1902. 32°, pp. 188. 25 cents.

FROM THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS.

FOUNDATION-STONE OF SARGON II.

(722–705, B.C.)

This is a fragment[1] (7½x8 in.) inscribed on both sides and contains an interesting cuneiform text. The shape of the stone and its contents show that it was originally part of a *temênu* or foundation-stone and belonged to a temple or some other monument erected by an Assyrian King of the Sargonide dynasty.[2] The *obverse* (Fig. 1) consisting of 19 lines exhibits in mutilated form, besides the usual prologue, a general summary of the military exploits of the reigning monarch, while the *reverse,* 9 lines (Fig. 2), contains the epilogue and records the date of erection.

The lines are broken off at both extremities, and the text is otherwise defaced, but as several of the clauses belong to the conventional, stereotyped class, they can be easily reconstructed by comparison with other historical inscriptions of the same period. This has been done very successfully by the eminent Assyriologist Father Scheil (*Revue Biblique,* Juilet, 1900), who compares the fragment particularly with the Senacherib inscription known as the Taylor Cylinder.

The fragment is especially interesting on account of the mention made in the epilogue of an Assyrian *bêl pahâti* or prefect of Samaria, the capital of the Northern Israelitish Kingdom. The text reads as follows, the reconstructed parts being enclosed within brackets.

...............$^{\text{ilu}}$ Šamaš $^{\text{ilu}}$ Rammân........
....ma eli kul-lat na-[kire............
....Šar] $^{\text{mat}}$ Aššur $^{\text{ki}}$ Šar kib-rat irbit-tim Šarru......
....a-] lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-[a-ti......
....la-]'-it la ma-gi-ri mu-šap-ri-q[u zamânê, Aššur

---

[1] Of uncertain origin; bought in Paris from an Oriental; now in possession of Professor H. Hyvernat, of the Catholic University of America.

[2] Father Scheil is of the opinion that the tablet came originally from Nineveh, but it may also have belonged to a monument of Caleh (the modern Nimrud) since the latter continued to be the royal city for two centuries after the restoration of the Assyrian Empire beginning with Aššurnazirapal (884–860 B.C.).

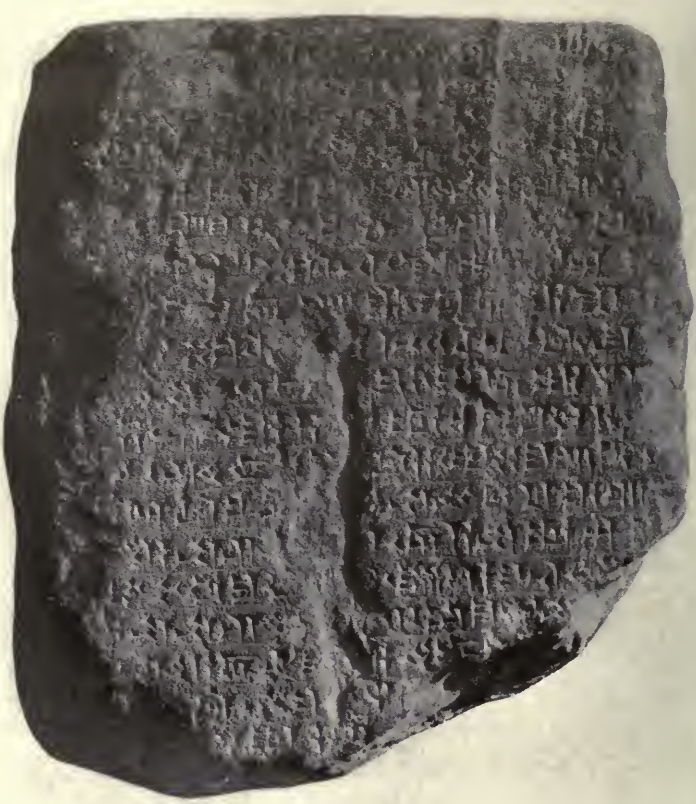

FIG. I.

A FOUNDATION STONE OF SARGON
722-705 B. C.

OBVERSE.

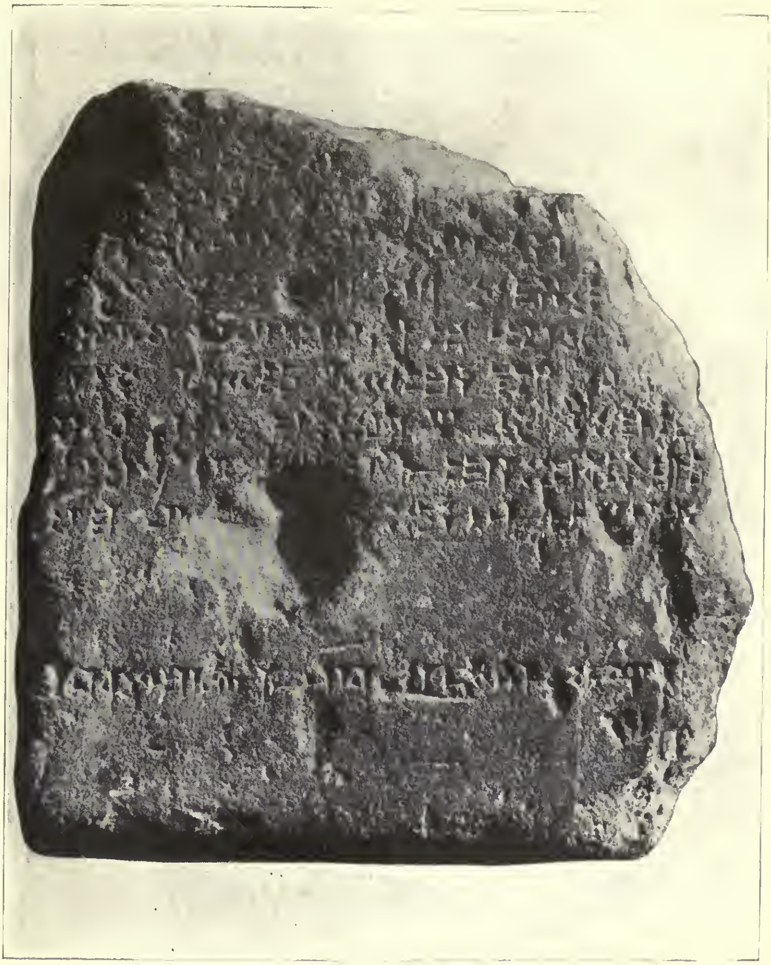

FIG. 2.

A FOUNDATION STONE OF SARGON II.

722-705 B. C.

REVERSE.

....eli gi-]mir a-šib pa-rak-ki u-sar-ba-a...[^{is} Kakkêya
[ultu tamti eliniti adi tamtim
....šap-li-ti ša ci-it ^{ilu} Šamši..........
....i-na ir-bit gir-râ-ni-ya ša..........
....li [al-] âni-šu-nu ak-šu-[ud..........
....i-] na še-lal-ti gir-ra-ni-ya ša a[na-(?)....
....gir-ri-ia a-[na] KÂ-DINGIR-RA-KI a-[......
....gi-lit-tu....ki gug-tu u (?)- ša [lik (?)......
....^{ilu} Zar-pa-ni-[tum] a-na mu-uḫ (?) di-e u......
....Cun na-gi ti-ni a-na KÂ-DINGIR-RA-[KI......
....Šar ^{mat} Nim-ma-ki [la ḫa]-sis a-ma-ti......
....a-na na-gi-e ur-du-ma...... na........
....Cun ni-še (?) e-bir......
....ak-mu-u ša........
....a]l Ra- ca..........

REVERSE.

....mu-ša-ru-u u-še-piš-ma......
....ka-na ki (?) ri-e a aš(?)-tak-ka-an (?)......
....Šarrâni marê-ya ša ^{ilu} Aššur......
....ḫa-šu e-nu-ma dûru ša-a-tu i-[labiru......
....ši[t̮ir] šu-me-ya li-mur-ma......
....a]-na aš-ri-[šu lu]-tir ^{ilu} Aššur......
....[ina lime N....] bêl piḫat ^{al} Sa-me-ri-na Šattu XIV....
....[N.... šar ^{mat} Aššur]........
....

TRANSLATION (Cf. *Revue Biblique,* Juillet 1900).

....The gods Šamaš, Ramman........
....over all enemies......[I N......
....king of Assyria, king of the Four Regions......
....helper of the weak, intent upon good works....
....destroyer of the rebellious, burner of [enemies; whom the God Aššur
....has made victorious over all who dwell in palaces..from the upper sea
....to the lower sea towards the rising sun......
....in four campaigns against......
....I took their cities............
....in three expeditions against......
....I followed the route to Babylon....

....I reduced to desolation......
....the goddess Zarpanit from her sanctuary (?)....
....districts......towards Babylon......
....the king of Elam who did not take to heart the command [of the gods....
....towards his regions I went down......
....men (?)...... I crossed......
.... I surrounded........
....the city of Rasa........

REVERSE.

....an inscription I caused to be made......
.... I placed......
....among] the kings my descendants whom the god Aššur [will call to reign....
....when this enclosure shall have fallen to decay......
....should one see this my inscription......
....let him put it back in its place, and Aššur [will reward him
....In the eponymy of N—] governor of Samaria, in 14th year of......
....[N— king of Assyria.]

According to the acute observations of Father Scheil the unnamed king, author of the inscription is no other than Sargon (722–705 B.C.), who completed the conquest of the Northern Kingdom begun by Shalmaneser. We gather from the fragment a kind of *resumé* of the king's war-like expeditions. In four campaigns he overcomes certain foes whose names are not preserved in the text. Three other campaigns are devoted to the overthrow of the combined forces of Babylon and Elam, and all this before the fourteenth year of his reign, which date, according to the epilogue, coincides with the *limu* or eponymy[1] of a certain governor of Samaria whose name is also absent through mutilation of the text. This coincidence obviously precludes a date anterior to Sargon, but several considerations lead us to refer the inscription to the reign of that monarch rather than to any of the succeeding ones. In point of fact, none of the other inscriptions of Sargon refer to events later than the fourteenth year of his reign, a circumstance which agrees well with the text in question. It is as if the king's military exploits were then over, his enemies subdued, and he has concentrated his intention upon the arts of peace, as suggested in the epilogue, while in connection with the monuments erected, he naturally commemorates the chief events of his reign. Furthermore, the manner of thus resuming these events in a general way without attention to their chronological order is recognized as a feature peculiar to the Sargonic inscriptions. It is true that certain stylistic peculiarities of the text recall inscriptions of Senacherib, but that it does not refer to the latter is shown by the epilogue, since the eponym of the fourteenth year of Senacherib's reign (692) is known to be Zaga, governor of Arvad, not of Samaria. Neither can the fragment be referred to Esarhaddon (681–668) who died in the fourteenth year of his reign, and who besides, was never engaged in war with Babylon. The threefold campaign against this city seems likewise to exclude reference to the reign of Assurbanipal (668–625) though this prince did engage in a protracted struggle against Elam.

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[1] Through a most important discovery by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who in 1862 unearthed several fragments of the Eponym Canon, scholars have been enabled to accurately determine Assyrian chronology from 1330 to 620 B.C. *circ.* It is now known that just as in Rome each year was designated by reference to the ruling consul, and in Athens by the name of the Chief Archon, so among the

On the other hand the contents of the inscription can be easily harmonized with what is otherwise known concerning the reign of Sargon. Thus the campaigns first mentioned refer probably to his expeditions against the nations of the north which are known to have been subdued only after a struggle of four years. "The same king was three times in conflict with Babylon, once at the beginning of his reign in which campaign the battle of Dur-ilu was fought; again in the eleventh year, when he vanquished the allies of Marduk-bal-iddin; and finally in the twelfth, when he conquered Marduk-bal-iddin himself."

The eponym of the fourteenth year of the reign (709) is known as *Mannu Kî Aššur li'u.* No title is assigned to him in the inscriptions thus far brought to light, but if Father Scheil's calculations be correct he must have been governor of Samaria.

JAMES F. DRISCOLL.

Assyrians, at least as far back as 817 (in the reign of Shamshi-Ramman, 825–812) the custom prevailed of electing, to preside, as it were, over each year, an Archon or Eponym. These were generally public functionaries—sometimes the kings themselves—and Assyrian documents were more frequently dated by the name of the presiding eponym than by that of the reigning monarch. The Eponym Canon consists of a list giving in chronological order the names and titles of the successive Eponyms together with the year of their archontate and the principal events thereof.

INSTITUTE OF PEDAGOGY, NEW YORK CITY.
COURSE OF INSTRUCTION, 1902-1903.

The Institute of Pedagogy was opened Wednesday, October 1, 1902, in the Hall of St. Francis Xavier's College, 30 West 16th street, New York City. Lectures are given from Monday to Friday inclusive from 4 to 6 p. m. and on Saturday from 10 a. m. to 12 m.

INSTRUCTORS.

REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D.D., *History of Education.*
EDWIN LYELL EARLE, PH.D., *Principles and Methods of Education.*
REV. FRANCIS P. DUFFY, S.T.B., *Logic and Ethics.*
REV. EDWARD A. PACE, PH.D., D.D., *Psychology.*
CHARLES H. MCCARTHY, PH.D., *American History.*
REV. JOSEPH H. MCMAHON, PH.D., *Library Work.*

SCOPE.

The Institute has been established for the purpose of providing, under Catholic auspices, the preparation required of teachers by the rules of the Board of Education of New York.

These laws, framed in accordance with modern educational tendencies, oblige the teacher not only to produce evidence of scholarship in certain important branches, but also to become familiar with the history and principles of education. Pedagogy thus opens the way to historical, psychological and philosophical problems. The teacher, therefore, should understand the fundamental principles concerning the nature of mind upon which all intellectual and moral training is based. And it is but just that the share which the Church has had in the work of education should receive more attention than is accorded to it by the average manual of the history of education. There can be no doubt that accurate information on these matters will enable the teacher to perform more thoroughly and more conscientiously the duty which he owes to the public. It will also enable him to form correct estimates of the various theories which are nowadays proposed as the groundwork of pedagogical science.

ADMISSION.

Applicants for admission to the Institute must:

1. Present a diploma from a recognized College or Normal School; or

2. Present a license to teach in the schools of the City of New York; or

3. Pass an entrance examination equivalent to the examination required of graduates from the Normal School.

The above requirements must be fulfilled by those who desire to pursue the courses with a view to taking a degree.

Persons who do not desire to take a degree will be permitted to follow the courses as auditors.

SESSIONS.

The academic year is divided into two half-years. The first half-year begins October 1 and ends January 31. The second half-year begins February 2 and ends May 30. Lectures are intermitted during the Christmas Recess, December 20 to January 4, and during the Easter Recess, April 4–15.

INSTRUCTION.

Instruction will be given by means of lectures and conferences.

EXAMINATIONS.

Examinations will be held at the end of January in the subjects which are taught during the first half-year, and at the end of May in the subjects which are taught during the second half-year.

Certificates will be granted to those who have attended any or all of the courses and have successfully passed the examinations.

DEGREES.

Attendance upon the courses outlined below, 1 to 8 inclusive, with successful examination, shall count towards the degree of Master of Pedagogy, for which the minimum requirements shall be two years work and the presentation of an acceptable thesis on some pedagogical topic. Credit will be given for work done in other institutions for which certificates from such institutions are presented.

FEES.

Fees for instruction are as follows:

For each half-year course (30 lectures),	$10.00
For two half-year courses,	15.00
Full year course,	15.00
Library course,	25.00

Special arrangements will be made for those who take three or more courses.

1.—HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

The purpose of these lectures is to present an outline of the History of Education previous to the sixteenth century. The educational ideals and systems of the Greek and Roman peoples, and of the Christianized Graeco-Romans, will be treated as an introduction to the vicissitudes of Education in the Middle Ages. An effort will be made to handle the subject-matter from a broad and common-human point of view, without sacrifice of specific Christian principle and temper. Thus, in the description of Mediæval Education, it will be the aim of the lecturer to make clear not only the school-life of the period—its purpose, spirit and methods—but also such universal and permanent influences and factors as then shaped and directed the general European mind. As far as possible, the original sources of information will be enumerated, and their guidance adhered to. Each lecture will be accompanied by a select bibliography, with short notes on the scope and utility of the works recommended. A suitable time for conference will also be allowed.

Dr. Shahan. *Two hours a week, first half-year.*

2.—PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF EDUCATION.

The course is designed to acquaint the student with the principles of education and with their application. It opens with a discussion of the foundations of method, which are historical, psychological, physiological, sociological and theological. This is followed by a study of the child, the subject matter and the aim of education. The principles thus established are then applied to the actual work of teaching, and the methods appropriate to each subject in the school curriculum are considered. Directions will also be given for the preparation of lesson plans and opportunities will be afforded for observation work.

Dr. Earle. *Two hours a week.*

3.—LOGIC.

This course will consist of thirty lectures on Formal Logic, which treats of the laws which govern clear thinking, careful investigation and exact reasoning. The theory of knowledge will be touched upon so far as may be necessary for the proper understanding of these laws.

Both the deductive and inductive methods will be treated, but special attention will be given to the latter.

Under Deductive Reasoning will be considered: Terms, their use and the fixing of their meaning by definition and division; the different kinds of propositions; the forms and rules of syllogistic arguments; and fallacies.

Under Inductive Reasoning: Mill's methods of Observation, Statistics, Analogies, Hypotheses.

The aim of the course is not merely to impart a theoretical knowledge of the subject, but to make it of practical value by giving a training in clearness of thought and accuracy of expression. To this end various exercises will be suggested or assigned.

Particular attention will be paid to the relations between logic and the various branches of school instruction.

Rev. F. P. Duffy, S.T.B. *Two hours a week, first half-year.*

4.—PSYCHOLOGY.

An historical outline, showing the development of modern psychology, will lead to a discussion of the methods at present employed. The results obtained along the principal lines of experimental research will be indicated. Attention, apperception, memory and habit will be treated with reference to the work of teaching. An account will also be given of the more important problems and theories in genetic psychology. In connection with the lectures, opportunity will be given for the discussion of psychological literature.

Dr. Pace. *Two hours a week, first half-year.*

5.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF MIND.

On the basis of fact established by psychology, the solution of those problems is attempted which concern the essential nature of mind. The relation between mind and brain, the meaning of 'spirituality,' the limits of conscious life and the concept of immortality are the leading topics for discussion. The treatment of these from the point of view of Christian Philosophy will take into account the claims of materialism, monism, parallelism and evolutionism.

Dr. Pace. *Two hours a week, second half-year.*

6.—ETHICS.

The course includes an historical outline which is designed especially to show the influence of Greek Philosophy upon Christian Ethics. The relation of Ethics, as a normative science, to the positive sciences is discussed. Various types of ethical theory are critically reviewed. The fundamental concepts of right, duty, liberty, law and virtue are analysed. Stress is laid upon the ethical and social bearings of the teacher's work and practical suggestions are offered for the development of character.

Rev. F. P. Duffy, S.T.B. *Two hours a week, second half-year.*

7.—AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY.

The lectures in American political history will include an account of nautical activity during the XV. and XVI. centuries and the consequent enlargement of geographical knowledge. They will also consider the discoveries upon which were based the claims to portions of this continent by the leading maritime powers of Europe.

A summary of the Spanish, French and Dutch settlements will be followed by a more minute discussion of the English colonies in North America. This part of the course will notice the social, industrial and commercial life of the people between the years 1607 and 1776. By a method not usually adopted the main facts of the Revolution will be set forth.

In the succeeding period will be traced the rise of political parties, the territorial extension of the United States, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Louisiana Purchase, the restlessness of the States under Federal restraint and other important topics belonging to the period of Virginian ascendency. The questions arising in the Jacksonian epoch will receive proper emphasis. The settlement, independence and annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico and its consequences extend over several administrations. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska struggle and the decision in the case of Dred Scott include the discussion of a wide range of topics. American socialisms, the anti-slavery movement, and the more important reforms will receive some attention.

The causes of the Civil War, its history and results, including the subject of Reconstruction will be carefully discussed. There will also be some consideration of the principal events since 1877.

Dr. McCarthy. *Two hours a week, first half-year.*

8.—AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

The course in Civil Government will comprise an account of the successive steps of the English colonies toward the organization of a confederacy, an examination of the Articles of Confederation and a summary of the political conditions which led to the formation of "a more perfect union." The work of the Convention of 1787 and the struggle to secure the new instrument of government will be discussed. The lectures in Civics, however, will be chiefly concerned with an exposition of the Federal Constitution and a study of the history and institutions of the State of New York.

Dr. McCarthy. *Two hours a week, second half-year.*

DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY WORK.

This department will endeavor to give the general and special training required for modern library work, keeping in mind the fact that the competent librarian must not only be educated in the technique of his profession but must possess a cultivated mind so as intelligently to grasp the needs of the people who wish to use the public or private library and accurately to accommodate his resources to those needs.

A liberal education is therefore a prerequisite for the higher library work. Students in this department, in order to obtain a certificate, will be required to take at least two of the other courses in the Institute.

Lectures on the general problems of library work will be given one hour each week. Lectures on Special Bibliography will also be given one hour weekly. The technical part of practical library work will require two hours each week.

Dr. McMahon.

Schedule of Lectures, First Half-Year.

	4—5	5—6
Monday	Psychology.	Principles of Education.
Tuesday	Psychology.	Logic.
Wednesday	Logic.	Library Work.
Thursday	Principles of Education.	American History.
Friday	History of Education.	American History.
	10—11	11—12
Saturday	History of Education.	Bibliography.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Catholic Ecclesiastical Law in the Nineteenth Century. Dr. Fritz Fleiner, professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Basle, in his "Rektoratsrede" of November 8, 1901, deals with the development of Catholic Ecclesiastical Law in the nineteenth century (Tuebingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1902, 8vo, pp. 31). His considerations are based on purely juristic principles and views. In substance he finds that modern Catholicism has gained internally by the principles of the French Revolution and modern constitutional liberalism. Both have driven the state out of all possible logical authority in matters of religion. This loss of civil support for the Church has been more than compensated by absolute internal freedom. As a matter of fact, from the domestic standpoint of Catholicism we are back again in the circle of mediæval ideas. Both then and now (p. 30) a "rein geistiges Moment," *i. e.*, a common and serious religious faith, is the basis from which the Catholic canonical legislation acts, with absolute independence of the state, upon individual souls. It is only by slow steps, and to their great surprise, that the statesmen of Europe have learned how the most significant and far-reaching act of modern times was Napoleon's urgent insistence that Pius VII should depose the entire French episcopate of the "ancien régime." Dr. Fleiner opines that "on that day, as a matter of fact (p. 7), the pope rose above all the bishops of the Catholic world and found himself again in the old mediæval office of Head of the Universal Church." Dr. Fleiner writes as a practical statesman of Bismarckian tendencies and principles, and regrets evidently the disappearance of that manifold control which the pre-Napoleonic system so often assured to the philosophic officials of Josephism and Febronianism.

An Italian Bishop on Strikes. That good pastor of souls, Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, has issued an admirable pastoral to his clergy on the subject of strikes. This document appears in French in the "Annales de Philosophie Chretienne" (June, 1902).

In it one finds Catholic doctrine, sincere, timely, and urgent, on this grave issue of modern life. The pastoral breathes throughout a genuine love of peace and concord, and establishes with precision, fairness, and sympathy the rights and duties of employés and employed. Written for Italians and Catholics in an agricultural region, with all the weight of long experience and paternal affection, it brings out that higher life of mutual love, forebearance and furtherance, which would surely be the outcome of practical Catholicism in principles and conduct.

The Ideal Teacher. We have received from the Cathedral Library Association (534–536 Amsterdam Ave., New York) number 7 of its "Pedagogical Truth Library." The pamphlet is a translation from the French Père Laberthonnière and is entitled "The Ideal Teacher: the Catholic Notion of Authority in Education." It deserves the widest circulation for its clear, sound, moderate doctrine, as well as for a certain calm and philosophical gift of style and exposition.

The Irish Scots. All who are interested in the "making of a nation" should read Mr. John C. Linehan's "The Irish Scots" and the "Scotch-Irish," an historical and ethnological monograph, with some reference to Scotia Major and Scotia Minor, to which is added a chapter on How the Irish came as Builders of the Nation (Concord, N. H., The American-Irish Historical Society, 1902, 8vo, pp. 138). Mr. Linehan's erudition ought surely to convince every disinterested reader that the so-called "Scotch-Irish" are very largely an historic misnomer. There is much valuable and rare information in these pages. They would, however, gain by a more careful proof-reading, thus (p. 9) Grester for Gretser, Isodorus for Isidorus. As the brochure to some extent, falls under the general rubric "genealogical," it ought to have, in following editions, an index of all family names anywhere cited. This would render its use more easy and frequent.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Opening of the University.—The classes for 1902–1903 were opened Wednesday, October 8. The solemn exercises of the opening took place on Sunday, October 12. Solemn high mass was sung at 9:30 o'clock. Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., president of St. Thomas' College, was the celebrant; Rev. James A. Gallagher, of Philadelphia, deacon; Rev. Stephen N. Moore, of Peoria, Ill., subdeacon, and Rev. William P. Clarke, of Cincinnati, master of ceremonies. The Rt. Rev. Rector delivered a suitable discourse.

Gift of Rt. Rev. Bishop Grace.—The library has received from Right Rev. Bishop Grace, of Sacramento, a gift of 197 volumes of old Spanish sermons and ascetical works.

New Appointments.—Rev. Thomas E. Shields, Ph.D., of St. Paul, Minn., has been named instructor in physiological psychology; Rev. Francis Purtell, S.T.L., Catholic University, 1901, fellow in scripture, and Rev. A. J. Dowling, S.T.B., Catholic University, 1895, fellow in ecclesiastical history.

Catholic Missionary Union.—The Catholic Missionary Union has established its headquarters at Keane Hall, under the presidency of Very Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. It has already begun work for the preparation of priests for the non-Catholic missions.

INDEX OF VOL. VIII, 1902.

MAIN ARTICLES.

The Public and the Labor World—William J. Kerby 3
The First Publication of the Aeneid—John D. Maguire 20
The Language of Evolution, II—Edmund T. Shanahan 35
An Ancient Syriac Lexicographer—Henry Hyvernat 58
The Romance of the Langue D'Oc—Lucian Johnston 135
The Laborer's Right to a Living Wage—John A. Ryan 156
The Ancient Christian Monument of Hsi-an-Fu—Charles F. Aiken 157
Atoms and Ions, A Century of Chemical Theory—John J. Griffin 193
The Leadership of Leo XIII—Edmund T. Shanahan 263
Livy as an Orator—John D. Maguire 276
Saint Thomas' Theory of Education—Edward A. Pace 290
Middle English Poems—J. Vincent Crowne 304
The Literature of Chivalry—Lucian Johnson 317
The Cathedral Builders of the Middle Ages—Thomas J. Shahan 405
A Definition of Literature—Maurice Francis Egan 429
St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Murder of Hypatia—Francis Schaefer 441
The Department Store—L. L. Dubois 454
The Monks of Rabban Hormizd—Arthur Vaschalde 472
Duval's Edition of Bar-Bahlûl—Henry Hyvernat 483

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Mexican Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 120
Episcopal Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D 124
Eighth Annual Alumni Meeting 255
Episcopal Consecration of Rt. Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D 385
Necrology: Archbishop Corrigan 383
Foundation Stone of Sargon II 522
Institute of Pedagogy 526
Notes and Comment 532
Commencement Exercises 391
University Chronicle 130, 252, 400, 534

BOOK REVIEWS.

Adams and Stephens—Select Documents of Constitutional English History .. 78
Affagart—Relation de Terre Sainte 375
Atkinson—Electrical and Magnetic Calculations 519
Nixon-Roulet—St. Anthony in Art 250
Bachem—Staatslexicon 243
Bardenhewer—Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur 513
Batiffol—Etudes D'Histoire et de Théologie positive 517
Belser—Einleitung in das Neue Testament 214
Benigni—Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Propadeutica 375
Bliard—Dubois, Cardinal et Premier Ministre 350
Bonomelli—La Chiesa 362
Botsford—A History of Rome 75

Capes—The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries...... 240
Chauvin—Le Père Gratry...... 108
Conway—Lalor's Maples...... 361
Cornish—Chivalry...... 115
Corvo—Chronicles of the House of Borgia...... 237
Courajod—Les Origines de la Renaissance...... 81
Deberre—La Vie Littéraire à Dijon au XVIII siècle...... 495
De Costa—The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America...... 91
Denis—L'Eglise et L'Etat...... 499
Denis—Les Vrais Périls...... 499
Denis—Un Carême Apologétique sur les Dogmes Fondamentaux...... 499
De Roo—History of America Before Columbus...... 91
Devas—Political Economy...... 109
Desboeufs—Les Etapes d'un Soldat de L'Empire...... 353
Drude—Theory of Optics...... 378
Dutto—Life of Bartolomé de Las Casas...... 342
Duval—La Littérature Syriaque...... 79
Eggar—Denys d'Helicarnasse...... 221
Ehrhardt—Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884–1900. 228
Elliott—Life of Christ...... 381
Encyclopædia—Jewish...... 210
Ernst—Die Ketzertaufangelegenheit in der altchristlichen Kirche nach Cyprian...... 227
Ernstein—Italian Renaissance in England...... 371
Fairlie—Municipal Administration...... 242
Fairweather—Origen and Greek Patristic Theology...... 226
Funk—Patres Apostolici...... 224
Gebhardt—Passio Sanctæ Theclæ Virginis...... 501
Gigot—Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament...... 106
Gihr—The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass...... 516
Gilder—Poems and Inscriptions...... 96
Gottsberger—Barhebræus und seine Scholien zur Heiligen Schrift...... 218
Greenridge—Roman Public Life...... 75
Greenough and Kittridge—Words and their Uses in English Speech...... 96
Gsell—Les Monuments Antiques de L'Algérie...... 229
Guggenheimer—A General History of the Christian Era...... 246
Guirand—L'Eglise et les Origines de la Renaissance...... 81
Hall—Common Sense of Commercial Arithmetic...... 378
Hart—The Foundations of American Foreign Policy...... 242
Hazlitt—The Venetian Republic...... 89
Heikel—Eusebius' Werke (I)...... 231
Hepburn—A Collection of Cases and Statutes...... 110
Hettinger—Timothy...... 364
Houtin—La Question Biblique...... 372
Howard—Insect Book...... 364
Ilg—Meditations on the Life and the Passion of Jesus Christ...... 95
Janssens—Tractatus de Deo-Homine...... 219
Jérome—L'Abbaye de Moyenmoutier...... 373
Johnston—Ireland, Historical and Picturesque...... 93
Joly—Sainte Thérèse...... 99
Kirsch—Hergenroether's Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte...... 515

Kidd—Western Civilization 365
Kirchwey—Readings in the Law of Real Property 110
Kraus—Cavour 359
Kurth—Saint Boniface 375
La Clavière—Saint Gaetan 376
Largent—Saint Hilaire 375
Leclercq—Les Martyrs 497
Lilly—Renaissance Types 81
Lingelbach—The Merchant Adventures of England 504
Lott—Les Mémoires de l'abbé Baston 351
Lowrie—Monuments of the Early Church 377
Mandrot—Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes 346
Macfayden—Alfred, the West Saxon King of England 238
Messmer—Spirago's Method of Christian Doctrine 94
Mann—The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages 509
Miller—Mediæval Rome 235
Molinier—Les Sources de L'Histoire de France 348, 512
Monroe—Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period 77
Morison—Time Table of Modern History 245
Nicholson—Principles of Political Economy 360
Nickel—Die Wiederherstellung des Jüdischen Gemeinwesens nach dem Babylonischen Exil 217
Pallen—The Feast of Thalarchus 96
Patten—Theory of Prosperity 365
Petit—Sacerdos rite Institutus 380
Powell and Tout—History of England 87
Ratti—Bibliotheca di S. Colombano di Bobbio 344
Rogers—A Student's History of Philosophy 378
Russell—Ireland and the Empire 93
Sampson—Lyric and Dramatic Poems of Milton 360
Sanders—Fenélon: His Friends and His Enemies 101
Savanarola—The Triumph of the Cross 81
Semeria—Venticinque Anni di Storia del Cristianesimo Nascente 223
Sheldon—Alternating Current Machines 378
Siebengartner—Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen 494
Sloane—French Revolution and Religious Reform 353
Spalding—God and the Soul 96
St. Cyres—Francois de Fenélon 349
Stephen—Letters of Richard Green 115
Stone—A History of Mary I., Queen of England 340
Taylor—The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages 81
    A Constitutional and Political History of Rome 75
Thedenat—Une Carrière Universitaire 108
Vacandard—Vie de Saint Ouen 345
Van der Hagen—Church of Christ 249
Vindex—Difesa dei primi Cristiani e Martiri di Roma 369
Waller—Saint Theresa's Way of Perfection 99
Young—Teaching of Mathematics in Prussia 378
Zapletal—Der Totemismus und Die Religion Israels 363
Zimmer—Pelagius in Irland 505

GENERAL INDEX.

Administration, Municipal........ 242
Adventurers, Merchant, of England 504
Aeneid, First publication of...... 20
Alfred the Great................ 238
Algeria, its Ancient Monuments.. 229
Alumni Association, Eighth Annual Meeting.................. 252
American College Rome, Alumni.. 400
American Foreign Policy........ 242
America, History of, before Columbus 92
    Pre-Columbian Discovery of 92
Apostolic Fathers................ 224
Arithmetic, Commercial......... 378
Babylonic Exile, Jewish Community after...................... 217
Bar-Bahlûl 60, 483
Bar-Hebræus and the Holy Scriptures 218
Baston, Memoirs of............. 351
Bible, The, in France............ 372
Bobbio, Library and Archives of.. 344
Borgia, Chronicles of House of.... 237
Calculations, Electrical and Magnetic 519
Cathedrals, Builders of, in Middle Ages 405
Cavour 359
Chemical Theory, A Century of.. 193
Chivalry, History of 115
    Literature of 317
Christian Doctrine, Spirago's Method of................... 94
Church and State.............. 499
Church History, Hergenroether's . 515
    Preparation for.. 375
Civilization, Western 365
Code Pleading, Collection of Cases and Statutes 110
Commencement Exercises 388
Commynes, Philippe de............ 346
Conaty, Rt. Rev. Thomas J., Episcopal Consecration of.......... 124
Consumers' League 17
Corrigan, Archbishop 382
Cross, Triumph of the 86
Current, Alternating 378
Daniel, Greek Additions to....... 219
Denys d'Halicarnasse 221
Department Store 454
Department Stores 18
Desboeufs, Souvenirs of 353
Dijon, Library of 495
Dubois, Cardinal 350
Early Christian Literature, Researches in 228
Early Church, Monuments of..... 377
Education, Clerical, History of.... 494
    Books on, in Libraries of Columbia University 112
    Greek and Roman, Source-Book of History of 77
    Religious, and its Failures 115
    St. Thomas' Theory of. 290
Encyclopædia, Jewish 117, 210
England, History of............. 87
English Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries......... 240
English Constitutional History, Select Documents of........... 78
English Literature, Introduction to 113
Ephesians, Commentary on....... 381
Eusebius, Life of Constantine.... 231
Evolution, Language of.......... 35
Fenélon 349
    his Friends and his Enemies 101
France, Sources of History of.348, 512
Gaelic, Lectures on............... 401
Garrigan, Rt. Rev. Philip J., Episcopal Consecration of...... 385
Gratry, Le Père................ 108
Green, Richard, Letters of....... 115

Heretical Baptism in primitive Church 227
Hergenroether, Cardinal 515
Holy Ghost, Sermons on 116
Holy Land 375
Hsi-an-Fu, Christian Monument of. 175
Hypatia, Murder of 441
Incarnation, Treatise on 219
Industrial Commission, Report of .. 518
Insect Book 364
Ireland, Historic and Picturesque. 93
  and the Empire 94
  Pelagius in 505
Jesus Christ, Meditations on Teaching of 95
Label, Union 14
Labor Unions 13
Labor World, Public and The 3
Langue D'Oc, Romance of 135
Las Casas, Bartolomé, Life of 342
Lent, Sermons 499
Leo XIII, Leadership of 263
Lexicon, Ancient Syriac 58
Literature, Definition of 429
  Early Christian, History of 513
Living Wage, Laborer's Right to a 156
  in Theory and in Practice 159
Livy as an Orator 276
Martyrs, Christian 369, 497
Mass, Sacrifice of 516
Mary, Queen of England 340
Mediæval Rome 235
Mexican Codex Fejérváry-Mayer .. 120
Middle Ages, Cathedral Builders of 405
  Classical Inheritance of 85
Middle English Poems 304
Milton, Lyric and Dramatic Poems of 360
Modern History, Time Table of ... 245
Moyenmoutier, Abbey of 373
Monks of Rabban Hormizd 472
Nero, Burning of Rome 369
New Houses of Study, Dominicans . 257
  Sulpicians .. 130
New Testament, Introduction to .. 214
Nourrisson, Jean Félix 108
Old Testament, Introduction to Study of 106
Origen and Greek Theology 226
Optics, Theory of 378
Passion, The 95
Pedagogy, Institute of 526
Pelagius, in Ireland 505
Philosophy, History of 378
  Syriac 70
Political Economy 109
Popes, Lives of 509
Primitive Christianity 223
Prosperity, Theory of 365
Provençal Literature 139
Prussia, Mathematics in 378
Rabban Hormizd, Monks of 472
Real Property, Readings in the Law of 111
Renaissance Italian, in England ... 371
Renaissance, Origines de 81
  Types of 82
  The Church and the. 84
Revolution, French, and Religious Reform 353
Rhetoric, College Manual of 520
Rome, Constitution and Political History of 76
  History of 77
  Public Life of 75
Sargon II, Foundation Stone of ... 522
Savonarola's Trionfo della Croce .. 86
Semeria, Padre, miscellaneous writings of 116
Staatslexicon 243
St. Boniface 375
St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Hypatia 441
St. Gaetan 376
St. Hilary 375
St. Hugh of Lincoln 114
St. Ouen 345
St. Thecla, Passio 502
St. Theresa, Life of 99
  her "Way of Perfection" 100
Syriac Literature 79
  Manuscripts, Collections of. 64
Theology, Historical 517
Totemism 363
Troubadours, The 142
  Their Verse 145
  Morality of 153

Trustees, Meeting of............ 259
Varius and Tucca............... 27
Venice, Republic of............ 89
Vergilii, Vita 25
University, Gifts to 255, 256
University Museums 119

LIST OF WRITERS IN THE BULLETIN FOR 1902.

Aiken, Charles F.. 175
Crowne, J. Vincent.. 304
Driscoll, James F...210, 522
Dubois, Leo L..454, 518
Egan, Maurice Francis.......................96, 247, 360, 361, 364, 371, 429
Grannan, Charles P.. 214
Griffin, John J... 193
Healy, Patrick T.. 369
Hyvernat, Henri...................................58, 79, 117, 363, 483
Johnston, Lucian.......................87, 101, 135, 238, 240, 317, 340, 349
Kerby, William J...3, 243
Maguire, John D...20, 276
Neill, Charles P.................................78, 109, 242, 360, 365
Pace, Edward A..................................77, 108, 290, 364, 378
Reid, George J..106, 217
Robinson, William C... 110
Ryan, John A.. 156
Schaefer, Francis... 441
Shahan, Thomas J., 75, 81, 89, 91, 93, 99, 221, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 235, 237, 245, 246, 342, 344, 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 353, 353, 359, 362, 372, 373, 375, 375, 376, 377, 405, 494, 495, 497, 499, 502, 504, 505, 509, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517.
Shanahan, Edmund T.....................................35, 94, 95, 219, 263
Shea, Daniel W..378, 519
Vaschalde, Arthur Adolph..119, 472

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